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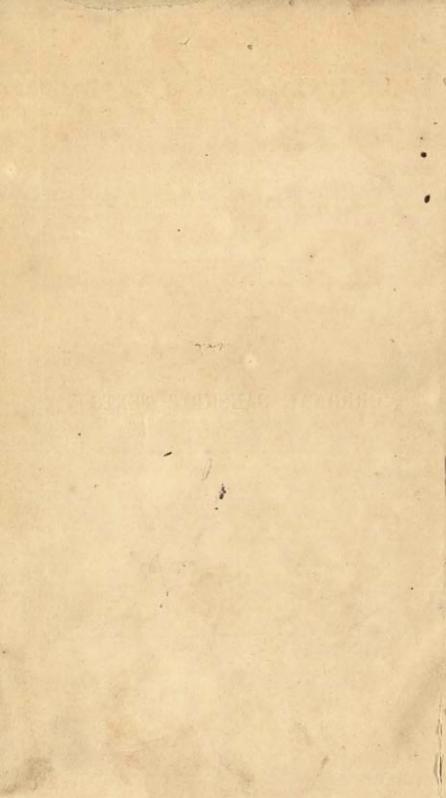






ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.





## ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS

ON THE

ORIGIN AND HISTORY

OF

## THE PEOPLE OF INDIA,

THEIR RELIGION AND INSTITUTIONS.

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED, AND ILLUSTRATED,

BY

J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D.

23732

#### VOLUME FIRST.

MYTHICAL AND LEGENDARY ACCOUNTS OF THE ORIGIN OF CASTE, WITH AN ENQUIRY INTO ITS EXISTENCE IN THE VEDIC AGE.

SECOND EDITION.

REWRITTEN AND GREATLY ENLARGED.

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Na viścsho'sti varnānām sarvam brāhmam idam jagat | Brahmanā prūva-srishtam hi karmabhir varnatām gatam | Mahābhārata.

"There is no distinction of castes. This world, which, as created by Brahma, was at first entirely Brahmanic, has become divided into classes in consequence of men's works."—See pages 138 and 140.

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### PREFACE.

THE main object which I have proposed to myself in this volume is to collect, translate, and illustrate the principal passages in the different Indian books of the greatest antiquity, as well as in others of comparatively modern composition, which describe the creation of mankind and the origin of classes, or which tend to throw light upon the manner in which the caste system may have arisen.

I have not, however, hesitated to admit, when they fell in my way, such passages explanatory of the cosmogonic or mythological conceptions of the Indians as possess a general interest, although not immediately connected with the chief subject of the book.

Since the first edition appeared my materials have so much increased that the volume has now swelled to more than twice its original bulk. The second and third chapters are almost entirely new. The fourteenth and fifteenth sections of the fourth chapter are entirely so. Even those parts of the book of which the sub-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The contents of these chapters are not, however, absolutely new, but drawn from articles which I have contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society since the first edition of the volume appeared.

stance remains the same have been so generally expanded that comparatively little continues without some alteration of greater or less importance.

In order that the reader may learn at once what he may expect to find in the following pages, I shall supply here a fuller and more connected summary of their contents than is furnished by the table which follows this preface.

The Introduction (pp. 1-6) contains a very rapid survey of the sources from which our information on the subject of caste is to be derived, viz. the Vedic hymns, the Brāhmaṇas, the Epic poems, and the Purāṇas, in which the chronological order and the general characteristics of these works are stated.

The first chapter (pp. 1-160) comprehends the mythical accounts of the creation of man and of the origin of eastes which are to be found in the Vedic hymns, in the Brahmanas and their appendages, in the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, and the Puranas. The first section (pp. 7-15) contains a translation of the celebrated hymn called Purusha Sükta, which appears to be the oldest extant authority for attributing a separate origin to the four castes, and a discussion of the question whether the creation there described was intended by its author to convey a literal or an allegorical sense. The second, third, and fourth sections (pp. 15-34) adduce a series of passages from the works standing next in chronological order to the hymns of the Rig-veda, which differ more or less widely from the account of the creation given in the Purusha Sükta, and therefore justify the conclusion

PREFACE.

vii

that in the Vedic age no uniform orthodox and authoritative doctrine existed in regard to the origin of castes.

 In the fifth section (pp. 35-42) the different passages in Manu's Institutes which bear upon the subject are quoted, and shewn to be not altogether in harmony with each other. The sixth section (pp. 43-49) describes the system of great mundane periods called Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, as explained in the Puranas, and shews that no traces of these periods are to be found in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and but few in the Brahmanas (compare p. 215 f.). Sections seventh and eighth (pp. 49-107) contain the accounts of the different creations, including that of the castes, and of the primeval state of mankind, which are given in the Vishnu, Vāyu, and Markandeya Puranas, together with references (see pp. 52 ff., 68 ff.) to passages in the Brāhmanas, which appear to have furnished some of the germs of the various Puranic representations, and a comparison of the details of the latter with each other which proves that in some respects they are mutually irreconcileable (see pp. 65 ff., 102 ff.). The ninth section (pp. 107-114) adduces the accounts of Brahma's passion for his daughter, which are given in the Aitareya Brāhmana and the Matsya Purana. In the tenth section (pp. 114-122) are embraced such notices connected with the subject of this volume as I have observed in the Rāmāyana. In one of the passages men of all the four castes are said to be the offspring of Manu, a female, the daughter of Daksha, and wife of Kaśyapa. The eleventh section contains a collection of texts from the Mahābhārata and its appendage the Hari-

vamsa, in which various and discrepant explanations are given of the existing diversity of castes, one of them representing all the four classes as descendants of Manu . Vaivasvata (p. 126), others attributing the distinction of classes to an original and separate creation of each, which, c however, is not always described as occurring in the same manner (pp. 128 ff. and 153); whilst others, again, more reasonably, declare the distinction to have arisen out of differences of character and action. This section, as well as the one which precedes it, also embraces accounts of the perfection which prevailed in the first yugas, and of the gradually increasing degeneracy which ensued in those that followed. The twelfth section (pp. 155-158) contains extracts from the Bhagavata Purana, which coincide for the most part with those drawn from the other authorities. One text, however, describes mankind as the offspring of Aryaman and Mātrikā; and another distinctly declares that there was originally but one caste. The thirteenth section (pp. 159 f.) sums up the results of the entire chapter, and asserts the conclusion that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent theory of the origin of caste; but, on the contrary, offer a great variety of explanations, mythical, mystical, and rationalistic, to account for this social phenomenon.

The second chapter (pp. 160-238) treats of the tradition of the descent of the Indian nation from Manu. The first section (pp. 162-181) contains a series of texts from the Rig-veda, which speak of Manu as the progenitor of the race to which the authors of the hymns

belonged, and as the first institutor of religious rites; and adverts to certain terms employed in the hymns, either to denote mankind in general or to signify certain tribal divisions. The second section (pp. 181-196) adduces a number of legends and notices regarding Manu from the Brahmanas and other works next in order of antiquity to the hymns of the Rig-veda. The most interesting and important of these legends is that of the deluge, as given in the Satapatha Brāhmana, which is afterwards (pp. 216 ff.) compared with the later versions of the same story found in the Mahābhārata and the Matsya, Bhāgavata and Agni Purānas, which are extracted in the third section (pp. 196-220). Some remarks of M. Burnouf and Professor Weber, on the question whether the legend of a deluge was indigenous in India, or derived from a Semitic source, are noticed in pp. 215 f. The fourth section adduces the legendary accounts of the rise of castes among the descendants of Manu and Atri, which are found in the Puranas; and quotes a story given in the Mahābhārata about king Vitāhavya, a Kshattriya, being transformed into a Brāhman by the mere word of the sage Bhrigu.

In the third chapter (pp. 239–295) I have endeavoured to shew what light is thrown by a study of the hymns of the Rig- and Atharva-vedas upon the mutual relations of the different classes of Indian society at the time when those hymns were composed. In the first section (pp. 240–265) the various texts of the Rig-veda in which the words brahman and brahman occur are cited, and an attempt is made to determine the senses in which those

words are there employed. The result of this examination is that in none of the hymns of the Rig-veda, except the Purusha Sūkta, is there any distinct reference to a . recognized system of four castes, although the occasional use of the word Brāhmana, which is apparently equivalent to Brāhmă-putra, or "the son of a priest," and other indications seem to justify the conclusion that the priesthood had already become a profession, although it did not yet form an exclusive caste (see pp. 258 f., 263 ff.). The second section (pp. 265-280) is made up of quotations from the hymns of the Rig-veda and various other later works, adduced to shew that persons who according to ancient Indian tradition were not of priestly families were in many instances reputed to be authors of Vedic hymns, and in two cases, at least, are even said to have exercised priestly functions. These two cases are those (1) of Devāpi (pp. 269ff.), and (2) of Viśvāmitra, which is afterwards treated at great length in the fourth chapter. This section concludes with a passage from the Matsya Purāna, which not only speaks of the Kshattriyas Manu, Ida, and Purūravas, as "utterers of Vedic hymns" (mantra-vādinah); but also names three Vaiśyas, Bhalanda, Vandya, and Sankīrtti, as "composers of hymns" (mantra-kritah). The third section (pp. 280-289) shews by quotations from the Atharva-veda that at the period when those portions of that collection which are later than the greater part of the Rig-veda were composed, the pretensions of the Brāhmans had been considerably developed. The fourth section (pp. 289-295) gives an account of the opinions expressed by Professor

R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of castes.

The fourth chapter (pp. 296-479) contains a series of legendary illustrations derived from the Rāmāyana, the Mahābhārata, and the Purānas, of the struggle which appears to have occurred in the early ages of Indian history between the Brahmans and the Kshattriyas, after the former had begun to constitute an exclusive sacerdotal class, but before their rights had become accurately defined by long prescription, and when the members of the ruling caste were still indisposed to admit their pretensions. I need not here state in detail the contents of the first five sections (pp. 296-317) which record various legends descriptive of the ruin which is said to have overtaken different princes by whom the Brāhmans were slighted and their claims resisted. The sixth and following sections down to the thirteenth (pp. 317-426) contain, first, such references to the two renowned rivals, Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra as are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda, and which represent them both as Vedic rishis; secondly, such notices of them as occur in the Brāhmanas, and shew that Viśvāmitra, as well as Vasishtha, had officiated as a priest; and, thirdly, a series of legends from the Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata which describe the repeated struggles for superiority in which they were engaged, and attempt, by a variety of fictions, involving miraculous elements, to explain the manner in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhman, and to account for the fact which was so distinctly certified by tradition (see pp. 361 ff.), but appeared so unaccountable in later ages (see pp. 265 f., 364 ff.), that that famous personage, although notoriously a Kshattriya by birth, had nevertheless exercised sacerdotal functions. The fourteenth section (pp. 426-430) contains a story from the Satapatha Brāhmana about king Janaka, a Rājanya, renowned for his stoical temperament and religious knowledge, who communicated theological instruction to

As I have omitted in the body of the work to say anything of the views of Signor Angelo de Gubernatis about the purport of the Vedic texts relating to Vasishtha and Visvāmitra, I may state here that this young Italian Sanskritist, in his Essay, entitled "Fonti Vediche dell' Epopea" (see the Rivista Orientale, vol. i. pp. 409 ff., 478 ff.), combats the opinion of Professor Roth that these passages refer to two historical personages, and to real events in which they played a part; and objects that Roth "took no account of the possibility that a legend of the heavens may have been based upon a human foundation" (p. 409). Signor de Gubernatis further observes that the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third Mandala of the Rig-veda "may perhaps have been recited at a later period in connection with some battle which really occured, but that the fact which they celebrate seems to be much more ancient, and to be lost in a very remote myth" (p. 410). Visvamitra, he considers, is one of the appellations of the sun, and as both the person who bears this name, and Indra are the sons of Kuśika, they must be brothers (p. 412. See, however, the remarks in p. 347 f. of this volume on the epithet Kausika as applied to Indra). Sudas, according to Signor de Gubernatis (p. 413), denotes the horse of the sun, or the sun himself, while Vasishtha is the greatest of the Vasus, and denotes Agni, the solar fire, and means, like Visvamitra, the sun (p. 483). Signor de Gubernatis is further of opinion (pp. 414, 478, 479, and 483) that both the 33rd and 53rd hymns of the third, and the 18th hymn of the seventh Mandala are comparatively modern; that the names of Kusikas and Visvamitras claimed by the authors of the two former, are fraudulently assumed; while the last (the 18th hymn of the seventh Mandala) was composed by a sacerdotal family who claimed Vasishtha as its founder. I will only remark that the theory of Signor de Gubernatis appears to me to be an improbable one. But the only point of much importance for my own special purpose is that ancient Indian tradition represents both Vasishtha and Visvamitra as real personages, the one of either directly divine, or of sacerdotal descent, and the other of royal lineage. They may, however, have been nothing more than legendary creations, the fictitious eponymi of the families which bore the same name.

some eminent Brahmans, and became a member of their class. In the fifteenth section (pp. 431-436) two other . instances are adduced from the same Brāhmana and from two of the Upanishads, of Kshattriyas who were in possession of truths unknown to the Brahmans, and who, contrary to the usual rule, became the teachers of the latter. The sixteenth section (pp. 436-440) contains an extract from the Aitareya Brahmana regarding king Viśvantara who, after at first attempting to prevent the Syaparna Brahmans from officiating at his sacrifice, became at length convinced by one of their number of their superior knowledge, and accepted their services. In the seventeenth section (pp. 440-442) a story is told of Matanga, the spurious offspring of a Brāhman woman by a man of inferior caste, who failed, in spite of his severe and protracted austerities, to elevate himself (as Viśvāmitra had done) to the rank of a Brāhman. The eighteenth section (pp. 442-479) contains a series of legends, chiefly from the Mahābhārata, regarding the repeated exterminations of the Kshattriyas by the warlike Brāhman Paraśurāma of the race of Bhrigu, and the ultimate restoration of the warrior tribe, and a variety of extravagant illustrations of the supernatural power of the Brāhmans, related by the god Vāyu to king Arjuna, who began by denying the superiority of the priests, but was at length compelled to succumb to the overwhelming evidence adduced by his aerial monitor.

In the fifth chapter (pp. 480-488) I have given some account of the opinions entertained by Manu, and the

authors of the Mahābhārata and the Purānas, regarding the origin of the tribes dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, but not comprehended in the Indian caste-system.

The sixth and concluding chapter (pp. 489-504) contains the Puranic accounts of the parts of the earth exterior to Bhāratavarsha, or India, embracing first, the other eight Varshas or divisions of Jambudvīpa, the central continent; secondly, the circular seas and continents (dvīpas) by which Jambudvīpa is surrounded; and, thirdly, the remoter portions of the mundane system.

The Appendix (pp. 505-515) contains some supplementary notes.

As in the previous edition, I have been careful to acknowledge in the text and notes of this volume the assistance which I have derived from the writings of the different Sanskrit Scholars who have treated of the same subjects. It will, however, be well to specify here the various publications to which I have been indebted for materials. In 1858, I wrote thus: "It will be seen at once that my greatest obligations are due to Professor H. H. Wilson, whose translation of the Vishnu Purana, with abundant and valuable notes, derived chiefly from the other Puranas, was almost indispensable to the successful completion of such an attempt as the present." In this second edition also I have had constant occasion to recur to Wilson's important work, now improved and enriched by the additional notes of the editor Dr. Fitzedward Hall. It is to his edition, so far as it has yet ap-

peared, that my references have been made. I acknowledged at the same time the aid which I had received . from M. Langlois' French translation of the Harivamsa, and from M. Burnouf's French translation of the first nine books of the Bhagavata Purana, which opened up an easy access to the contents of the original works. A large amount of materials has also been supplied to me, either formerly or for the preparation of the present edition, by Mr. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays; by Professor C. Lassen's Indian Antiquities; Professor Rudolph Roth's Dissertations on the Literature and History of the Vedas, and contributions to the Journal of the German Oriental Society, and to Weber's Indische Studien, etc.; Professor Weber's numerous articles in the same Journals, and his History of Indian Literature; Professor Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, Chips from a German Workshop, article on the Funeral rites of the Brāhmans, etc.; Professor Benfey's Glossary of the Sama Veda, and translations of Vedic hymns; Dr. Haug's text and translation of the Aitareya Brāhmana: while much valuable aid has been derived from the written communications with which I have been favoured by Professor Aufrecht, as well as from his Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS. I am also indebted to Professor Müller for pointing out two texts which will be found in the Appendix, and to Professor Goldstücker for copying for me two passages of Kumārila Bhatta's Mīmansā-vārttika, which are printed in the same place, and for making some corrections in my translations of them.

I formerly observed that at the same time my own researches had "enabled me to collect a good many texts which I had not found elsewhere adduced;" and the same remark applies to a considerable portion of the new matter which has been adduced in the present edition.

### CONTENTS.

PAGES.

- v.-xvi. PREFACE.
  - 1-6. INTRODUCTION, CONTAINING A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.
  - 7—160. CHAPTER I.—MYTHICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUR CASTES.
  - 7— 15. Secr. I. Ninetieth hymn of the tenth Book of the Rigveda Sanhitā, called Purusha-Sūkta, or the hymn to Purusha.
- 15— 16. Secr. II. Quotation from the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 1, 4 ff.
- 17— 22. Secr. III. Citations from the Satapatha Brāhmana, the Taittirīya Brāhmana, the Vāyasaneyi Sanhitā, and the Atharva-veda.
- 22— 34. Sect. IV. Further quotations from the Taittirīya Brāhmana, Sanhitā, and Āranyaka, and from the Satapatha Brāhmana.
- 35- 42. Secr. V. Manu's account of the origin of castes.
- 43— 49. Secr. VI. Account of the system of yugas, manyantaras, and kalpas, according to the Vishnu Purana and other authorities.
- 49— 73. Sect. VII. -Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vishau Purana, with some passages from the Brahmanas, containing the germs of the Puranic statements.
- 74—107. Secr. VIII. Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vayu and Markandeya Puranas.

PAGES.

- 107—114. SECT. IX. Legend of Brahmā and his daughter, according to the Aitareya Brāhmana, and of Satarūpā, according to the Matsya Purāna.
- 114-122. Secr. X. Quotations from the Ramayana on the creation, cand on the origin of castes.
  - 122—155. Secr. XI. Quotations from the Mahabharata and Harivamsa on the same subjects, and on the four yugas.
  - 155—158. Sect. XII. Citations from the Bhagavata Purana on the creation and on the origin of castes.
  - 159-160. SECT. XIII. Results of this chapter.
  - 161-238. CHAPTER II. TRADITION OF THE DESCENT OF THE INDIAN RACE FROM MANU.
  - 162—181. Sect. I. On Manu as the progenitor of the Aryan Indians and the institutor of religious rites, according to the hymns of the Rig-veda.
  - 181—196. Secr. II. Legend of Manu and the deluge from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, and other notices regarding Manu from the Satapatha, Aitareya, and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇas, the Taittirīya Sanhitā, and the Chāndogya Upanishad.
  - 196—220. Secr. III. Extracts from the Mahabhārata and the Matsya, Bhāgavata, and Agni Purānas regarding Manu, and the deluge; and comparison of the versions of this legend adduced in this and the preceding section.
- 220-238. Secr. IV. Legendary accounts of the origin of castes among the descendants of Manu and Atri, according to the Puranas.
- 239-295. CHAPTER III. ON THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF INDIAN SOCIETY, ACCORDING TO THE HYMNS OF THE RIG- AND ATHARYA-VEDAS.
- 240—265. Secr. I. On the signification of the words brāhmān and brāhmana, etc., in the Rig-veda.
- 265—280. Secr. II. Quotations from the Rig-veda, the Nirukta, the Mahābhārata and other works, to show that according to ancient Indian tradition persons not of priestly families were authors of Vedic hymns, and exercised priestly functions.
- 280-289. Secr. III. Texts from the Atharva-veda, illustrating the progress of Brahmanical pretensions.
- 289-295. Secr. IV. Opinions of Professor R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of caste among the Hindus.

- PAGES.
- 296-400. CHAPTER IV. -- EARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN THE BRAH-MANS AND THE KSHATTRIYAS.
- 296—298. Sect. I. Manu's summary of refractory and submissive monarchs.
- 298-306. SECT. II. Legend of Vena.
- 306-307. Sect. III. Legend of Pururavas.
  - 307-315. Sect. IV. Story of Nahusha.
  - 316-317. SECT. V. Story of Nimi.
  - 317-337. SECT. VI. Vasishtha, according to the Rig-veda and later works.
  - 337—371. SECT. VII. Viśvāmitra, according to the Rig-veda, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa and later authorities; earlier and later relations of priestly families and the other classes.
  - 371—375. Secr. VIIa. Do the details in the last two sections enable us to decide in what relation Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra stood to each other as priests of Sudās?
  - 375-378. Sect. VIII. Story of Triśanku.
  - 379-388. Sect. IX. Legend of Harischandra.
  - 388—397. Secr. X. Contest of Vasishtha and Visvamitra, and entrance of the latter into the Brahman caste, according to the Mahabharata.
  - 397-411. Secr. XI. The same legend, and those of Triśanku, and Ambarisha, according to the Rāmāyana, with a further story about Viśvāmitra from the Mahābhārata.
  - 411—414. Secr. XII. Other accounts from the Mahābhārata of the way in which Viśvāmitra became a Brāhman.
  - 414—426. Secr. XIII. Legend of Saudása, and further story of the rivalry of Vasishtha and Visvāmitra, according to the Mahābhārata, with an extract from the Rāja Taranginī.
  - 426—430. Sect. XIV. Story from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa about king Janaka becoming a Brāhman, with extracts from the Mahābhārata about the same prince.
  - 431—436. SECT. XV. Other instances in which Brāhmans are said to have been instructed in divine knowledge by Kshattriyas.
  - 436—440. Secr. XVI. Story of king Viśvantara and the Syāparna Brāhmans.
  - 440—442. SECT. XVII. Story of Matanga, who tried in vain to raise himself to the position of a Brahman.

442—479. Sect. XVIII. Legend of the Brāhman Paraśurāma, the exterminator of the Kshattriyas, according to the Mahābhārata and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, with a series of narratives from the former work illustrating the superhuman power of the Brāhmans.

480—488. CHAPTER V. Relation of the Brahmanical Indians to the neighbouring tribes, according to Manu, the Mahābhārata, and the Purānas.

489-504. CHAPTER VI. PURANIC ACCOUNTS OF THE PARTS OF THE EARTH EXTERIOR TO BHARATAVARSHA, OR INDIA.

505-516. APPENDIX, CONTAINING SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES.

517-532. INDEX.

#### ERRATA ET CORRIGENDA.

Page 23, line 19, for "beingy ellow" read "being yellow."

" 38, " 17 ff., for "59-64" read "58-63."

" 42, " 4 from foot, for "p. 36" read "p. 37."
" 46, ", 26, for "p. 42" read "p. 43."

n 46, ,, 20, for "p. 42" read "p. 43." n 47, ,, 8, for "12,826" read "iii. 826."

, 51, " 17, for "Purushottasna" read "Purushottama."

, 123, ,, 19, for "to" read "tu."

,. 127, ,, 18f., for "the two by which these three are followed," read "two of those which follow, viz. in pp. 134 and 139."

,, 136, ,, 18, for " 116" read " 11 and 12,"

", 169, ", 26, for "Vivaswat" read "Vivasvat."

" 170, " 28 and 33, for " Matariswan " read Matarisvan."

, 171, , 26, for "As'wins" read "Asivins."

", 180, ", 28, before "Projopatir" insert "ii. 33."
", 194, ", 5, for "mā bhaja" read "mā ābhaja."

, 221, , 20, before " Prishadhras" insert "iv. 1, 12."

, 222, , 7, for "ix. 2" read "ix. 2, 16."

" - " 13, before " Nabhago" insert "iv. 1, 14."

" 235, " 19, for "iv." read "ix."

, 251, , 27, for "3" read "2,"

" 258, " 3 from the foot, for "viii." read "vii."

" 274, " 8, for " Dilipat" read " Dilipat."

,, 280, ,, 14, for "wiss" read "were."

" 307, " 10, for "cirof" read "ciroj."

" 308, " 24, before " Nahusho" insert " 12460."

", 318, ", 4, for " 139 f." read " 161 f."
", 371, ", 12, for " vii." read " viia."

,, 399, ,, 18, for " 58, 18" read " 56, 18."

,, 487, ,, 2, for "thei rdesertion" read "their desertion."

## ORIGINAL SANSKRIT TEXTS.

PART FIRST.

### INTRODUCTION

CONTAINING A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

I PROPOSE in the present volume to give some account of the traditions, legends, and mythical narratives which the different classes of ancient Indian writings contain regarding the origin of mankind, and the classes or eastes into which the Hindus have long been distributed. In order to ascertain whether the opinions which have prevailed in India on these subjects have continued fixed and uniform from the earliest period, or whether they have varied from age to age, and if so, what modifications they have undergone, it is necessary that we should first of all determine the chronological order of the various works from which our information is to be drawn. This task of classification can, as far as regards its great outlines, be easily accomplished. Although we cannot discover sufficient grounds for fixing with any precision the dates of these different books, we are perfectly able to settle the order in which the most important of those which are to form the basis of this investigation were composed. From a comparison of these several literary records, it will be found that the Hindus, like all other civilized nations, have passed through various stages of development, -social, moral, religious, and intellectual. The ideas and beliefs which are exhibited in their oldest documents, are not the same as those which we encounter in their later writings.

The principal books to which we must look for information on the subjects of our enquiry are the Vedas, including the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, the Sūtras, the Institutes of Manu, and the Itihāsas and Purāṇas. Of these different classes of works, the Vedas are allowed by all competent enquirers to be by far the most ancient.

There are, as every student of Indian literature is aware, four Vedas,—the Rig-veda, the Sāma-veda, the Yajur-veda, and the Atharva-veda. Each of the collections of works known as a Veda consists of two parts, which are called its mantra and its brāhmaṇa.¹ The Mantras are either metrical hymns, or prose forms of prayer. The Rig-veda and the Sāmaveda consist only of mantras of the former description. The Brāhmanas contain regulations regarding the employment of the mantras, and the celebration of the various rites of sacrifice, and also embrace certain treatises called Āranyakas, and others called Upanishads or Vedāntas (so called from their being the concluding portions of each Veda), which expound the mystical sense of some of the ceremonies, and discuss the nature of the godhead, and the means of acquiring religious knowledge with a view to final liberation.

The part of each Veda which contains the mantras, or hymns, is called its Sanhită. Thus the Rig-veda Sanhită means the collection of hymns belonging to the Rig-veda. Of the four collections of hymns, that belonging to the last-mentioned Veda, which contains no less than 1,017 of these compositions, is by far the most important for historical purposes. Next in value must be reckoned those hymns of the Atharvaveda, which are peculiar to that collection, another portion of which, however, is borrowed, in most cases, verbatim, from the Rig-veda.

¹ Sāyaṇa says in his commentary on the Rigveda (vol. p. i. p. 4): Mantra-brāh maṇōtmakam tāvad adushfam lakshaṇam | ata eea Apastambo yajna-paribhāshāyām evāha \* mantra-brāhmaṇayor eeda-nāmadheyam' | "The definition (of the Veda) as a book composed of mantra and brāhmaṇa, is unobjectionable. Hence Apastamba says in the Yajnaparibhāshā, 'Mantra and Brāhmaṇa have the name of Veda,'"

This definition applies to all the Sanhitās, except that of the Taittirīya, or Black Yajur, Veda, in which Mantra and Brähmana are combined. But even this Sanhitā had a separate Brāhmana connected with it. See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 350, and Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, p. 83. The general character of the Vājasaneyi and Atharva Sanhitās is not affected by the fact that the last section of the former is an Upanishad, and that the fifteenth book of the latter has something of the nature of a Brāhmana.

<sup>3</sup> For further information on the Vedas, reference may be made to Professor Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, passim, and also to vols. ii. iii. and iv. of the present work.

From this succinct account of the contents of the Vedas, it is clear that the Mantras must constitute their most ancient portions, since the Brāhmanas, which regulate the employment of the hymns, of necessity pre-suppose the earlier existence of the latter. On this subject the commentator on the Taittiriya, or Black Yajur-veda, Sanhitā thus expresses himself (p. 9 of the Calcutta edition):—

Yadyapi mantrabrāhmanātmako vedos tathāpi brāhmanasya mantravyākhāna-rūpatvād mantrā evādan samāmnātāh | "Although the Veda is formed both of Mantra and Brāhmana, yet as the Brāhmana consists of an explanation of the Mantras, it is the latter which were at first recorded."

The priority of the hymns to the Brahmanas is accordingly attested by the constant quotations from the former which are found in the latter.3 Another proof that the hymns are far older than any other portion of Indian literature is to be found in the character of their language. They are composed in an ancient dialect of the Sanskrit, containing many words of which the sense was no longer known with certainty in the age of Yaska, the author of the Nirukta, and many grammatical forms which had become obsolete in the time of the great grammarian Pāṇini, who refers to them as peculiar to the hymns (chhandas).7 A third argument in favour of the greater antiquity of the mantras is supplied by the fact that the gods whom they represent as the most prominent objects of adoration, such as Indra and Varuna, occupy but a subordinate position in the Itihasas and Puranas, whilst others, viz., Vishnu and Rudra, though by no means the most important deities of the hymns, are exalted to the first rank, and assume a different character, in the Puranic pantheon."

<sup>4</sup> See also the passage quoted from the Nirukta in p. 174 of the 2nd vol. of this work, and that cited from Sayana in p. 195 of the same vol. Compare the the following passage of the Mundaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1: Tad etat notyam mantreshukarmani karaya yany opaiyams tani tretayam bahnaha nantatani | "This is true: the rites which the rishis saw (i.e. discovered by revelation) in the hymns—these rites were in great variety celebrated in the Treta (age)."

See vol. ii. of this work, p. 195, and the article on the "Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 316 ff. See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 178 ff. and my article on the "Interpretation of the Veda" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ii. new series, pp. 323 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 216 ff.

<sup>&</sup>quot; See vol. ii, of this work, 212 ff, and vol. iv. 1, 2, and passin.

On all these grounds it may be confidently concluded that the mantras, or hymns, of the Rig-veda are by far the most ancient remains of Indian literature. The hymns themselves are of different periods, some being older, and some more recent. This is shown not only by the nature of the case, -as it is not to be supposed that the whole of the contents of such a large national collection as the Rigveda Sanhitā should have been composed by the men of one, or even two, generations,-but also by the frequent references which occur in the mantras themselves to older rishis, or poets, and to older hymns.\* It is, therefore, quite possible that a period of several centuries may have intervened between the composition of the oldest and that of the most recent of these poems. But if so, it is also quite conceivable that in this interval considerable changes may have taken place in the religious ideas and ceremonies, and in the social and ecclesiastical institutions of the people among whom these hymns were produced, and that some traces of these changes may be visible on comparing the different hymns with each other.

No sufficient data exist for determining with exactness the period at which the hymns were composed. Professor Müller divides them into two classes, the Mantras or more recent hymns, which he supposes may have been produced between 1000 and 800 years,-and the older hymns, to which he applies the name of Chhandas, and which he conceives may have been composed between 1200 and 1000 years,before the Christian era. Other scholars are of opinion that they may be even older (see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 572, and the Preface to the 4th Vol of the same author's edition of the Rig-veda, pp. iv.-xiii). This view is shared by Dr. Haug, who thus writes in his introduction to the Aitareya Brahmana, p. 47: "We do not hesitate, therefore, to assign the composition of the bulk of the Brahmanas to the years 1400-1200 B.c.; for the Samhita we require a period of at least 500-600 years, with an interval of about two hundred years between the end of the proper Brahmana period. Thus we obtain for the bulk of Samhita the space from 1400-2000; the oldest hymns and sacrificial formulas may be a few hundred years more ancient still, so that we would fix the very commencement of Vedic literature between 2000-2400 B.c."

<sup>\*</sup> See vol. ii. of this work, pp. 206 ff., and vol. iii. pp. 116 ff., 121 ff.

Next in order of time to the most recent of the hymns come, of course, the Brahmanas. Of these (1) the Aitareya and Sankhayana are connected with the Rig-veda; (2) the Tandya, the Panchavimsa and the Chhandogya with the Sama-veda; (3) the Taittiriya with the Taittirīya or Black Yajur-veda; (4) the Satapatha with the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā or White Yajur-veda; and (5) the Gopatha with the Atharva-veda.10 These works, written in prose, prescribe, as I have already intimated, the manner in which the Mantrus are to be used and the various rites of sacrifice to be celebrated. They also expound the mystical signification of some of the ceremonies, and adduce a variety of legends to illustrate the origin and efficacy of some of the ritual prescriptions. That in order of age the Brahmanas stand next to the Mantras is proved by their simple. antiquated, and tautological style, as well as by the character of their language, which, though approaching more nearly than that of the hymns, to classical or Paninean Sanskrit, is yet distinguished by certain archaisms both of vocabulary and of grammatical form which are unknown to the Itihasas and Puranas.11 The most recent portions of the Brahmanas are the Aranyakas and Upanishads, of which the character and contents have been already summarily indicated. The remaining works which form the basis of our investigations come under the designation of Smriti, as distinguished from that of Sruti, which is applied to the Mantras, Brahmanas, Aranyakas, and Upanishads.

The term Smriti includes (1) the Vedangas, such as the Nirukta of Yaska, (2) the Sutras or aphorisms, srauta and grihya, or sacrificial and domestic, etc., (3) the Institutes of Manu, (4) the Itihasas and Puranas. To the class of Itihasas belong (1) the Ramayana (said to be the work of Valmiki), which contains an account in great part, at least, fabulous, of the adventures of Rama, and the Mahabharata, which describes the wars and adventures of the Kurus and Pandus, and embraces also a great variety of episodes and numerous mythological narratives, as well as religious, philosophical, and political discussions, which are interwoven with, or interpolated in, the framework of the poem. This

11 See, for example, the S. P. Br. xi. 5, 1, 15; and the Taitt, Sanhita, ii. 2, 10, 2,

and ii. 6, 7, 1.

For further details on these Brähmanas, the reader may consult Professor Mus Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 345 ff.; Professor Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte, and Indische Studien; and Dr. Haug's Aitareya Brähmana.

work is said to be the production of Vyasa, but its great bulk, its almost encyclopædic character, and the discrepancies in doctrine which are observable between its different parts, lead inevitably to the conclusion that it is not the composition of a single author, but has received large additions from a succession of writers, who wished to obtain currency and authority for their several opinions by introducing them into this great and venerated repository of national tradition.<sup>12</sup>

The Puragas are commonly said to be eighteen in number, in addition to certain inferior works of the same description called Upapuranas. For an account of these books and a summary of their contents, I must refer to the late Professor H. H. Wilson's introduction to his translation of the Vishnu Purana.

In treating the several topics which are to be handled in this volume, I propose in each case to adduce, first, any texts bearing upon it which may be found in the hymns of the Rig-veda; next, those in the Brahmanas and their appendages; and, lastly, those occurring in any of the different classes of works coming under the designation of Smriti. By this means we shall learn what conceptions or opinions were entertained on each subject by the oldest Indian authors, and what were the various modifications to which these ideas were subjected by their successors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> On the Ramayana and Mahabharata, see Professor Monier Williams's "Indian Epic Poetry," which contains a careful analysis of the leading narrative of each of the poems.

<sup>1)</sup> See also the same author's analyses of the contents of the Vishnu, Vayu, Agni, and Brähma-vaivartta Purānas in the "Gleanings of Science," published in Calcutta, and those of the Brähma and Püdma Purānas in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. ix (1838) and No. x. (1839).

#### CHAPTER I.

MYTHICAL ACCOUNTS OF THE CREATION OF MAN, AND OF THE ORIGIN OF THE FOUR CASTES.

Ir will be seen from the different texts to be adduced in this chapter, that from a very early period the Indian writers have propounded a great variety of speculations regarding the origin of mankind, and of the classes or castes into which they found their own community divided. The most commonly received of these explanations is the fable which represents the Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras, to have been separately created from the head, the breast or arms, the thighs, and the feet of the Creator. Of this mythical account no trace is to be found in any of the hymns of the Rig-veda, except one, the Purusha Sūkta.

Although for reasons which will be presently stated, I esteem it probable that this hymn belongs to the most recent portion of the Rigveda, it will be convenient to adduce and to discuss it first, along with certain other texts from the Brühmanas, Itihäsas, and Purānas, which professedly treat of the origin of mankind and of easte, before we proceed to examine the older parts of the hymn-collection, with the view of ascertaining what opinion the authors of them appear to have entertained in regard to the earliest history of their race, and to the grounds of those relations which they found subsisting between the different classes of society contemporary with themselves.

Sucr. I.—90th Hymn of the 10th Book of the Rig-veda Sanhitā, called Purusha Sūkta, or the hymn to Purusha.

This celebrated hymn contains, as far as we know, the oldest extant passage which makes mention of the fourfold origin of the Hindu race. In order to appreciate the character of this passage, we must consider it in connection with its context. I therefore quote the whole of the hymn:

R. V. x. 90. 1. Sahasra-sirsha Purushah sahasrakshah sahasrapat | sa bhumim viscato critca atyatishthad dasangulam | 2. Purushah eredam sarvam yad bhutam yachcha bhavyam | utamritatvasyesano yad annenātirohati | 3. Etāvān asya mahimā ato jyāyāmscha Pārushah | pādo 'sya viścā bhūtāni tripād asyāmritam divi | 4. Tripād ūrdhva ud ait Pürushah pado 'sychabharat punah | tato vishran vyakramat sāśanānaśane abhi | 5. tasmād Virāl ajāyata Virājo adhi Pūrushah | sa jato aty arichyata paśchad bhūmim atho purah | 6. Yat Purushena hacisha devah yajnam atanvata | vasanto asyasid ajyam grishmah idhmah sarad havih | 7. Tam yajnam barhishi praukshan Purusham jātam agratah | tena devāh ayajanta sādhyāh rishayas cha ye | 8. Tasmād yajnāt sarvahutah sambhritam prishadājyam | pašūn tāms chakre rāyavyān āranyān grāmyās cha ye | 9. Tasmād yojnāt sarcahutah richah samani jajnire | chhandamsi jajnire tasmad yajus tasmad ajayata | 10. Tasmād asrā ajāyanta ye ke cha ubhayādatah | garo ha jajnire tasmāt tasmāj jātāh ajāvayah | 11. Yat Purusham vi adadhuh katidha vi akalpayan | mukham kim asya kuu bahu ka uru pādā uchyete | 12. Brāhmano 'sya mukham āsīd bāhū rājanyah kritah | ara tad asya yad raisyah padbhyam sadro ajayata | 13. chandramāh manaso jātas chakshoh sūryo ajāyata | mukhād Indras cha Agnis cha prănăd Văyur ojāyata | 14. Nabhyāh āxīd antariksham śirskno dyauh samacarttata | padbhyām bhūmir diśah śrotrāt tathā lokān akalpayan | 15. Saptāsyāsan paridhayas trih sapta samidhah kritôh | decah yad yajnam tancanah abadhnan Purusham pasum | 16. Yajnena yajnam ayajanta devās tāni dharmāni pratha-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The Purusha Sükta is also found in the Väjasaneyi Sanhitä of the White Yajar-veda (31. 1-16) and in the Atharva-veda (19. 6. 1 ff.) See Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, i. 167 f., and note in p. 309 (or pp. 104, and 197, of Messrs. Williams and Norgate's edition); Burnouf's Bhāgavata Purāna, vol. i. Preface, pp. exxiii. ff.; Wilson's Preface to his translation of the Rigveda, vol. i. p. xliv.; Professor Roth's remarks in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, i. pp. 78 f.; Möller in Bunsen's Philosophy of Univ. History, vol. i. p. 344; Müller's Anc. Sank. Lit., pp. 570 f.; Professor Weber's translation in Indische Studien ix. p. 5; and my own translation, notes and remarks in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 353 ff., and for 1866, pp. 282 f.

māni āsan | te ha nākam mahimānah sachanta yatra pūrve sādhyāh santi decāh |

"1. Purusha has a thousand heads, "a thousand eyes, a thousand feet. On every side enveloping the earth, he overpassed to (it) by a space of ten fingers. 2. Purusha himself is this whole (universe), whatever has been and whatever shall be. He is also the lord of immortality, since (or, when) by food he expands. A such is his greatness, and Purusha is superior to this. All existences are a quarter of him; and three-fourths of him are that which is immortal in the sky. A with three quarters Purusha mounted upwards. A quarter of him was again produced here. He was then diffused everywhere over things which eat and things which do not eat. 5. From him was was born Virāj, and from Virāj, Purusha. When born, he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before. 6. When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation, the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering.

7. This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on

10 For critea in the R. V. the Vajasaneyi Sanhita, 31. 1, reads spritea, which

seems to mean nearly the same.

The word is atyatishthat. Compare the Satapatha Brümana, xiii. 6, 1, 1, and atishthäeänah in S'. P. B. iv. 5, 4, 1, 2. Professor Weber renders atyatishthat "occupies" (Indische Studien, ix. 5).

18 The sense of this is obscure. Instead of yad annenatirohati, the A. V. reads yad

anyenabhaeat saha, ("that which," or, "since he) was with another."

19 Compare A. V. x. 8, 7: archena viscam bhuvanam jajana yad anya archam kea tad babbings: " with the half he produced the whole world; what became of the

(other) half of him?" See also ibid. v. 13.

20 This sentence is illustrated by R. V. x. 72, 5, where it is said, Aditor Daksha apäyata Dakshād a Aditih pari | "Aditi was born from Daksha and Daksha from Aditi "—a text on which Yūska remarks (Nirukta, xī. 23): tat katham upapadyeta | samāna-janmānau spātām iti | api vā deva-dharmena ītaretara-fanmānau spātām itaretara-prakritī | "how can this be possible? They may have had a common birth; or, conformably with their nature as deities, they may have been produced from one another, and possess the properties of one another." Compare A. V. 13. 4. 29 ff., where Indra is said to have been produced from a great many other gods, or entities, and they reciprocally from him. In regard to Virāj, compare the notes on the verse before us in my article on the "Progress of the Vedic religion," etc., in the Journal of the Royal Asintic Society for 1865, p. 354.

<sup>18</sup> The Atherva-veda (xix. 6, 1) reads seheuro-böhub, "having a thousand arms," the transcriber, perhaps, taking the verse literally, and considering that a being in human form, if he had a thousand eyes and a thousand feet, ought only to have five hundred heads, and not a thousand as in the text of the Rig-veda.

the sacrificial grass. With him the gods, the Sadhyas, and the rishis sacrificed. 8. From that universal sacrifice were provided curds and butter. It formed those aerial 21 (creatures) and animals both wild and tame. 9. From that universal sacrifice sprang the rich and saman verses, the metres, and the vajush. 10. From it sprang horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth; kine sprang from it; from it goats and sheep. 11. When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? what was his mouth? what arms (had he)? what (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet? 12. The Brahman was his mouth; the Rajanya was made his arms: the being (called) the Vaisya, he was his thighs;34 the Sudra sprang from his feet. 13. The moon sprang from his soul (manas), the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, and Vayu from his breath.23 14. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the (four) quarters: in this manner (the gods) formed the worlds. 15. When the gods, performing sacrifice, bound Purusha as a victim, there were seven sticks (stuck up) for it

<sup>21</sup> See on the Sadhyas, Professor Weber's note, Ind. St. ix. 6 f., and the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 395, note.

<sup>33</sup> See, however, Vaj. Sanh. xiv. 30, to be quoted below.

<sup>24</sup> Compare the Kaushitaki Brahmana Upanishad, ii. 9: atha paurnamanyam purastach chandramasam driiyamanam upatishtheta staya eea aerita "somo rajasi vichakshano pancha mukho'si prajūpatih | brūhmanas te ekam mukham | tena mukhena rājno 'tsi | tena mukhena mām annādam kuru | rājā to ekam mukham | tena mukhena viio'tsi | tena mukhena mam annadam kuru | iyenas te ekam mukham "ityadi | which is thus translated by Mr. Cowell: " Next on the day of the full moon let him in this same way adore the moon when it is seen in front of him (saying), 'thou art Soma, the brilliant, the wise, the five-mouthed, the lord of creatures. The Brahman is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest kings, with that mouth make me to eat food. The king is one mouth of thine, with that mouth thou eatest common men, with that mouth make me to cat food. The hawk is one mouth of thine," etc. The fourth mouth is fire, and the fifth is in the moon itself. I should prefer to render the words some raja'si, "thou art king Soma,"-"king" being a frequent designation of this god in the Brühmanas. See also M. Bh. iii, 12,962, where Vishnu is introduced as saying in the same mystical way : Brahma cuktram bhijan kihattram uru me samathitah visah | padan s'udrah bhavantime vikramena kramena cha | "The Brahman is my mouth; the Kshattra is my arms; the Visus are my thighs; these Stadras with their vigour and rapidity are my feet."

Instead of ūrū, "thighs," the Atharva-veda, xix. 6, 6, reads madhyam, "middle." The Vāj. S. xxxi. 13, has a different and singular reading of the last half verse : retrād vāyus'cha prūnas cha mukhād agnò ajāyata | "From his ear came Vāyu and Prāna (breath) and from his mouth Agni."

(around the fire), and thrice seven pieces of fuel were made. 16. With sacrifice the gods performed the sacrifice. These were the earliest rites. These great powers have sought the sky, where are the former

Sādhyas, gods."18

I have above (p. 7) intimated an opinion that this hymn does not belong to the most ancient portion of the Rig-veda. This view is, however, controverted by Dr. Hang, who, in his tract on "the origin of Brahmanism" (published at Poona in 1863), p. 5, writes as follows: "The few scholars who have been engaged in the study of the Vedas unanimously regard this hymn as a very late production of Vedic poetry; but there is no sufficient evidence to prove that. On the contrary, reasons might be adduced to show that it is even old. The mystical character of the hymn is no proof at all of its late origin. Such allegorical hymns are to be met with in every book of the collection of the mantras, which goes by the name of Rig-veda samhita. The Rishis, who were the authors of these hymns, delighted in such speculations. They chiefly were suggested to them by the sacrificial rites, which they daily were performing. According to the position which is assigned to it in the Yajur-veda (where it is found among the formulas referring to the human sacrifice), the hymn appears to have been used at the human sacrifices. That, at the earliest period of the Vedic time, human sacrifices were quite common with the Brahmans, can be proved beyond any doubt. But the more eminent and distinguished among their leaders soon abandoned the practice as revolting to human feelings. The form of the sacrifice, however, seems to have been kept for a long time; for the ritual required at that occasion is actually in the Yajur-veda; but they only tied men of different castes and classes to the sacrificial posts, and released them afterwards, sacrificing animals instead of them."

If it could be satisfactorily shewn that this hymn, in the same form as we now possess it, existed contemporaneously with the barbarous practice of human sacrifices which Dr. Haug believes to have at one time prevailed in India, we should, no doubt, have in this circumstance a strong proof of its antiquity. But if it was merely adopted as a part of the ceremonial at a later period, when the immolation of human

<sup>&</sup>gt; This verse occurs also in R. V. i. 164. 50, and is quoted in Nirukta, xii. 14. See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 395, note, already referred to.

beings had ceased to be otherwise than formal and nominal, and animals were substituted as the actual victims, the evidence of its remote antiquity is greatly weakened.

If we now compare the Purusha Sükta with the two hymns (162 and 163) of the first Mandala of the Rig-veda, it will, I think, be apparent that the first is not adapted to be used at a literal human sacrifice in the same manner as the last two are to be employed at the immolation of a horse. There are, no doubt, some mystical passages in the second of these two hymns, as in verse 3, where the horse is identified with Yama, Aditya, and Trita; and "in the last section of the Taittiriya Yajurveda the various parts of the horse's body are described as divisions of time and portions of the universe: 'morning is his head; the sun his eye; the air his breath; the moon his ear," etc. (Colebrooke's Essays, i. 62). But the persons who officiate at the sacrifice, as referred to in these hymns, are ordinary priests of the ancient Indian ritual, -the hotri, adhvaryu, avayaj, etc. (i. 162, 5); and details are given of the actual slaughter of the animal (i. 162, 11). The Purusha Sūkta, however does not contain the same indications of the literal immolation of a human victim. In it the sacrifice is not offered to the gods, but by the gods (verses 6, 7, 15, 16); no human priests are mentioned; the division of the victim (v. 11) must be regarded, like its slaughter (v. 7), as the work of the deities only. And the Purusha mentioned in the hymn could not well have been regarded as an ordinary man, as he is identified with the universe (v. 2), and he himself, or his immolation, is represented as the source of the creation (vv. 8, 10, 13, 14). and of the Vedas (v. 9).

As compared with by far the largest part of the hymns of the Rigveda, the Purusha Sūkta has every character of modernness both in its diction and ideas. I have already observed that the hymns which we find in this collection are of very different periods. This, I believe, is not disputed.<sup>28</sup> The authors themselves, as we have seen, speak of newer and older hymns. So many as a thousand compositions of this description could scarcely have been produced within a very short space of time, and there is no reason to suppose that the literary activity of the ancient Hindus

27 Compare the commencement of the Bribadaranyaka Upanishad.

See Dr. Haug's own remarks (quoted above, p. 4) on the period when the hymns were composed.

was confined to the period immediately preceding the collection of the hymns. But if we are to recognize any difference of age, what hymns can we more reasonably suppose to be the oldest than those which are at once archaic in language and style, and naive and simple in the character of their conceptions? and, on the other hand, what compositions can more properly be set down as the most recent than those which manifest an advance in speculative ideas, while their language approaches to the modern Sanskrit? These latter conditions seem to be fulfilled in the Purusha Sūkta, as well as in hymns x. 71 and 72, x. 81 and 82, x. 121, and x. 129.

On this subject Mr. Colebrooke states his opinion as follows (Miscellaneous Essays i. 309, note): "That remarkable hymn (the Purusha Sūkta) is in language, metre, and style, very different from the rest of the prayers with which it is associated. It has a decidedly more modern tone; and must have been composed after the Sanscrit language had been refined, and its grammar and rhythm perfected. The internal evidence which it furnishes serves to demonstrate the important fact that the compilation of the Vedas, in their present arrangement, took place after the Sanscrit tongue had advanced from the rustic and irregular dialect in which the multitude of hymns and prayers of the Veda was composed, to the polished and sonorous language in which the mythological poems, sacred and prophane (puranas and cāryas), have been written."

Professor Max Müller expresses himself in a similar sense (Anc. Sansk. Lit., p. 570 f.): "There can be little doubt, for instance, that the 90th hymn of the 10th book . . . is modern both in its character and in its diction. It is full of allusions to the sacrificial ceremonials, it uses technical philosophical terms, it mentions the three seasons in the order of Vasanta, spring; Grishma, summer; and S'arad, autumn; it contains the only passage in the Rig-veda where the four castes are enumerated. The evidence of language for the modern date of this composition is equally strong. Grishma, for instance, the name for the hot season, does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda; and Vasanta also, the name of spring, does not belong to the earliest vocabulary of the Vedic poets. It occurs but once more in the Rig-veda (x. 161. 4), in a passage where the three seasons are mentioned in the order of S'arad, autumn; Hemanta, winter; and Vasanta, spring."

Professor Weber (Indische Studien, ix. 3) concurs in this view. He observes: "That the Purusha Sükta, considered as a hymn of the Rig-veda, is among the latest portions of that collection, is clearly perceptible from its contents. The fact that the Săma-sanhitā has not adopted any verse from it, is not without importance (compare what I have remarked in my Academical Prelections, p. 63). The Naigeya school, indeed, appears (although it is not quite certain), to have extracted the first five verses in the seventh prapāthaka of the first Archika, which is peculiar to it."

We shall see in the following chapter that the word brahman occurs but rarely in the Rig-veda Sanhita, while brahman, "a priest," from which the former is derived, is of constant occurrence. From this circumstance also, it may be reasonably concluded that the hymns in which the derivative occurs are among the latest. The same remark may be made of the word vaisya, as compared with vis."

Mr. Colebrooke's opinion of the character of the Purusha Sukta is given in the following passage of his "Miscellaneous Essays" (vol. i. p. 161, note; or p. 105 of Williams & Norgate's ed. of 1858); "I think it unnecessary to quote from the commentary the explanation of this curious passage of the Vedas as it is there given, because it does not really clucidate the sense; the allegory is for the most part sufficiently obvious.

In his tract on "on the origin of Brahmanism," p. 4, Dr. Haug thus remarks on verses 11 and 12: "Now, according to this passage, which is the most ancient and authoritative we have on the origin of Brahmanism, and caste in general, the Brahman has not come from the mouth of this primary being, the Porusha, but the mouth of the latter became the Brahmanical caste, that is to say, was transformed into it. The passage has, no doubt, an allegorical sense. Mouth is the seat of speech. The allegory thus points out that the Brahmans are teachers and instructors of mankind. The arms are the seat of strength. If the two

29 See on this subject Weber's foot-note, p. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Professor Aufrecht informs me that the word vaises does not occur in any other hymn of the Rig-veda but the Purusha Sūkta; only once in the Atharva-veda, v. 17, 9; and not at all in the Vāj. Sanh., except in the Purusha Sūkta. The same scholar remarks, as another proof of the comparatively late date of the Purusha Sūkta, that it is the only hymn which refers to the four different kinds of Yedic compositions rich, samān, chhandas, and yejush.

arms of the Purusha are said to have been made a Kshattriya (warrior), that means, then, that the Kshattriyas have to carry arms to defend the empire. That the thighs of the Purusha were transformed into the Vaisya means that, as the lower parts of the body are the principal repository of food taken; the Vaisya caste is destined to provide food for the others. The creation of the Shudra from the feet of the Purusha, indicates that he is destined to be a servant to the others, just as the foot serves the other parts of the body as a firm support."

But whether the writer of the hymn intended it to be understood allegorically or not, it conveys no distinct idea of the manner in which he supposed the four castes to have originated. It is, indeed, said that the S'ūdra sprang from Purusha's feet; but as regards the three superior castes and the members with which they are respectively connected, it is not quite clear which (i.s., the castes or the members) are to be taken as the subjects and which as the predicates, and consequently, whether we are to suppose verse 12 to declare that the three castes were the three members, or, conversely, that the three members were, or became, the three castes.

But whatever may be the sense of the passage, it is impossible to receive it as enunciating any fixed doctrine of the writers of what is called the Vedic age in regard to the origin of the four castes; since we find, if not in the mantras or hymns, at least in the Brühmanas (which, as we have seen in page 2, are esteemed by orthodox Indian writers as being equally with the hymns a part of the Veda), not only (1) texts which agree with the Purusha Sükta, but also (2) various other and discrepant accounts of the manner in which these classes were separately formed, as well as (3) third a class of narratives of the creation, in which the production of the human race is described without allusion to any primordial distinction of castes.

To the first of these classes (viz., that of texts which coincide more or less exactly with the Purusha Sūkta) belongs the following passage from the Taittirīya Sanhitā.

Sucr. II .- Quotation from the Taittiriya Sanhita, vii. 1. 1. 4 ff.

Prajāpatir akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa mukhatas trivritam niramimīta | tam Agnir devatā "nvasāyata gāyatrī chhandro rathantaram

sama brahmano manushyanam ajah pasanam | tasmat te mukhyah mukhata hy arriyanta | uraso bāhubhyām panchadašam niramimīta | tam Indro devatā 'nvasrijyata trishtup chhando brihat sāma rājanyo manushyānām avih paśūnām | tasmāt te vīryūvanto vīryūd hy asrijyanta | madhyatah saptadasam niramimita | tam Viscedevah devatah anvasrijyanta jagatī chhando vairūpam vāma vaišvo manushvānām gāvah pašūnām | tasmāt te ādyā annadhānād hy asrijyanta | tasmād bhūyāmso 'nyebhyah | bhuyishthah hi devatah angarijyanta | pattah ekavimisam niramimīta | tam anushtup chhando 'nvasrijyata vairājam sama śadro manushyanam aśvah paśunam | tasmat tau bhūta-sankraminat aśvaś chu śūdraś cha | tasmāt śūdro yajne 'navaklripto na hi devatāh anvasrijyanta | tasmāt pūdāv upajīcatah | patto hy asrijyetām | "Prajapati desired, 'may I propagate.' He formed the Trivrit (stoma) from his mouth. After it were produced the deity Agni, the metre Gayatri, the Saman (called) Rathantara, of men the Brahman, of beasts the goats. Hence they are the chief (mukhyāh), because they were created from the mouth (mukhatah). From (his) breast, from (his) arms, he formed the Panchadaśa (stoma). After it were created the god Indra, the Trishtubh metre, the Saman (called) Brihat, of men the Rajanya, of beasts the sheep. Hence they are vigorous, because they were created from vigour. From (his) middle he formed the Saptadaśa (stoma). After it were created the gods (called) the Viśvedevas, the Jagati metre, the Saman called the Vairupa, of men the Vaisya, of beasts kine. Hence they are to be eaten, because they were created from the receptacle of food. Wherefore they are more numerous than others, for the most numerous deities were created after (the Saptadasa). From his foot he formed the Ekavimsa (stoma). After it were created the Anushtubh metre, the Sāman called Vairāja, of men the Sūdru, of beasts the horse. Hence these two, both the horse and the Sudra, are transporters of (other) creatures. Hence (too) the Sudra is incapacitated for sacrifice, because no deities were created after (the Ekavimsa). Hence (too) these two subsist by their feet, for they were created from the foot."

Sect. III.—Citations from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Taittirīya

Brāhmaṇa, the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, and the Atharea-veda.

The following texts belong to the second class—i.e., that of those which recognize a distinct origination of the castes, but describe their creation differently from the Purusha Sükta:

S. P. Br. ii. 1, 4, 11 ff.—"Bhūr" iti vai Prajāpatir imām ajanayata "bhuvaḥ" ity antariksham "svar" iti divam | etāvad vai idam sarvam yāvad ime lokāḥ | sarveṇa eva ādhīyate | "bhūr" iti vai Prajāpatir brahma ajanayata "bhuvaḥ" iti kshattram "svar" iti viśam | etāvad vai idam sarvam yāvad brahma kshattram viṭ | sarveṇa eva ādhīyate | "bhūr" iti vai Prajāpatir ātmānam ajanayata "bhuvaḥ" iti prajām "svar" iti paśūn | etāvad vai idam sarvam yāvad ātmā prajāḥ paśavaḥ | sarveṇa eva ādhīyate |

"(Uttering) 'bhūḥ,' Prajāpati generated this earth. (Uttering) 'bhuvaḥ,' he generated the air, and (uttering) 'svaḥ,' he generated the sky. This universe is co-extensive with these worlds. (The fire) is placed with the whole. Saying 'bhūḥ,' Prajāpati generated the Brahman; (saying) 'bhuvaḥ," he generated the Kshattra; (and saying) 'svaḥ,' he generated the Viś. All this world is so much as the Brahman, Kshattra, and Viś. The fire is placed with the whole. (Saying) 'bhūḥ,' Prajāpati generated himself; (saying) 'bhuvaḥ' he generated offspring; (saying) 'svaḥ,' he generated animals. This world is so much as self, offspring, and animals. (The fire) is placed with the whole."

Taitt. Br. iii. 12. 9, 2 — Sarvam hedam brahmanā haiva srishţam | rigbhyo jātam raiśyam varnam āhuḥ | yajurvedam kshattriyasyāhur yonim | sāmavedo brāhmanānām prasātiḥ | pūrve pūrvebhyo vacha etad ūchuḥ |

"This entire (universe) has been created by Brahma. Men say that the Vaisya class was produced from rich-verses. They say that the Yajur-veda is the womb from which the Kshattriya was born. The Sama-veda is the source from which the Brahmans sprang. This word the ancients declared to the ancients."

To complete his account of the derivation of the castes from the

Vedas, the author had only to add that the Sūdras had sprung from the Atharvangirases (the Atharva-veda); but he perhaps considered that to assign such an origin to the servile order would have been to do it too great an honour.

Vājasaneya Sanhitā, xiv. 28 ff. (= Taittirīya Sanhitā, iv. 3, 10, 1),ekaya astuvata projah adhayanta Projapatir adhipatir astt | tisribhir astuvata brahma asrijyata Brahmanaspatir adhipatir čeit | pañchabhir asturata bhūtāny asrijyanta Bhūtanāmpatir adhipatir āsīt | saptabhir astuvata sapta rishayo 'srijyanta Dhata adhipatir asit | navabhir astuvata pitaro 'srijyanta Aditir adhipatny āsīt | ekādasabhir astuvata ritavo srijyanta ärtaväh adhipatayah üson | trayodasabhir astuvata müsü asrijyanta samvatsaro 'dhipatir äsit | pañchadasabhir astuvata kshattram asrijyata Indro 'adhipatir asit | saptadaśabhir astuvata paśavo 'sriiyanta Brikaspatir adhipatir üsīt | navadašabhir astuvata śūdrāryāv asrijystām ahorātre adhipatnī āstām | ekavimsatyā astuvata ekasaphāh pasavo 'srijyanta Varuno 'dhipatir asīt | trayovimsatya asturata kshudrah pasavo srijyanta Pūshā adhipatir asīt | panchavimsatyā astuvata aranyāh paśavo 'spijyanta Vāyur adhipatir āsīt | saptavimšatyā astuvata dyāvāprithier vyaitam | Vasavo Rudra Adityah anuvyayan | to eva adhipatayah asan | naravimsatya astuvata vanaspatayo 'srijyanta Somo 'dhipatir āsīt | ekatrimsatā astuvata projā asrijyanta yavās cha ayavās cha adkipatayah asan | trayastrimsata astucata bhutany usamyan Prajapatih Parameshthi adhipatir āsīt

"He lauded with one, Living beings were formed: Prajāpati was the ruler. He lauded with three: the Brahman (Brāhman) was created: Brahmanaspati was the ruler. He lauded with five: existing things were created: Bhūtānāmpati was the ruler. He lauded with seven: the seven rishis were created: Dhātri was the ruler. He lauded with nine: the Fathers were created: Aditi was the ruler. He lauded with eleven: the seasons were created: the Ārtavas were the rulers. He lauded with thirteen: the months were created: the year was the ruler. He lauded with fifteen: the Kshattra (the Kshattriya) was created: Indra was the ruler. He lauded with seventeen: animals were created: Brihaspati was the ruler. He lauded with nineteen: the Sūdra and the Arya (Vaišya) were created: day and night were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-one; animals with undivided hoofs were created: Varuṇa was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-three:

small animals were created: Pūshan was the ruler. He lauded with twenty-five: wild animals were created: Vāyu was the ruler (compare R.V. x. 90, 8). He lauded with twenty-seven: heaven and earth separated: Vasus, Rudras, and Ādityas separated after them: they were the rulers. He lauded with twenty-nine: trees were created: Soma was the ruler. He lauded with thirty-one: living beings were created: The first and second halves of the month a were the rulers. He lauded with thirty-one: existing things were tranquillized: Prajāpati Parameshthin was the ruler." This passage is explained in the Satapatha Brāhmana viii. 4, 3, 1 ff.

The following text is of a somewhat mystical description; but appears to intimate a distinction in nature between the different eastes corresponding to that of the gods with whom they are associated:

S. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 23 (= Brihadaranyaka Upanishad, i. 4, 11 ff. (p. 235).—Brahma vai idam agre āxīd ekam eva! tad ekam san na vyabhacat | tat śreyo rūpam aty aerijata kshattram yany etani devatra kshattrani Indro Varunah Somo Rudrah Parjanyo Yamo Mrityur Isanah iti | tasmat kshattrāt param nāsti | tasmād brāhmanah kshattriyād adhastād upāste rājasūye kshattre eva tad yašo dadhāti | sā eshā kshattrasya yonir yad brahma | tasmād yadyapi rājā paramatām gachhati brahma eva antatah upaniśrayati svām yonim | yah u ha enam hinasti svām sa yonim richhati za pāpīyān bhavati yathā śreyānsam himsitvā | 24. Sa na eva vyabhavat sa višam arrijata yūny etāni deva-jātāni gaņašah ākhyāyante vasavo rudrah adityah viśvedevah marutah iti | 25. Sa na eva vyabhavat | sa śaudram carnam asrijata pūshanam | iyam vai pūshā iyam hi idam sarvam pushyati yad idam kincha | 26. Sa na eva vyabhavat | tat śreyo rupam aty asrijata dharmam | tad etat kshattrasya kshattram yad dharmaḥ | tasmād dharmāt param nāsti | atho abaliyān baliyāmsam āsamśate dharmena yathā rājnā evam | yo vai sa dharmah satyam vai tat | tasmāt satyam vadantam āhur "dharmam vadati" iti | dharmam vā

<sup>31</sup> The Taittiriya Sanhitāl reads yōvāḥ and ayōvāḥ (instead of yōvāḥ and ayōvāḥ as in the Yājasaneyī Sanhitā) and in another passage, v. 3, 4, 6 (as I learn from Prof. Aufrecht), explains those terms to mean respectively meaths and half months (māsā rai yōvāḥ ardhamāsāḥ ayōvāḥ), whilst the commentator on the V. S. understands them to mean the first and second halves of the month, in accordance with the S.P. B. viii. 4, 3, 18, and viii. 4, 2, 11 (pūreapakshā vai yavāḥ aparapaksha ayavāḥ | te hi idam sarvam yavato chāywoato chap | Prof. Aufrecht also points out that yōva is explained in Kātvayana's S'rauta Sūtras, iv. 11, 8, as equivalent to yavamayam apūpam, "a cake of barley."

vadantam "satyam vadati" iti | etad hy eva etad ubhayam bhavati | 27. Tad etad brahma kshattram viţ śūdrah | tad Agninā eva deveshu brahmābhavad brāhmano manushyeshu kshattriyena kshattriyo vaiśyena vaiśyah śūdrena śūdrah | tasmād Agnāv eva deveshu lokam ichhante brāhmane manushyeshu | etābhyām hi rūpabhyām brahma abhavat |

23. " Brahma (here, according to the commentator, existing in the form of Agni, and representing the Brahman caste 22) was formerly this (universe), one only. Being one, it did not develope. It energetically created an excellent form, the Kshattra, viz., those among the gods who are powers (kshattrāni), Indra, Varuna, Soma, Rudra, Parjanya, Yama, Mrityu, İśana. Hence nothing is superior to the Kshattra. Therefore the Brahman sits below the Kshattriya at the rajasuya-sacrifice; he confers that glory on the Kshattra (the royal power).30 This, the Brahma, is the source of the Kshattra. Hence, although the king attains supremacy, he at the end resorts to the Brahma as his source. Whoever destroys him (the Brahman) destroys his own source. He becomes most miserable, as one who has injured a superior. 24. He did not develope. He created the Vis-viz., those classes of gods who are designated by troops, Vasus, Rudras, Adityas, Viśvedevas, Maruts. 25. He did not develope. He created the Südra class, Püshan. This earth is Püshan: for she nourishes all that exists. 26. He did not develope. He energetically created an excellent form, Justice (Dharma). This is the ruler (kshattra) of the ruler (kshattra), namely, Justice. Hence nothing is superior to justice. Therefore the weaker seeks (to overcome) the stronger by justice, as by a king. This justice is truth. In consequence they say of a man who speaks truth, 'he speaks

21 Atra yad ötma-iabdenoktam rrashtri Brahma tad Agnim rrishtoü agre Agni-rupāpanuam Brühmana-jāty-abhimānavad asmin cākye Brahma-sabdenābhidhīyate |

This rendering of the last few words is suggested by Professor Aufrecht. The commentators understand them to mean that the Brāhmans give the king their own glory (that of being a Brahman): and they refer to a formula by which at the rājasūyasacrīfice the king, after addressing the priest as Brāhman, is addressed in return with the word "Thou, king, art a Brāhmān" (teaār rējan brahmānī), etc. See the Taittirīya Sanhitā i. S. 16, 1, where the commentator remarks. "As in common life domestic priests and others, sitting below a king seated on his throne after his return from conquering a foreign territory, address him with many benedictions and culogies, so bere too service is presented. By this benedictory service the power of cursing and showing kindness existing in the Brāhmans is transferred to the king." Reference is then made to the passage before us, as noticing this custom.

justice; or of a man who is uttering justice, he speaks truth. For this is both of these. 27. This is the Brahma, Kshattra, Viá, and Südra. Through Agni it became Brahma among the gods, the Brahman among men, through the (divine) Kshattriya a (human) Kshattriya, through the (divine) Vaisya a (human) Vaisya, through the (divine) Südra a (human) Südra. Wherefore it is in Agni among the gods and in a Brahman among men, that they seek after an abode."

Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, i. 2, 6, 7.—Daivyo vai varno brāhmaṇaḥ | asuryyo śūdrah. "The Brāhman caste is sprung from the gods; the Sūdra from the Asuras."

Taittiriya Brāhmana, iii. 2, 3, 9.—Kāmam eva dāru-pātrena duhyāt | śūdraḥ eva na duhyāt | asato vai esha sambhūto yat śūdraḥ | ahavir eva tad ity āhur yat śūdra dogdhi iti | agnihotram eva na duhyāt śūdraḥ | tad hi na utpunanti | yadā khalu vai pavitram atyeti atha tad havir iti | "Let him at his will milk out with a wooden dish. But let not a Sūdra milk it out. For this Sūdra has sprung from non-existence. They say that that which a Sūdra milks out is no oblation. Let not a Sūdra milk out the Agnihotra. For they do not purify that. When that passes beyond the filter, then it is an oblation."

Atharva-veda, iv. 6, 1.—Brāhmaņo jajne prathamo dašašīrsho dasāsyaḥ | sa somam prathamaḥ papau sa chakārārasam visham | "The Brāhman was born the first, with ten heads and ten faces. He first drank the soma; he made poison powerless."

As the description (which is, perhaps, a fragment of a longer account), stops short here, we are left in the dark as to the author's ideas about the creation of the other castes. It would have interested us to know how many heads and faces he would have assigned to the other three castes. The student of Indian poetry is aware that the giant Rāvana is represented in the Rāmāyana both as a Brāhman and as having ten heads.

As implying a separate origination of the Rajanya caste, the following text also may find a place here:

Taittirīya Sanhitā, ii. 4, 13, 1.—Devā vai rājanyāj jāyamānād abibhayuḥ | tam antar eva santam dāmnā 'paumbhan | sa vai esho 'pobdho jāyate yad rājanyo | yad vai esho 'napobdho jāyeta vrittrān ghams charet | yam kāmayeta rājanyam "anapobdho jāyeta vrittrān ghams chared" iti tasmai etam aindrā-bārhaspatyam charum nirvapet | aindro vai rājanyo brahma Bṛihaspatiḥ | brahmaṇā eva enam dāmno 'pombhanād munchati | hiraṇmayam dāma dakshiṇā sākshād eva enam damno 'pombhanād munchati | "The gods were afraid of the Rājanya when he was in the womb. They bound him with bonds when he was in the womb. Consequently this Rājanya is born bound. If he were born unbound he would go on slaying his enemies. In regard to whatever Rājanya any one desires that he should be born unbound, and should go on slaying his enemies, let him offer for him this Aindra-Bārhaspatya oblation. A Rājanya has the character of Indra, and a Brahman is Bṛihaspati. It is through the Brahman that anyone releases the Rājanya from his bond. The golden bond, a gift, manifestly releases from the bond that fetters him."

In the following text of the Atharva-veda, xv. 8, 1, a new account is given of the origin of the Rajanyas:

So 'rajyata tato rajanyo 'jayata |

"He (the Vratya) became filled with passion: thence sprang the Rajanya."

And in the following paragraph (A. V. xv. 9, 1 ff) we have the same origin ascribed to the Brahman also:

Tad yasya evam vidvan vratyo rajno'tithir grihan agachhet éreyamzam enam atmano manayet | tatha kehattraya navriéchate tatha rashtraya navriéchate | ato vai brahma cha kehattram cha udatiehthatam | te abratam "kam praviéava" iti |

"Let the king to whose house the Vrātya who knows this, comes as a guest, cause him to be respected as superior to himself. So doing he does no injury to his royal rank, or to his realm. From him arose the Brahman (Brāhman) and the Kshattra (Kshattriya). They said, 'Into whom shall we enter,' etc."

Suct. IV. — Further Quotations from the Taittiriya Brahmana, Sanhito, and Āranyaka, and from the Satapatha Brahmana.

The following passages belong to the third of the classes above adverted to, as in the descriptions they give of the creation, while they refer to the formation of men, they are silent on the subject of any separate origination of castes:

Taittirīya Brāhmana, ii. 3, 8, 1.—Prajāpatir akāmayata "prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvan abhavat | sa haritah śyavo 'bhavat | tasmāt strī antarvatnī karinī satī šyāvā bhavati | sa vijāyamāno garbhena atamyat | sa tantah krishna-syaco 'bhavat | tasmat tantah krishnah śyāvo bhacati | tasya asur oca ajīvat | 2. Tena asunā asurān asrijata | tad asurānam asuratvam | ya evam asurānām asuratvam veda asumān eva bhavati | na enam asur jahāti | so 'surān spishţeā pitā iva amanyata | tad anu pitrīn asrijata | tat pitrīnām pitritvam | ya evam pitrīnām pitriteam veda pitā iea eva scānām bhavati (3) yanty asya pitaro havam | sa pitrīn spiskţeā 'manasyat | tad anu manushyan aspijata | tad manushyanam manushyatvam | yah evam manushyanam manushyatvam ceda manasvī eva bhavati na enam manur jahāti | tasmai manushyān sasrijānaya divā devatrā abhavat | tad anu devān asrijata | tad devānām devatvam | ya evam devănăm devatvam veda divă ha eva asya devatră bhavati | tāni vai etāni chatvāri ambhāmsi devāh manushyāh pitaro 'surāh | teshu sarveshu ambho nabhah iva bhavati |

"Prajapati desired, 'may I propagate.' He practised austerity. He became pregnant. He became yellow-brown.34 Hence a woman when pregnant, beingy ellow, becomes brown. Being pregnant with a foetus, he became exhausted. Being exhausted, he became blackish-brown. Hence an exhausted person becomes blackish-brown. His breath became alive. 2. With that breath (asu) he created Asuras. Therein consists the Asura-nature of Asuras. He who thus knows this Asuranature of Asuras becomes a man possessing breath. Breath does not forsake him. Having created the Asuras, he regarded himself as a father. After that he created the Fathers (Pitris). That constitutes the fatherhood of the Fathers. He who thus knows the fatherhood of the Fathers, becomes as a father of his own: (3) the Fathers resort to his oblation. Having created the Fathers, he reflected. After that he created men. That constitutes the manhood of men. He who knows the manhood of men, becomes intelligent. Mind 35 does not forsake him. To him, when he was creating mon, day appeared in the heavens. After that he created the gods. This constitutes the godhead of the gods. To him who thus knows the godhead of the gods, day appears in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Nīta-iveta-miira-rargaņ, "of a mixed blue and white colour," says the Commentator.

<sup>15</sup> Manuh - manana-iaktih, "the power of thinking." Comm.

the heavens. These are the four streams, wiz., gods, men, Fathers, and Asuras. In all of these water is like the air."

Sataputha Brahmana, vii. 5, 2, 6.—Prajāpatir vai idam agre dsīdekah eta | so 'kāmayata "annam srijeya prajāyeya" iti | sa prānebhyah eva adhi paśūn niramimīta manasah purusham chakshusho 'śvam prānād gām śrotrādavim vācho 'jam | tad yad enān prānebhyo 'dhi niramimīta tasmād āhuh "prānāh paśavah" iti | mano vai prānānām prathamam | tad yad manasah purusham niramimīta tasmād āhuh "purushah prathamah paśūnām vīryyavattamah" iti | mano vai sarve prānāh | manasi hi sarve prānāh pratishthitāh | tad yad manasah purusham niramimīta tasmād āhuh "purushah sarve paśavah" iti | purushasya hy ete sarve bhavanti |

"Prajāpati was formerly this (universe), one only. He desired, 'let me create food, and be propagated.' He formed animals from his breaths, a man from his soul, a horse from his eye, a bull from his breath, a sheep from his ear, a goat from his voice. Since he formed animals from his breaths, therefore men say, 'the breaths are animals.' The soul is the first of the breaths. Since he formed a man from his soul, therefore they say, 'man is the first of the animals, and the strongest.' The soul is all the breaths; for all the breaths depend upon the soul. Since he formed man from his soul, therefore they say, 'man is all the animals;' for all these are man's."

S. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, 1 (= Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, p. 125).—Ātmā eva idam agre āsīt purusha-vidhah | so'nuvīkshya na anyad ātmano'paśyat | "so'ham asmi" ity agre vyāharat | tato'ham-nāmā abhavat | tasmād apy etarhy āmantrito "ham ayam" ity eva agre uktvā atha anyad nāma prabrūte yad asya bhavati | 2. Sa yat pūrvo'smāt sarvasmāt sarvān pāpmanah aushat tasmāt purushah | oshati ha vai sa tam yo'smāt pūrvam bubhūshati yah evam vēda | 3. So'bibhet | tasmād ekākī bibheti |

The Commentary not very satisfactorily explains this as meaning, "All these four abodes of the gods, etc., are like waters—i.e., suited to yield enjoyment, as ponds, rivers, etc., are fit for bathing, drinking," etc. The phrase is repeated in the Vishgu Purāga, i. 5 (vol. i., p. 79, of Dr. Hall's edition); and in his note Professor Wilson says ambhāmsi "is also a peculiar and probably a mystic term." It is explained in the Vāyu Purāga, as will be seen further on. The last words of the quotation from the Brāhmaṇa are obscure. In another passage of the same work [iii. 8, 18, 1, 2) the terms ambhas, nabhas, and mahas, are declared to denote respectively "earth," "air," and "sky" (... ayam vai loko 'mbhāmsi ... antariksham vai nabhāmsi ... asun vai loko mahāmsi).

sa ha ayam īkshānchakre yad "mad anyad nāsti kasmād nu bībhemi" iti | tatah eva asya bhayam vīyāya | kasmād hy abheshyat | dvitīyād vai bhayam bhavati | 4. Sa vai naiva reme | tasmād ekākī na ramate | sa dvitīyam aichhat | sa ha etāvān āsa yathā strī-pumāmsau samparishvaktau | 5. Sa imām eva ātmānam dvedhā 'pātayat | tatah patih patnī cha abhavatām | tasmād "idam ardhavrigalam iva evah" iti ha sma āha Yājnavalkyah | tasmād ākāšah striyā pūryats eva | tām samabhavat | tato manushyāh ajāyanta | 6. Sā u ha iyam īkshānchakre "katham nu mā ātmanah eva janayitvā sambhavati hanta tiro 'sāni' iti | 7. Sā gaur abhavat vrishabhah itaras tām sam eva abhavat | tato gāvah ajāyanta | 8. Vadavā itarā abhavad aśvavrishah itarah gardabhī itarā gardabhah itaras tām sam eva abhavat | tatah ekaśapham ajāyata | 9. Ajā itarā abhavad vastah itarah avir itarā meshah itarah | tām sam eva abhavat tato 'jāvayo 'jāyanta | evam eva yad idam kincha mithunam ā pippīlikābhyas tat sarvam asrijata | 17

"This universe was formerly soul only, in the form of Purusha. Looking closely, he saw nothing but himself (or soul). He first said, 'This is I.' Then he became one having the name of I. Hence even now a man, when called, first says, 'this is I,' and then declares the other name which he has. 2. Inasmuch as he, before ( pūrcah) all this, burnt up (aushat) all sins, he (is called) purusha. The man who knows this burns up the person who wishes to be before him. 3. He was afraid. Hence a man when alone is afraid. This (being) considered that 'there is no other thing but myself: of what am Lafraid?' Then his fear departed. For why should he have feared? It is of a second person that people are afraid. 4. He did not enjoy happiness. Hence a person when alone does not enjoy happiness. He desired a second. He was so much as a man and a woman when locked in embrace. 5. He caused this same self to fall asunder into two parts. Thence arose a husband and a wife.38 Hence Yajvanalkya has said that 'this one's self is like the half " of a split pea.' Hence the void is filled up by

<sup>37</sup> This passage has been already translated by Mr. Colebrooke, Essays i. 64, as well as by Dr. Roer, in the Bibliotheca Indica.

<sup>38</sup> Manu and S'atarupa, according to the Commentator.

<sup>20</sup> Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 3, 5. Atho arddho vai esha atmano yat patnī | "Now a wife is the half of one's self;" and ibid. iii. 3, 3, 1: Ayajno rai esha yo 'patnīkah | na prajāḥ prajāyeran | "The man who has no wife is unfit to sacrifice. No children will be born to him." We must not, however, suppose from these passages that the

woman." He cohabited with her. From them MEN were born. 6. She reflected, 'how does he, after having produced me from himself, cohabit with me? Ah! let me disappear.' 7. She became a cow, and the other a bull; and he cohabited with her. From them kine were produced. 8. The one became a mare, the other a stallion, the one a she-ass, the other a male-ass. He cohabited with her. From them the class of animals with undivided hoofs was produced. The one became a she-goat, the other a he-goat, the one a ewe, the other a ram. He cohabited with her. From them goats and sheep were produced. In this manner pairs of all creatures whatsoever, down to ants, were created."

The next passage describes men as descendants of Vivasvat, or the Sun, without specifying any distinction of classes:

Taittiriya Sanhita vi. 5, 6, 1 f .- Aditih putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchehheshanam adaduh | tat praśnät sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai chatvārah Adityāh ajāyanta | sā dvitīyam apachat | sa 'manyata " uchchheshanad me ime 'jhata | yad agre prasishyami ito me casīyāmso janishyante" iti | sā 'gre prāšnāt sā reto 'dhatta tasyai vyriddham andam ajayata | sa Adityebhyah eca tritiyam apachat "bhogāya me idam śrantam asto" iti | te'brucan " caram vrinamahai yo'to jayatai asmākam sa eko 'sat | yo 'sya prajāyām ridhyātai asmākam bhogāya bhavad" iti | tato Vicawan Adityo 'jayata | tasya vai iyam praja yad manushyāh | tāsv ekah eva riddho yo yajate sa decānām bhogāya bhavati |

"Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation for the gods the Sadhyas. They gave her the remnant of it. This she ate. She conceived seed. Four Adityas were born to her. She cooked a second (oblation). She reflected, 'from the remains of the oblation these sons have been born to me. If I shall cat (the oblation) first, more brilliant

estimation in which women were held by the authors of the Brahmanas was very high, as there are other texts in which they are spoken of disparagingly; such as the following: Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 8, 2.—Sa somo natishthata strībhyo grihyamaņah | tam ghritam vajram kritva 'ghnan tam nirindriyanı bhütam agrihnan | tamat striyo nirindriya adayadir api papat pumsa upastitaram vadanti | "Soma did not abide, when being poured out to women. Making that butter a thunderbolt they smote it. They poured it out when it had become powerless. Hence women, powerless, and portionless, speak more humbly than even a poor man." (Compare the quotation in the Commentary on the Taitt. Sanhita, Vol. i. p. 996.) Taitt. Sanh. vi. 5, 10, 3. Tasmöt striyam jātām parāsyanti ut pumāmsam haranti | "Hence they reject a female (child) when born, and take up a male." (Compare Nirukta, iii. 4.)

40 Compare Taitt. Br. iii. 3, 10, 4. Prajayo hi monushyah purnah, " For by offspring a man is completed."

(sons) will be born to me. She ate it first; she conceived seed; an imperfect egg was produced from her. She cooked a third (oblation) for the Ādityas, (repeating the formula) 'may this religious toil have been undergone for my enjoyment.' The Ādityas said, 'Let us choose a boon: let any one who is produced from this be ours only; let anyone of his progeny who is presperous be for us a source of enjoyment.' In consequence the Āditya Vivasvat was born. This is his progeny, namely men." Among them he alone who sacrifices is prosperous, and becomes a cause of enjoyment to the gods."

The passages next following do not specify separately the creation of men (who must, however, be understood as included along with other beings under the designation prajah, "offspring," or "creatures,") and therefore afford less distinct evidence that their authors did not hold the fourfold origin of mankind.

The first of these extracts is especially interesting, both on account of its own tenor, and because (along with Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 1 ff. quoted in p. 23) it contains the germ of one of the Puranic accounts of the creation which will be adduced in a subsequent section.

Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 1 ff.—Idam vai agre naiva kinchana āsīt | na dyaur āsīd na prithivī na antariksham | tad asad eva sad mano 'kuruta " syām ' iti | tad atapyata | tasmāt tapanād dhūmo 'jāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata tasmāt tapanād Agnir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | 2. Tasmāt tapanāj jyotir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād archir ajāyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tasmāt tapanād archir ajāyata | tasmāt tapanād udārāḥ ajāyanta | tad bhūyo 'tapyata | tad abhram iva

<sup>41</sup> Compare Tuitt. Br. i. 8, 8, 1. Ādityāḥ vai prajāḥ, "Creatures are descended from Aditi."

<sup>43</sup> This story is told also, but with more detail of names and somewhat differently, in Taitt. Br. i. 1, 9, 10 ff... Aditih putrakāmā sādhyebhyo devebhyo brahmaudanam apachat | tasyai uchchheshanam adaduh | tat prāināt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Dhātā cha Aryamā cha ajāyetām | sā dvitīyam apachat tasyai uchchheshanam adaduh | tat prāināt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Mitras cha Farmasi cha ajāyetām | sā tritīyam apachat | tasyai uchchheshanam adaduh | tat prāināt | sā reto 'dhatta | tasyai Amtaicha Bhagai cha ajāyetām | sā chaturtham apachat | taysai uchchheshanam adaduh | tat prāināt | sā reto 'dhatta tasyai Indras' cha Vicaseāmi cha ajāyetām | sa Aditi, desirous of sons, cooked a Brahmaudana oblation to the gods the Sādhyi and They gave her the remnant of it. She does the same thing a second time, when she bears Mitra and Varuna,—a third time, when she bears Añsa and Bhaga,—and a fourth time, when she bears Indra and Vivasvat.

samahanyata | tad vastim abhinat | 3. Sa samudro 'bhavat | tasmāt samudranya na pibanti | prajananam isa hi manyante | tannat pasor jayamanad āpah purastād yanti | tad dašahotā anvasrijyata | Prajāpatir vai dašahotā | yah evam tapaso vīryyam vidvāms tapyate bhavaty eva | tad val idam apah salilam asīt | so 'rodīt Prajapatih (4) " sa kasmai ajūi yady asyapratishthayah" iti | yad apsv avapadyata sa prithicy abhavat | yad vyamrishta tad antariksham abhavat | yad ürdhvam udamrishta sa dyaur abhavat | yad arodit tad anayoh rodastvam | 5. Yah evam veda na asya grihe rudanti | etad vai eshām lokānām janma | ya evam eshām lokānām janma veda na eshu lokesho arttim archhati | sa imam pratishtham avindata | sa imām pratishthām vittvā akāmayata " prajāyeya " iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarean abhavat | sa jaghanad asuran asrijata | 6. Tebhyo mrinmaye pätre 'nnam aduhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | sā tamisrā 'bhavat | so 'kāmayata " prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata | so 'ntarvan abhacat | sa projananad eva projah asrijata | tasmad imah bhūyishthāḥ | prajananād hy enāḥ asrijata | 7. Tābhyo dārumaye pātre payo 'duhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt tām apāhata | sa jyotsnā 'bhavat ] so 'kāmayata " prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo 'tapyata so 'ntarcan abhavat | sa upapakshābhyām eva ritūn asrijata | tebhyo rajate pātre ghritam aduhat | yā asya sā tanūr āsīt (8) tām apāhata | so'ho-rātrayoh sandhir abhavat | so 'kāmayata " prajāyeya" iti | sa tapo'tapyata | so 'ntarvān abhavat | sa mukhād devān asrijata | tebhyo harite pātre somam aduhat | yā asya sā tanür üsit täm apühata | tad ahar abhavat | 9. Ete vai Prajapater dohāh | ya evam veda duhe eva prajāḥ | "divā vai no 'bhūd" iti tad devānām devatram | ya evam devanam devatram veda devavan eva bhavati | etad vai aho-rātrāṇām janma | ya evam aho-rātrāṇām janma veda na aho-rātreshu ārttim ārchhati | 10. Asato 'dhi mano 'srijyata | manah Prajāpatim asrijata | Prajapatih prajah asrijata | tad vai idam manasy eva paramam pratishthitam yadidam kincha | tad etat ścorosyasam nama Brahma | vyuchhantī vyuchhantī asmai vasyasī vasyasī vyuchhati prajāyate prajavā paśubnik pra parameshthino matram apnoti ya evam veda |

"At first this (universe) was not anything. There was neither sky, nor earth, nor air. Being non-existent, it resolved 'let me be.' It became fervent." From that fervour smoke was produced. It again

<sup>43</sup> The word thus rendered is atapyata, which has the sense of "being heated" as well as "practising austere abstraction." I have purposely given an equivocal rendering, which may bear either sense.

became fervent. From that fervour fire was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour light was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour flame was produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour rays were produced. It again became fervent. From that fervour blazes " were produced. It again became fervent. It became condensed like a cloud. It clove its bladder. That became the sea. Hence men do not drink of the sea. For they regard it as like the place of generation. Hence water issues forth before an animal when it is being born. After that the Dasahotri (a particular formula) was created. Prajapati is the Dasahotri. That man succeeds, who thus knowing the power of austere abstraction (or fervour), practises it. This was then water, fluid. Prajāpati wept, (exclaiming), (4) 'For what purpose have I been born, if (I have been born) from this which forms no support?" That which fell into the waters became the earth. That which he wiped away, became the air. That which he wiped away, upwards, became the sky. From the circumstance that he wept (arodit), these two regions have the name of rodasi, (worlds). 5. They do not weep in the house of the man who knows this. This was the birth of these worlds. He who thus knows the birth of these worlds, incurs no suffering in these worlds. He obtained this (earth as a) basis. Having obtained (this earth as a) basis, he desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created Asuras from his abdomen. 6. To them he milked out food in an earthen dish. He cast off that body of his. It became darkness.42 He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised

<sup>44</sup> Such is the sense the commentator gives to the word wildrah, which he makes — wivana-jeātāh. Professor Roth (s. v.) explains the word as meaning "fogs."

<sup>43</sup> This is the mode of rendering suggested to me by Professor Aufrecht. After "if" the Commentator supplies the words—" from this non-existing earth I can create no living creature."

<sup>44 &</sup>quot;Prajapati's tears," etc., according to the commentator.

<sup>47</sup> Compare S. P. Br. xi. 1, 6, 8: Athe yo'yam avan pranas tena asuran asrijata | te imam esa prithicim abhipadya asrijyanta | tamai sasrijanaya tamah isa asa | 9. So'vet" papmanan cai asrikkhi yasmai me sasrijanaya tamah isa abhid" iti | tama tatah esa papmana 'cidhyat | tatah esa te parabhavann ityadi | "Then he created the Asuras from this lower breath of his. It was only after reaching this earth that they were created. On him, as he continued to create, darkness fell. 9. He understood, 'I have created misery, since darkness has fallen upon me as I was creating.' Then he pierced them with misery, and they in consequence succumbed," etc. The word rendered in the text by "cast off" is applied in Taitt. Sanh. i. 5, 4, 1, to serpents

austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created living beings (prajah) from his organ of generation. Hence they are the most numerous because he created them from his generative organ. 8. To them he milked out milk in a wooden dish. He cast off that body of his! It became moon-light. He desired, 'May I be propagated. He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the seasons from his armpits. To them he milked out butter in a silver dish. He cast off that body of his. It became the period which connects day and night. He desired, 'May I be propagated.' He practised austere fervour. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his mouth.40 To them he milked out Soma in a golden dish. He cast off that body of his. It became day. 9. These are Prajapati's milkings. He who thus knows milks out offspring. 'Day (diva) has come to us:' this (exclamation expresses) the godhead of the gods. He who thus knows the godhead of the gods, obtains the gods. is the birth of days and nights. He who thus knows the birth of days and nights, incurs no suffering in the days and nights. 10. Mind (or soul, manas,) was created from the non-existent. Mind created Prajāpati. Prajāpati created offspring. All this, whatever exists, rests absolutely on mind. This is that Brahma called Svovasyasa. For the man who thus knows, (Ushas), dawning, dawning, dawns more and more bright; he becomes prolific in offspring, and (rich) in cattle; he obtains the rank of Parameshthin."

S. P. Br. vi. 1, 2, 11.—Atho āhuḥ | "Projāpatir eva imān lokān srishtvā prithivyām pratyatishthat | tasmai imāḥ oshadhayo 'nnam apachyanta | tad āśnāt | sa garbhī abhavat | sa ūrdhvebhyaḥ eva prānebhyo devān asrijata | ye 'vāŭchaḥ prāṇās tebhyo martyāḥ prajāḥ" iti | yatamathā 'srijata tathā 'srijata | Prajāpatis tv eva idam sarvam asrijata yad idam kiñcha |

"Wherefore they say, 'Prajāpati, having created these worlds, was shedding their old skins (sarpāḥ vai jīryanto 'manyanta . . . tato vai to jīrnās tanūr apūghnata).

49 Compare S. P. Br. xi. 1, 6, 7, quoted in the 4th Vol. of this work, p. 22 f.
49 The Commentator explains this word to mean "that which each succeeding day
becomes transcendently excellent (uttavottava-time vasiyo 'tisayena ireshthms). Here,
he says, the highest and absolute Brahma is not meant, but mind, which has the form
of Brahma, and, by means of the series of its volitions, is every successive moment

of Brahma, and, by means of the series of its volutions, is every successive moment more and more world-creating" (sankaipa-paramparayā pratikshanam uttarottarādhika-jagat-srashfritvād īdrig-Brahma-rupatvād manah praiastam) supported upon the earth. For him these herbs were cooked as food. That (food) he atc. He became pregnant. He created the gods from his upper vital airs, and mortal offspring from his lower vital airs. In whatever way he created, so he created. But Prajāpati created all this, whatever exists."

S. P. Br. x. 1, 3, 1.—Prajāpatiķ prajāķ asrijata | sa ūrdhvebkyaķ eva prāmebkyo devān asrijata | ye 'vaūchaķ prāmās tebkyo martyāķ prajāķ | atha ūrdhvam eva mrityum prajābkyo 'ttāram asrijata |

"Prajāpati created living beings. From his upper vital airs he created the gods; from his lower vital airs mortal creatures. Afterwards he created death a devourer of creatures."

Taitt. Ar. i. 23, 1. - Apo vai idam asan salilam eva | sa Prajapatir ekah pushkara-parne samabharat | tasya antar manasi kamah samacarttata "idam arijeyam" ili | tasmād yad purusho manasā 'bhigachhali tad vächä vadati tat karmanā karoti | tad eshā 'bhyanūktā '' kāmas tad agre samavarttatādhi | manaso retah prathamam yad āsīt | 2. Sato bandhum asati niravindan hridi pratishyā kavayo manīshā" iti | upa evam tad upanamati yat-kamo bhavati yah evam veda | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa tapas taptva šurīrom adhūnuta | tasya yad māmsam āsīt tato 'ruņāh Ketavo Vātaraśanah rishayah udatishthan | 3. Ye nokhas te Vaikhanasah | ye balas te Balakhilyah | yo rasah so 'pam antaratah kurmam bhutam sarpantam tam abravit "mama vai tvan-mämsä samabhut" | 4. "na" ity abravit " pürvam evo aham iha äsam" iti | tat purushasya purushatvam iti | so "sahasra-šīrshā purushah sahasrākshah sahasra-pūd" bhūtvā udatishthat | tam abravit "team ve (sic. me or vai?) purvain samabhut team idam pūrvah kurushea" iti | sa itah ādāya apo (5) 'njalinā purastād upādadhāt " ova hy eva" iti | tatah Adityah udatishthat | sa prachi dik | atha Arunah Ketur dakshinatah upadadhad "eva hy Agne" iti | tato vai Agnir udatishthat | sū dakshinā dik | atha Arunah Ketuh paschād upādadhād " evā hi Vāyo" iti | 6. Tato Vāyur udatishthat | sā pratīchī dik | atha Arunah Ketur uttaratah upādadhād "evā hi Indra" iti | tato vai Indrah udatishthat | sa udichi dik | atha Arunah Kelur madhye upadadhād "evā hi Pāshann" iti | tato vai Pāshā udatishthat | sā iyam dik | 7. Atha Armah Ketur uparishtad upadodhad "eva hi devah" iti | tato dera-manushyah pitaro gandharrapsarasas cha udatishthan | sa ardhvā dik | yāh viprusho vi parāpatan tābhyo 'surāh rakshāmsi pišachāścha udatishthan | tasmat te parabhasan viprudbhyo'hi samabhasan | taa

eshā bhyanūktā (8) "āpo ha yad brihatīr garbham āyan daksham dadhānāḥ janayantīh svayambhūm | tataḥ ime 'dhyasrijyanta sargāḥ | adbhyo vai idam samabhūt | tasmād idam sarvam Brahma svayambhv" iti | tasmād idam sarvam šithīlam iva adhruvam iva abhavat | Prajāpatir vāva tat | ātmanā ātmānam vidhāya tad eva anuprāvišat | tad eshā 'bhyanūktā (9) "vidhāya lokān vidhāya bhūtāni vidhāya sarvāḥ pradišo dišašcha | Prajāpatiḥ prathamajāḥ ritasya ātmanā "tmānam abhisamviveša" iti |

"This was water, fluid. Prajāpati alone was produced on a lotusleaf. Within, in his mind, desire arose, 'Let me create this.' Hence whatever a man aims at in his mind, he declares by speech, and performs by act.50 Hence this verse has been uttered, 'Desire formerly arose in it, which was the primal germ of mind, (2) (and which) sages, searching with their intellect, have discovered in the heart as the bond between the existent and the non-existent' (R. V. x. 129, 4). That of which he is desirous comes to the man who thus knows. He practised austere fervour. Having practised austere fervour, he shook his body. From its flesh the rishis (called) Arunas, Ketus, and Vātaraśanas arose. His nails became the Vaikhānasas, his hairs the Bālakhilyas. The fluid (of his body became) a tortoise moving amid the waters.10 He said to him, 'Thou hast sprung from my skin and flesh.' 4. 'No,' replied the tortoise, 'I was here before.' In that (in his having been 'before' purvam) consists the manhood of a man (purusha). Becoming 'a man (purusha) with a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet'

so Compare Taitt. S. vi. 3, 10, 4, (quoted by Roth. s. v. abhigam) yad vai hridayena abhigachhati taj jihvaya vadati |

31 They are mentioned again in Taitt. Ar. i. 24, 4. See Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon s.v. Keta (where the Aruna Ketus are stated to be a sort of superior beings or demons); Arthurva-veda, xi. 10, 2; Weber's Indische Studien, ii. 177; and the verse of the M. Blt. xii. 774: Arunah Ketavās chaica scödhāyena diocān gatāh | " By sacred study the Arunas and Ketus have ascended to heaven."

32 The Sanskrit scholar will observe that the text here is rather obscure. It is either

corrupt, elliptical, or grammatically irregular."

All Here the Sanskrit, if it be not corrupt, must be irregular and incorrect. On the style of the Aranyakas, see Mr. E. B. Cowell's Preface to the Kaushitaki Upanishad, p. viii., where it is remarked: "The Aranyakas appear to belong to a class of Sanskrit writings, whose history has not yet been thorougly investigated. Their style, if we may judge from that of the Taittiriya and Kaushitaki, is full of strange solecisms which sometimes half remind us of the gathas of the Lalita Vistara. The present Upanishad has many peculiar forms, some of which are common to both recensions, while others appear only in one. Such are: nishincha, in p. 10; praiti for prayanti, in p. 51; samveiyan, in p. 56; veti for vyeti, in p. 78; addidham, in p. 89, etc."

(R.V. x. 90, 1), he arose. Prajāpati said to him, 'Thou wert produced before me: do thou first make this.' He took water from this (5) in the cavity of his two hands, and placed it on the east, repeating the text, 'so Be it, o Sun.'44 From thence the sun arose. That was the eastern quarter. Then Aruna Ketu placed (the water) to the south, saying, 'so be it,' o Agni.' Thence Agni arose. That was the southern quarter. Then Aruna Ketu placed (the water) to the west, saying 'so be it, o Vayu.' 6. Thence arose Vayu. That was the western quarter. Then Aruna Ketu placed (the water) to the north, saying 'so be it, o Indra.' Thence arose Indra. That is the northern quarter. Then Aruna Ketu placed (the water) in the centre, saying 'so be it, o Pushan.' Thence arose Pushan. That is this quarter. 7. Then Aruna Ketu placed (the water) above, saying 'so be it, o gods.' Thence arose gods, MEN, fathers, Gandharvas and Apsarases. That is the upper quarter. From the drops which fell apart arose the Asuras, Rakshases, and Piśachas. Therefore they perished, because they were produced from drops. Hence this text has been uttered; (8) when the great waters became pregnant, containing wisdom, and generating Svayambhu, from them were created these creations. All this was produced from the waters. Therefore all this is Brahma Svayambhu.' Hence all this was as it were loose, as it were unsteady. Prajāpati was that. Having made himself through himself, he entered into that. Wherefore this verse has been uttered; (9) 'Having formed the world, having formed existing things and all intermediate quarters and quarters, Prajapati, the firstborn of the ceremonial, entered into himself with himself." "

From an examination of the legends contained in the Brühmanas, of which some specimens have just been given, it appears (1) that they are generally, if not always, adduced, or invented, with the view of showing the origin, or illustrating the efficacy, of some particular ceremony which the writer wished to explain or recommend; (2) that the accounts which they supply of Prajāpati's creative operations are

bi The formula is in the original era hy era. The Commentator says that the first word means "objects of desire to be obtained," and that the second era signifies "the moving (Sun);" the sense of the entire formula being, "Thou, o Sun, art thyself all objects of desire." The six formulas here introduced had previously occurred at the close of a preceding section, i. 20, 1.

various and even inconsistent; and (3) that they are the sources of many of the details which are found in a modified form in the cosmogonies of the Puranas.

When we discover in the most ancient Indian writings such different and even discrepant accounts of the origin of man, all put forth with equal positiveness, it is impossible to imagine that any uniform explanation of the diversity of castes could have been received at the period when they were composed, or to regard any of the texts which have been cited as more orthodox and authoritative than the rest. Even, therefore, if we should suppose that the author of the Purusha Sukta meant to represent the four castes as having literally sprung from separate parts of Purusha's body, it is evident that the same idea was not always or even generally adopted by those who followed him, as a revealed truth in which they were bound to In fact, nothing is clearer than that in all these cosmogonies, the writers, while generally assuming certain prevalent ideas as the basis of their descriptions, gave the freest scope to their individual fancy in the invention of details. In such circumstances, perfect coincidence cannot be expected in the narratives.

We shall hereafter see that the Puranic writers reproduce some of these discrepancies in the traditions which descended to them from earlier generations, and add many new inconsistencies of their own, which they themselves, or their commentators, endeavour to explain away by the assumption that the accounts so differing relate to the occurrences of different Kalpas or Manvantaras (great mundane periods). But of a belief in any such Kalpas or Manvantaras no trace is to be found in the hymns or Brahmanas: and, as we shall hereafter see, they must be held to be the inventions of a later age. The real explanation of these differences in the Brahmanas is that the writers did not consider themselves (as their successors held them) to be infallibly inspired, and consequently were not at all studious to avoid in their narratives the appearance of inconsistency with the accounts of their predecessors.

## SECT. V .- Manu's Account of the Origin of Castes.

- I shall first quote a few verses from the beginning of Manu's account of the creation:
- i. 8. So'bhidhyaya sarīrāt svāt sisrikshur vividhāh prajāh | apa eva sasarjādau tāsu vījam avāsrijat | 9. Tad andam abhavad haimam sahas-rāmšu-sama-prabham | tasmin jajne svayam Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahaḥ | 10. Āpo nārā iti proktāh āpo vai narasāmavaḥ | tāḥ yad asyāyanam pūrvam tena Nārāyaṇaḥ smritah | 11. Yat tat kāraṇam avyaktam nityam sad-asadātmakam | tad-visrishtaḥ sa purusho lok-Brahmeti kīrttyate | 12. Tasminn ande sa bhagavān ushitvā parivatesaram | svayam evātmano dhyānāt tad andam akarod dvidhā | 55
- "8. He (the self-existent) having felt desire, and willing to create various living beings from his own body, first created the waters, and threw into them a seed. 9. That seed became a golden egg, of lustre equal to the sun; in it he himself was born as Brahmâ, the parent of all the worlds. 10. The waters are called nārāh, for they are sprung from Nara; and as they were his first sphere of motion (ayana—path), he is therefore called Nārāyaṇā. 11. Produced from the imperceptible, eternal, existent and non-existent, cause, that male (purusha) is celebrated in the world as Brahmā. 12. After dwelling for a year in the egg, the glorious being, himself, by his own contemplation, split it in twain."

After a description of various other preparatory creative acts (vv. 13-30) the author proceeds in vv. 31 ff. to inform us how the four castes were produced:

i. 31. Lokānām tu vivriddhyartham mukhabāhūru-pādataķ | brāhmanam kshattriyam vaiśyam śūdram cha niravarttayat | 32. Dvidhā kritvātmano deham ardhena purusho 'bhavat | ardhena nārī tasyām sa Virājam asrijat prabhuḥ | 33. Tapas taptvā 'srijad yam tu sa svayam purusho

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The ideas in this passage are derived (with modifications expressive of the theories current in the author's own age) from the S'atapatha Brähmana, xi. 1, 6, 1 ff. (see vol. iv. of this work, p. 21 f.); or from some other similar account in another Brähmana.

sa See S. P. Br. i. 7, 4, 1: Prajöpatir ha vai svöin duhitaram abhidadhyau,

at In the M. Bh. iii. 12952, Krishna says: apām nārāh iti purā sanjuā-karma kritam mayā | tena Nārāyano py ukto mama tat te ayanam sadā | "The name of nārāh was formerly assigned by me to the waters: hence I am also called Nārāyana, for there has always been my sphere of motion."

Virāt | tam mām vittānya sarvasya srashtāram dvija-sattamāh | 34. Aham prajāh sisrikshus tu tapas taptvā sudušcharam | patin prajānām asrijam maharshīn ādito daša | 35. Marīchim Atryangirasau Pulastyam Pulaham Kratum | Prachetasam Vasishtham cha Bhrigum Nāradam eva cha | 36. Eto Manūms tu saptānyān asrijan bhūritejasah | devān devanikāyāmš cha maharshīmš chāmitaujasah | 37. Yaksha-rakshah-pišā-chāmš cha gandharvāpsaraso 'surān | nāgān sarpān suparņāmš cha pitrīnām cha prithagganān | 38. Vidyuto 'šani-meghāmš cha rohitendradhanūmsi cha | ulkā nirghāta-ketūmš cha jyotīmshy uchchāvachāni cha | 39. Kinnarān vānarān matsyān vividhāmš cha vihangamān | pašūn mrigān manushyāmš cha vyālāmš chobhayatodatah | 40. Krimikīta-patangāmš cha yūkā-makshika-matkuṇam | sarvam cha damša-mašakam sthāvaram cha prithagvidham | 41. Evam etair idam sarvam man-niyogād mahātma-bhih | yathākarma tapo-yogāt srishtam sthāvara-jangamam |

31. "That the worlds might be peopled, he caused the Brahman, the Kshattriya, the Vaisya, and the Sudra to issue from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet. 32. Having divided his own body into two parts, the lord (Brahma) became, with the half a male (purusha), and with the half, a female; and in her he created Viraj. 33. Know, O most excellent twice-born men, that I, whom that male, (purusha) Viraj, himself created, am the creator of all this world. 34. Desiring to produce living creatures, I performed very arduous devotion, and first created ten Maharshis (great rishis), lords of living beings, (35) viz., Marichi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Prachetas, Vasishtha, Bhrigu, and Narada. 36. They, endowed with

<sup>50</sup> On this Kullūka the Commentator remarks: Daivyā cha iaktyā mukhādibhyo brūhmanādi-nirmūnam Brahmano na visankanīyam iruti-siddhateāt | "It is not to be doubted that, by his divine power, Brahma formed the Brähman and the other castes from his mouth and other members, since it is proved by the Veda. He then quotes the 12th verse of the Purusha Sūkta.

<sup>50</sup> See the Purusha Sükta, verse 5.

so It will be observed that Manu applies this term pursuhs to three beings, first to Brahmā (v. 11), second to the male formed by Brahmā from the half of his own body (v. 32), and third to Virāj, the offspring of the male and female balves of Brahmā's body (v. 33). It will be noticed that this story of Brahmā dividing his body is borrowed from the passage of the S'. P. Br. xiv. 4, 2, I, quoted above.

at In the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 2 ff., a different account is given of the origin of the world, in which no reference is made to Manu Sväyambhuva. The order of the creation there described is as follows: First everything was water. Then Brahma Sväyāmbhū, with the deities, came into existence—Brahmā being said to have sprung

great energy, created other seven Manus, gods, and abodes of gods, and Maharshis of boundless might; (37) Yakshas, Rakshases, Piśachas, Gandharvas, Apsarases, Asuras, Nägas, Serpents, great Birds, and the different classes of Pitris; (38) lightnings, thunderbolts, clouds, Indra's bows unbent and bent, meteors, portentous atmospheric sounds, comets, and various luminaries; (39) Kinnaras, apes, fishes, different sorts of birds, cattle, deer, MEN, beasts with two rows of teeth; (40) small and large reptiles, moths, lice, flies, fleas, all gadflies and gnats, and motionless things of different sorts. 41. Thus by my appointment, and by the force of devotion, was all this world both motionless and movine, created by those great beings, according to the (previous) actions of each creature."

The different portions of the preceding narrative of the creation of the human species are not easily reconcileable with each other. For it is first stated in verse 31, that men of the four eastes proceeded separately from different parts of Brahma's body,-prior (as it would appear) (1) to the division of that body into two parts and to the successive production (2) of Viraj, (3) Manu, and (4) the Maharshis, who formed all existing creatures. And yet we are told in verse 39, that MEN were among the beings called into existence by those Maharshis, and in verse 41, that the entire MOVING as well as motionless WORLD was their work. It is not said that the men created by the Maharshis were distinct from those composing the four castes, and we must, therefore, assume that the latter also are included under the general appellation of men. But if men of the four castes had been already produced before the formation of all living creatures by the Maharshis, what necessity existed for the men of these castes being a second time called into being as a part of that later creation? It is possible that this

from the other (ākūia). Brahmū, with his sons, created the world. From Brahmū sprang Marīchi; from Marīchi, Kas'yapa; from Kas'yapa, Vivasvat; and from Vivasvat, Manu Vaivasvata. The original of this passage is quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, p. 29 ff.

These great rishis seem to be the beings denoted by the word viscas-jiah, "creators of the universe," in the verse of Manu (xii. 50), which will be quoted below. Reference to rishis, or to seven rishis, as "formers of existing things" (bhūta-kritaḥ), is also found in the Atharvaveda, vi. 108, 4; vi. 133, 4, 5; xi. 1, 1, 3, 24; xii. 1, 39; and the word bhūtakritaḥ, without the addition of rishis, is found in the same work iii. 28, 1; iv. 39, 2, and xix. 16, 2.

allegation of the separate creation of castes may have been engrafted as an after-thought on the other account.

After other details, regarding the propagation, nature, etc, of created things (vv. 42-50), the re-absorption of Brahmā into the Supreme Spirit, and his alternations of sleep and repose, etc. (vv. 50-57), Manu proceeds:

- 58. Idam śāstram tu kritvā 'sau mām eva svayam āditaḥ | vidhivad grāhayāmāsa Marīchyādīmš te aham munīn | 59. Etad vo 'yam Bhriguḥ śāstram śrāvayishyaty aśeshataḥ | etad hi matto 'dhijage sarvam esho 'khilam muniḥ | 60. Tatas tathā sa tenokto maharshir Manunā Bhriguḥ | tān abravīd rishīn sarvān prītātmā "śrāyatām" iti | 61. Svāyambhuvasyāsya Manoḥ shaḍ-vamśyā Manavo 'pare | srishtavantaḥ prajāḥ svāḥ svāḥ mahātmāno mahaujasaḥ | 62. Svārochishaś chauttamiś cha Tāmaso Raivatas tathā | Chākshushaś cha mahātejā Vivasvat-suta eva cha | 63. Svāyambhuvādyāḥ saptaite Manavo bhūritejasaḥ | sve sve 'ntare sarvam idam utpādyāpuś charācharam |
- 59. "Having formed this Scripture, he (Brahmā) himself in the beginning caused me to comprehend it according to rule; as I did to Marichi and the other munis. 60. This Bhrigu will give you to hear this scripture in its entirety; for this muni learned the whole from me. 61. Then that Maharshi (great rishi), Bhrigu being so addressed by Manu, with pleasure addressed all those rishis, saying, 'Let it be heard.' 62. 'From this Manu Svāyambhuva sprang other Manus in six successive generations, great and glorious, who respectively created living beings of their own,—(63) viz., Svārochisha, Auttami, Tāmasa, Raivata, Chākshusha, and the mighty son of Vivasvat. 64. These seven 44 Manus of great power, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have each in his own period (antara) produced and possessed the world."
- 41 In the same way it may be observed that in v. 22 Brahmā is said to have formed the subtile class of living gods whose essence is to act, and of the S'adhyas (karmāt-manām cha devānām so 'srijāt prāṇām prabhaḥ | sādhyānām cha gaṇām sākshmam), and in v. 25, to have "called into existence this creation, desiring to form these living beings" (srishfim sosarja chaicemām srashtum ichchann imāh prajāḥ). But if the gods and all other creatures already existed, any such further account of their production by the Maharshis, as is given in verse 36, seems to be not only superfluous but contradictory.
- 44 It will be observed that here Sväyambhuva is included in the seven Manus, although in verse 36 (see above) it is said that the ten Maharshis, who had themselves been created by Sväyambhuva (vv. 34 f.), produced seven other Manus.

After some preliminary explanations regarding the divisions of time as reckoned by men and gods, etc. (vv. 64-78), the author proceeds to tell us how long each of these Manus reigns:

\* 79. Yat prāk dvādaša-sāhasram uditam daivikam yugam | tad eka-saptati-gunam manvantaram ihochyate | 80. Manvantarāny asankhyāni sargah samhāra eva cha | krīdann ivaitat kurute Parameshthī punah punah |

"The age (yuga) of the gods mentioned before, consisting of twelve thousand (years), when multiplied by seventy-one, is here called a manvantara.

80. There are innumerable manvantaras, creations and destructions. The Supreme Being performs this again and again, as if in sport."

A more detailed account of these great mundane periods will be given in the next section, when I come to take up the Vishnu Purana. Meanwhile it may be remarked that the present manyantara is that of the last of the Manus above enumerated, or Manu Vaivasvata, who, according to verse 63, must have created the existing world. But if such be the case, it does not appear why the creation of Manu Svayambhuva, with which the present race of mortals can have little to do. should have been by preference related to the rishis in vv. 33 ff. It must, however, be observed that in v. 33 Manu Sväyambhuva described himself as the former of "this" (i.e., the existing) universe, and there is no doubt that the whole code of laws prescribed in the sequel of the work is intended by the author to be observed by the existing race of Indians (see verses 102 ff. of the first book). We must, therefore, suppose that the creations of the later Manus are substantially identical with that of the first; or that there is some confusion or inconsistency in the accounts which I have cited. Perhaps both suppositions may be correct.

In vv. 81-86, the four Yugas (or great ages of the world) the Krita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, their gradual deterioration, and the special duties peculiar to each, are described.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> In v. 86 these predominant duties are said to be austere fervour in the Krita age, knowledge in the Tretä, sacrifice in the Dväpara, and liberality alone in the Kali (tapah param Krita-yaya tretäyäm jaänam ushyate | deäpara yojnam esähar dänam ekam kalan yaga). This, as remarked in Weber's Indische Studien, 282 f., note, is not quite in conformity with the view of the Mundaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1, which states:

At verse 87, Bhrigu recurs to the four eastes:

87. Sarvasyāsya tu sargasya gupty-artham sa mahādyutiḥ | mukhabāhūru-paj-jānām prithak karmāny akalpayat |

"For the preservation of this whole creation, that glorious being' (Brahmā) ordained separate functions for those who sprang from his mouth, his arms, his thighs, and his feet."

These functions are then detailed (vv. 88-92). In verse 93, the grounds of the Brāhmans' pre-eminence are stated:

93. Uttamāngobhavāj jyaishthyād brahmanas chaiva dhāranāt | sarvasyaivāsya sargasya dharmato brāhmanah prabhuh | 94. Tam hi svayambhūh svād āsyāt tapas taptvā "dito 'srijat |

Since the Brahman sprang from the most excellent organ, since he is the first-born and possesses the Veda, he is by nature the lord of this whole creation. Him, the self-existent (Brahma) after exercising fervid abstraction, formed at the first from his own mouth."

But as there are grades of excellence among created things, and among men themselves (96), so are there also among Brahmans:

97. Brāhmaņeshu eha vidcāmso vidcatsu krita-buddhayah | kritabuddhishu karttāraḥ karttrishu brahma-sedinah |

"Among Brahmans the learned are the most excellent, among the learned the resolute, among the resolute those who act, and among them who act they who possess divine knowledge."

In a subsequent part of the work (xii. 40 ff.) we find men in general, the castes, and indeed all existing things, from Brahma downwards, classified according to their participation in different degrees in the three gunas, or qualities (sattra, "goodness," rajas, "passion," and tamas, "darkness").

39. Yena yūms tu guņenaishām samsārān pratipadyate | tān samāsena vakshyāmi sarvasyāsya yathākramam | 40. Devatvam sāttvikā yānti manushyatvam cha rājasāh | tiryaktvam tāmasā nityam ity eshā tri-

tat etat satyam mantreshu karmani kavayo yany apasyama tani tretayam bahudha santatani | "This is true: the rites which sages beheld in the hymns, are in great variety celebrated in the Treta." In the same way the M. Bh. iii. v. 11,248, says that sacrifices and rites prevail in the Treta (tato yajnāh pracaritants dharmās cha viridhāh kriyāh | tretāyām ityādi). See also M. Bh. xii. 13,090. The word krita, as the name of the first yaga is thus explained in a provious verse of the former of these two passages (11,235): kritam eva na karttavyam tasmin kāle yagottame | "In the time of that most excellent Yaya (everything) has been done, (and does) not (remain) to be done."

vidhā gatiḥ | . . . 43. Hastinas eha turangās cha śūdrā mlechhās cha yarhitāḥ | simhā vyāghrā varāhās eha madhyamā tāmasī gatiḥ | . . . 46. Rājānaḥ kshattriyās chaiva rājnas chaiva purohitāḥ | vādaguddha-pradhānās cha madhyamā rājasī gatiḥ | . . . 48. Tāpasā yatayo viprā ya cha vaimānihā gaṇāḥ | nakshatrāṇi cha daityās cha prathamā sāttvilī gatiḥ | 49. Yajvāna rishayo devā vedā jyotīmshi vatsarāḥ | pitaras chaiva sādhyās cha dvitīyā sāttvikī gatiḥ | 50. Brahmā vistasrijo dharmo mahān avyaktam eva cha | uttamām sāttvikīm etām gatim āhur maṇīshinaḥ |

"39. I shall now declare succinctly in order the states which the soul reaches by means of each of these qualities. 40. Souls endowed with the sattva quality attain to godhead; those having the rajas quality become men; whilst those characterized by tamas always become beasts—such is the threefold destination . . . 43. Elephants, horses, Südras and contemptible Mlechhas, lions, tigers, and boars form the middle dark condition . . . 46. Kings, Kshattriyas, a king's priests (purchitāh), and men whose chief occupation is the war of words, compose the middle condition of passion . . . 48. Devotees, ascetics, Brāhmans, the deities borne on aerial cars, constellations, and Daityas, constitute the lowest condition of goodness. 49. Sacrificing priests, rishis, gods, the vedas, the celestial luminaries, years, the fathers, the Sādhyas, form the second condition of goodness. 50. Brahmā, the creators, righteousness, the Great One (mahat), the Unapparent One (avyakta), compose the highest condition of goodness."

<sup>\*\*</sup> These "creators" (viśvasrijah) are thus mentioned in Taitt, Br. iii. 12, 9, 2, Adariam Agniñi chinvănăh pürse viśvasrijo "mritāh | istam varsha-sahasrāni dikshitāh satram āsata | 3, tapah āsād grikapatir Brahma brahmā 'bhavat svayam | satyam ha hotaishām āsād yad visvasrija āsata | amritam sbhya udagāyat sahasram parivatsarān | bhūtam ha prastotaishām āsād bhavishyat prati chāharat | prāņa adhvavyur abhavad 'dam survam sishāsatām | . . . 7. Višvasrijah prathamāh satram āsata | . . . | tata ha jajne bhuvanasya gopāh hiranmayah iakunir Brahma nāma | yena sūryas tapati tejaseddhah | . . . 8. Etena vai višvasrijah idam visvam asrijanta | yad višvam asrijanta tasmād višvasrijah | višvam enān anu prajāyate | "2. The ancient and immortal creators of the universe, keeping fire kindled till they saw the new moon, and consecrated, were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years. 3. Austere fervour was the householder; Prayer itself (bruhma) was the brahmā priest; Truth was their botri, when the creators were so occupied. Immortality was their udgātrī for a thousand years. The Past was their prastotrī, the Future their pratihartrī; Breath was the adhvaryu, whilst they were seeking to obtain all this." After a good deal more of this allegory, the author proceeds in paca.: 7. "These first

It will be observed that the different parts of this account of the mode in which the three qualities are distributed, are not quite in harmony. From v. 40 it would appear that all souls having the quality of passion become men; and yet we find from vv. 43, 48, and 49, that Südras belong to the tāmasa class, and Brāhmans, of different descriptions, to two of the Sāttvika grades. According to the rule enunciated in v. 40, the latter ought to have been born as gods.

It is, further, remarkable that in this enumeration Sudras are found in the same category with Mlechhas (v. 43), that the Vaisyas are not accommodated with a position in any of the classes, that Kshattriyas and kings' domestic priests, who are of course Brahmans, and others (who must be Brahmans) fond of disputation on learned questions 47 (though not stated to be heretical) are ranked together as "passionate" (v. 46), while other Brahmans of different characters are placed in two of the higher grades, Brühmans simply so called (viprāh) being regarded as "good" in the lowest degree (v. 48), and sacrificing priests (yajrānah) sharing with rishis, gods, the vedas, etc., the honour of the middle condition of goodness. It is not clear whether the devotees, and ascetics, mentioned in v. 48, belong to the same caste as the Brahmans with whom they are associated, or may also be men of the inferior classes. Nor is it evident for what reason the sacrificing priests (yajvānak), specified in v. 49, are so much more highly estimated than the king's priests (rainah purchitah) in v. 46, since the latter also officiate at sacrifices. The honourable position assigned to Daityas in the lowest class of "good" beings (v. 48) is also deserving of notice. We shall see in the following chapter that the Puranas variously describe mankind as belonging entirely to the "passionate" class (see v. 40, above) and as characterized by the three other "qualities," according to their caste,

creators were engaged in sacrifice . . . Thence was born the preserver of the world, the golden bird called Brahma, by whom the sun glows, kindled with light. . . . 8. . . . Through this the creators created this universe. As they created the universe, they are called vis vasrijah. . Everything is created after them." See above the reference made to rishayo bhūta-kritah in p. 36. The allegory in this extract from the Taitt. Br. resembles in its character that in the sixth verse of the Purusha Sūkta.

<sup>4:</sup> Sarstarthukalaha- priyas cha | Comm.

Sect. VI.—Account of the System of Yugas, Manuantaras, and Kalpas, according to the Vishnu Purāṇa, and other authorities.

•I shall in the next section adduce the description given in the Vishnu Purana of the creation of living creatures, and the origin of the four castes, after first supplying in the present some explanation of the great mundane periods, the Yugas, Mancantaras, Kalpas, etc.

The computations of these great periods are stated in the third chapter of the first book, and in the first chapter of the sixth book, and are clearly explained by Professor Wilson in his notes to page 50 of his translation.

One year of mortals is equal to one day of the gods."

12,000 divine years are equal to a period of four Yugas, which is thus made up, viz.:

Kṛita Yuga with its mornings and evenings.....4,800 divine years
Tretā Yuga ,, ,, ,, ,, .....3,600 ,, ,,
Dvāpara Yuga ,, ,, ,, ,, .....2,400 ,, ,,
Kali Yuga ,, ,, ,, ,, .....1,200 ,, ,,

making... 12,000 divine years."

As a day of the gods is = to one year of mortals, the 12,000 divine years must be multiplied by 360, the assumed number of days in a year, to give the number of the years of mortals in this great period of four yugas, thus: 12,000 divine years  $\times$  360 = 4,320,000 years of mortals. 1000 of these periods of 12,000 divine, or 4,320,000 human, years—i.e., 4,320,000,000 human years are = 1 day of Brahmā, 70 and his night is of the same duration. Within that period of a day of Brahmā, 14 Manus reign, 71 and a Manvantara, or period of Manu,

Wishnu P. vi. 1, 4 ahorātram pitrīnām tu māso 'bdas tridicaukosām | See also Manu i. 66 and 67. The Taitt. Br. iii. 9, 22, 1, too, states: ekam vai etad depānām ahar yat samvatsarah | "This period of a year is one day of the gods."

<sup>40 1. 3, 10.</sup> Divyair varsha-sahasraistu krita-tretādi-sanjnitam | chaturyugam dvādaiabhis tad-vibhāgam nibodha vie | 11. chatrāri trīņi dve chaikam krītādishu yathākramom | divyābdānām sahasrāni yugeshv āhur purāvidah | 12. Tat-pramānnih vataih sandhyā pūrvā tatrābhidhīyate | sandhyāmiakai cha tat-tulyo yugasyönantaro hi sah | 13. Sandhyā-sandhyāmiayor untar yah kölo muni-sattama | yugākhyah sa tu vijneyah krita-tretādi-sanjnitah |

<sup>70</sup> V. P. i. 3, 14. Kritam tretă desparai cha kalii chaica chaluryugam | prochyate tat-suhasram cha Brahmano dicasam mune | Sec also Manu i. 72.

<sup>11</sup> V. P. i. 3, 16. Brahmano divese brahman Muneral cha chaturdale | bhavanti |

is consequently = the 14th part of a day of Brahmā. In the present Kalpa (= a day of Brahmā) six Manus, of whom Svāyambhuva was the first, have already passed away, the present Manu being Vaivasvata. In each Manvantara seven rishis, certain deities, an Indra, a Manu, and the kings, his sons, are created and perish. A thousand of the systems of 4 Yugas, as has been before explained, occur coincidently with these 14 Manvantaras; and consequently about 71 systems of 4 Yugas elapse during each Manvantara, and measure the lives of the Manu and the deities of the period. At the close of this day of Brahmā a collapse (pratisancharah) of the universe takes place, which lasts through a night of Brahmā, equal in duration to his day, during which period the three worlds are converted into one great ocean, when the lotus-born god, expanded by his deglutition of the universe, and contemplated by the yogis and gods in Janaloka, sleeps on the serpent Sesha. At the end of that night he awakes and creates anew.

A year of Brahmā is composed of the proper number of such days and nights; and 100 such years constitute his whole life. The period of his life is called Para, and the half of it Parārādha, or the half of a Para. One Parārddha, or half of Brahmā's existence, has now expired, terminating with the great Kalpa, called the Pādma Kalpa. The now existing Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, called Vārāha (or that of the boar), is the first of the second Parārddha of Brahmā's existence. The

13 V. P. i. 3, 16. Saptarshayah mirāh Sakro Manus tat-sūnavo nripāh | ekakūle hi srijvante zaūhriyante cha pūrcavat |

14 Ibid ver. 17. Chaturyuganam sankhyata nadhika hy eka saptatih | manvantaram Manoh kalah suradinam cha sattama | See also Manu i. 79.

15 The birth of Prajapati on a lotus-leaf is mentioned in the Taitt. Arany. i. 23, 1,

quoted above, p. 32.

18 Ibid 20. Chaturdaía-guno hy esha kölo brühmam ahah emritam | örühmo naimittiko näma tasyünte pratisancharah | . . . 22. Ekürnave tu traifokye Brahmā Närü-yanütmakah | bhogi-iayyügatah iete traifokya-grüsa-erimhitah | 23. Janasthair yogi-bhir devais chintyamäno bja-sambhavah | tat-pramänäm hi tüm rütrim tadante erijate punah | See also V. P. i. 2, 69-62, as translated by Wilson, vol. i. p. 41.

77 Thid ver. 24. Evam tu Brahmano varzham eva<sup>m</sup> varzha-satañ cha tat | intam ki tasya varzhañam param ayur mahatmanah | 25. Ekam asya vyasitam tu pararddham Brahmano 'nagha | tasyante 'bhūd mahākalpah Pādmah ity abhivisrutah | deitiyasya

<sup>72</sup> This is stated by Manu i. 62 ff. (see above), as well as in the third book of the V. P. i. 3, which gives the names in the same order: Scöyambhuco Manuh purvo Manuh Scärochishas tathā | Auttamic Tāmasai chaiva Raicatai Chākshushas tathā | shad ete Manavo 'tītāh sāmpratam tu Raveh sutah | Vaicascato 'yam yasymitat saptamam varttate 'ntaram |

dissolution, which occurs at the end of each Kalpa, or day of Brahma, is called naimittika, incidental, occasional, or contingent. (See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, vol. i. of Dr. Hall's edition, p. 52, with the editor's note; and vol. ii. p. 269. For an account of the other dissolutions of the universe I refer to the same work, vol. i. p. 113, and to pp. 630-633 of the original 4to, edition.)

Of this elaborate system of Yugas, Manvantaras, and Kalpas, of enormous duration, no traces are found in the hymns of the Rig-veda. Their authors were, indeed, familiar with the word Yuga,78 which frequently occurs in the sense of age, generation, or tribe. Thus in i. 139, 8; iii. 26, 3; vi. 8, 5; vi. 15, 8; vi. 36, 5; x. 94, 12, the phrase yuge yuge 10 means "in every age." In iii. 33, 8; x. 10, 10, we have uttarā yugāni, "future ages," and in x. 72, 1, uttare yuge, "in a later age;" in vii. 70, 4, pūreāni yugāni, "former ages," so and in i. 184, 3, yuga jūrnā, "past ages." In i. 92, 11; i. 103, 4; i. 115, 2; i. 124, 2; i. 144, 4; "ii. 2, 2; v. 52, 4; vi. 16, 23; vii. 9, 4; viii. 46, 12; viii. 51, 9; ix. 12, 7; x. 27, 19; x. 140, 68 (in all of which places, except i. 115, 2, the word is combined with manushya, manusha, manushah, or jananam), yugu seems to denote "generations" of men, or parorddhasya varttamunasya vai dvija | Varahah iti kalpo 'yam prathamah parikalpitah

78 In Professor Willson's Dictionary three senses are assigned to yage (neuter) (1) a pair; (2) an age as the Krita, Treta, etc.; (3) a lustre, or period of five years. When used as masculine the word means, according to the same authority, (1) a voke : (2) a measure of four cubits, etc.; (3) a particular drug.

19 Sayana, on iii. 36, 3, explains it by pratidinam, "every day;" on vi. 8, 5;

vi. 15, 8; vi. 36, 5, by kale kale, "at every time."

50 Sayana takes the phrase for former 14 couples of husbands and wives," mithunani

jayapatirupani,

In i. 92, 11 and i. 124, 2, Ushas (the Dawn) is spoken of as, praminati manushya yagani, " wearing away human terms of existence, or generations." In commenting on the former text Sayana explains gugani as equivalent to krita-tretadini, "the Krita, Treta, and other ages," whilst in explaining the second, he takes the same word as signifying yugopalakshitan nimeshadi-kalarayaran, "the seconds and other component parts of time indicated by the word," or as equivalent to yagmani, "the conjunctions of men,"-since the dawn scatters abroad to their several occupations men who had been previously congregated together!" In his note on i. 144, 4, he gives an option of two different senses: manch sambhandhini yuguni jayapati-rupani hotradhraryu-ศนิตอัลเ์ เลิ [ "couples consisting of husband and wife, or of the hotri and adhvaryu

82 This verse, ix. 12, 7, is also found in Sama V. ii. 552, where, however, you is

substituted for weed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> This verse occurs also in Sama V. ii, 1171, and Vaj. S. xii, 111.

rather, in some places, "tribes" of men. In v. 73, 3, the phrase nāhushā yugā must have a similar meaning. In i. 158, 6, it is said that the rishi Dirghatamas became worn out in the tenth yuga; on which Professor Wilson remarks (R. V. vol. ii. 104, note): "The scholiast understands yuga in its ordinary interpretation; but the yuga of five years is perhaps intended, a lustrum, which would be nothing marvellons." Professor Anfrecht proposes to render, "in the tenth stage of life." The first passage of the Rig-veda, in which there is any indication of a considerable mundane period being denoted, is x. 72, 2 f., where "a first," or, "an earlier age (quaa) of the gods" is mentioned. (devānām pūrvye yuge; devānām prathame yuge) when "the existent sprang from the non-existent" (asatah sad ajayata); but no allusion is made to its length. In the same indefinite way reference is made in x. 97, 1, to certain "plants which were produced before the gods,three ages (yugas) earlier" (yāh oshadhīh pūreāh jātāh decebhyas triyugam pura). In one verse of the Atharva-veda, however, the word yuga is so employed as to lead to the supposition that a period of very long duration is intended. It is there said, viii. 2, 21: śatam to ayutam hayanan des yuge trini chatcari krinmah | " we allot to thee a hundred. ten thousand, years, two, three, four ages (ungas)." As we may with probability assume that the periods here mentioned proceed in the ascending scale of duration, two yugas, and perhaps even one yuga, must be supposed to exceed 10,000 years.

The earliest comparison between divine and human periods of duration of which I am aware is found in the text of the Taitt. Br. quoted above in a note to p. 42: "A year is one day of the gods." But so far as that passage itself shows, there is no reason to imagine that the statement it contains was anything more than an isolated idea, or that the conception had, at the time when the Brähmanas were compiled, been developed, and a system of immense mundane periods, whether

94 For the context of this line see Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, page 42.

An analogous idea is found in the Satapatha Brühmana xiv. 7, 1, 33 ff. (= Brihadāranyaka Upanishad pp. 817 ff. of Cal. ed.) atha ye latam manushyāṇām ānandāḥ sa ckaḥ pitrāṇām jitalokāmām ānandaḥ | "now a hundred pleasures of men are one pleasure of the Pitris who have conquered the worlds." And so on in the same way; a hundred pleasures of the Pitris equalling one pleasure of the Karmadevas (or gods who have become so by works); a hundred pleasures of the latter equalling one pleasure of the gods who were born such, etc.

human or divine, had been elaborated. That, however, the authors of the Brāhmanas were becoming familiar with the idea of extravagantly large numbers is clear from the passage in the Taitt. Br. iii. 12, 9, 2, quoted above, p. 41, in the note on Manu xii. 50, where it is said that the creators were engaged in a sacrifice for 100,000 years.

Professor Roth is of opinion (see his remarks under the word Krita in his Lexicon) that according to the earlier conception stated in Manu i. 69, and the Mahābhārata (12,826 ff.), the four Yugas—Krita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, with their mornings and evenings, consisted respectively of no more than 4,800; 3,600; 2,400; and 1,200 ordinary years of mortals; and that it was the commentators on Manu, and the compilers of the Purāṇas, who first converted the years of which they were made up into divine years. The verse of Manu to which Professor Roth refers (i. 69), and the one which follows, are certainly quite silent about the years composing the Krita age being divine years:

Chatvary ühuh sahasrani varshanam tu kritam yugam | tasya tacachchhati sandhya sandhyamśchaścha tathavidhah | 70. Itareshu sasandhyeshu
sasandhamśeshu cha trishu | ekapayena varttante sahasrani śatani cha |
"They say that four thousand years compose the krita yuga, with
as many hundred years for its morning and the same for its evening.
70. In the other three yugas, with their mornings and evenings, the
thousands and hundreds are diminished successively by one."

Verse 71 is as follows: Yad etat parisankhyātam ādāv eva chaturyugam | etad dvādaśa-sāhasram devānām yugam uchyate | which, as explained by Medhātithi, may be thus rendered: "Twelve thousand of
these periods of four yugas, as above reckoned, are called a Yuga of
the gods." Medhātithi's words, as quoted by Kullūka, are these;
Chaturyugair eva dvādaša-sahasra-sankhyair divyam yugam | "A divine
Yuga is formed by four yugas to the number of twelve thousand."
Kullūka, however, says that his predecessor's explanation is mistaken, and must not be adopted (Medhātither bhrāmo nādarttaryaḥ).
His own opinion is that the system of yugas mentioned in vv. 69 and
71 are identical, both being made up of divine years. According to
this view, we must translate v. 71 as follows: "The period of four
yugas, consisting of twelve thousand years, which has been reckoned
above, is called a Yuga of the gods." This certainly appears to be the

preferable translation, and it is confirmed by the tenor of verse 79. Verse 71, however, may represent a later stage of opinion, as it is not found in the following passage of the Mahābhārata, where the previous verse (69) is repeated, and verse 70 is expanded into three verses, though without any alteration of the sense:

M. Bh. iii. 12826 ff. — Ādito manuja-vyāghra kritsnasya jagataḥ kshayo | chatvāry āhuḥ sahasrāṇi varshāṇām tat kritam yugam | tasya tāvachchhatī sandhyā sandhyāmścha tathāvidhaḥ |

"In the beginning, after the destruction of the entire universe, they say that there are four thousand years: that is the Krita Yuga, which has a morning of as many hundred years, and an evening of the same duration." And then, after enumerating in like manner the other three Yugas with their respective thousands and hundreds successively diminished by one, the speaker (the sage Mārkandeya) proceeds in verse 12831: Eshā dvādašahasrī yugākhyā parikīrttitā | etat sahasra-paryantam aho brāhmam udāhritam | "This period of twelve thousand years is known by the appellation of the Yugas. A period extending to a thousand of these is called a day of Brahmā."

Nowhere, certainly, in this passage is any mention made of the years being divine years.

The earliest known text in which the names of the four Yugas are found is a verse occurring in the story of Sunahsepha in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa vii. 15: Kaliḥ sayāno bhavati sanjihānas tu dvāparaḥ | uttishthams tretā bhavati kritam sampadyate charan | "A man while lying is the Kali; moving himself, he is the Dvāpara; rising, he is the Tretā; walking, he becomes the Krita." But this brief allusion leaves us

by Weber and Roth (Ind. Stud. i. 286 and 460), once into Latin by Streiter (see Ind. Stud. ix. 315), and thrice into English, by Wilson (Journ. R. A. S. for 1851, p. 99), Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 412), and Hang (Ait. Br. ii. 464). All these authors, except the last, concur in considering the verse as referring to the four Yugas. Dr. Hang, however, has the following note: "Sayana does not give any explanation of this important passage, where the names of the Yugas are mentioned for the first time. These four names are, as is well known from other sources, . . . names of dice, used at gambling. The meaning of this Güthü is, There is every success to be hoped; for the unluckiest die, the Kali is lying, two others are slowly moving and half fallen, but the luckiest, the Krita, is in full motion. The position of dice here given is indicatory of a fair chance of winning the game." Both Dr. Haug's translation and note are criticised by Professor Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 319). Of the following verses, which occur in Manu ix. 301 f., the second is a paraphrase of that in the Aitareya Bräh-

quite in the dark as to the duration which was assigned to these yugas in the age when the Brahmana was compiled.

Sect. VII.—Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vishnu Purana.

I commence with the following general account of the cosmogony of the Vishuu Purana, extracted from Professor Wilson's Preface to his translation of that work, vol. i. p. xciii.:

"The first book of the six, into which the work is divided, is occupied chiefly with the details of creation, primary (sarga), and secondary (pratisarga); the first explains how the universe proceeds from Prakriti, or eternal crude matter; \*\*T the second, in what manner the forms of things are developed from the elementary substances previously evolved, or how they re-appear after their temporary destruction.\*\*Both these creations are periodical; but the termination of the first occurs only at the end of the life of Brahmā, when not only all the gods and all other forms are annihilated, but the elements are again merged into primary substance, besides which only one spiritual being exists. The latter takes place at the end of every Kalpa or day of Brahmā, and affects only the forms of inferior creatures and lower worlds, leaving the substances of the universe entire, and sages and gods unharmed." \*\*\*

mana: Kritam tretā-yugam chaica deāparam kalir eva cha | rājno vrittāni sarrāni rājā hi yugam uchyate | 302. Kalih prasupto bhacati sa jāgrat dvöparam yugam | karmasv abhyudyutas tretā vicharams to kritam yugam | "301. The Krita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali yugas are all medes of a king's action; for a king is called a yuga. 302. While asleep he is the Kali; waking he is the Dvāpara age; intent upon action he is the Tretā, moving about he is the Krita." The former of these two verses of Manu is reproduced nearly verbatim in the M. Bh. xii. 3408; and the same idea is expanded in the same book of the same poem, vv. 2674 ff., 2682, 2684, 2686, 2693 ff. The words krita, tretā, dvāpara, and kali, are found in the Vāj.-Sanhitā, xxx. 18, and in the Taitt. Brāhmana, iii. 4, I, 16; but in both places they denote dice, as does also the word krita in the Chhāndogya Upan. iv. 1, 4 (where see the commentary). On the Yugas the reader of German may also consult Weber's Indische Studien, i. pp. 39, 87 fr., 282 ff.

87 [See Book i, chapter ii.]

ss [See the fourth and following chapters of Book i.]

<sup>\*\*</sup> See Book i. at the close of chapter vii. p. 113 of vol. i. of Professor Wilson's translation, 2nd edition, and also p. 621 and 630 of the original 4to, edition. As regards,

I proceed with the details of the creation which took place in the Vārāha Kalpa, as described in book i. chapter 4, vv. 2, ff::

Atīta-kalpāvasāne nišā-suptotthitah prabhuh | sattvodriktas tato Brahmā śūnyam lokam avaikshata | 3. Narayanah paro 'chintyah paresham api sa prabhuh | Brahma-scarapt bhavagan unadih sarvasambhavah | . . . 6. Toyantah sa mahīm jnātvā jagaty ekārņave prabhuh | anumānūd tad-uddhāram karttu-kāmah prajāpatih | 7. Akarot sa tanum anyam kalpadishu yatha pura | matsya-kurmadikam tadvad vārāham vapur āsthitah | 8. Veda-yajnamayam rāpam asesha-jagatah sthitau | sthitah sthirātmā sarcātmā paramātmā prajāpatih | 9. Janaloka-gataih siddhair Sanakādyair abhishthutah | praviveša tadā toyam ātmādhāro dharā-dharah | .... 45. Ecam śamstuyamānastu paramātmā mahīdharah | ujjahūra mahīm kshipram nyastavāms cha mahāmbhasi | 46. Tasyopari jalaughasya mahati naur iva sthita | vitatatatvat tu dehasya na mahi yati samplavam | tatah kshitim samam kritva prithivyām so 'chinod girin | yathā-vibhāgam bhagavān anādih purushottamah 47. Prak-sarga-dagdhan akhilan parvatan prithivitale | amoghena prabhāvena sasarjāmogha-vāmchhitah | 48. Bhuvi bhūgam tatah kritvā sapta-deipān yathātathā | bhūr-ādyāms chaturo lokān pūrvavat samakalpayat | 49. Brahma-rūpadharo devas tato 'sau rajasā "eritah | chakara srishtim bhagavāms chatur-vaktra-dharo Harih | 50. nimittamātram evāsau srijyānām sarga-karmaņām | pradhāna-kāraņībhūtā yato vai srijya-śaktoyah | 51. Nimitta-mätram muktvaikam nänyat kinchid apekshyate | niyate tapatām śreshtha sca-śaktyā vastu vastutām | "2. At the end of the past (or Padma) Kalpa, arising from his night slumber, Brahma, the lord, endowed predominantly with the quality of goodness, beheld the universe void. 3. He (was) the supreme lord Nărāyana, who cannot even be conceived by other beings, the deity without beginning, the source of all things, existing in the form of Brahma." [The verse given in Manu i. 10, regarding the derivation of the word Nārāyana (see above p. 35) is here quoted]. "6. This lord of creatures, discovering by inference,-when the world

however, the statement with which the paragraph concludes, compare vol. i. p. 50, as well as vol. ii. p. 269, of the same work.

had become one ocean,—that the earth lay within the waters, and being desirous to raise it up, (7) assumed another body. As formerly, at the beginnings of the Kalpas, he had taken the form of a fish,

a tortoise, and so forth, 50 (so now) entering the body of a boar (8),a form composed of the vedas and of sacrifice,-the lord of creatures, who, throughout the entire continuance of the world, remains fixed, the universal soul, the supreme soul, self-sustained, the supporter of the earth (9),-being hymned by Sanaka and the other saints, who had (at the dissolution of the lower worlds) proceeded to Janaloka,entered the water." [He is then addressed by the goddess Earth in a hymn of praise, as Vishnu, and as the supreme Brahma, vv. 10-24. The boar then rises from the lower regions, tossing up the earth with his tusk, and is again lauded by Sanandana and other saints in a second hymn, in the course of which he himself is identified with sacrifice, and his various members with its different instruments and accompaniments, vv. 25-44]. "45. Being thus lauded, the supreme soul, the upholder of the earth, lifted her up quickly and placed her upon the great waters. 46. Resting upon this mass of water, like a vast ship, she does not sink, owing to her expansion. Then, having levelled the earth, the divine eternal Purushottasna heaped together mountains according to their divisions. 47. He whose will cannot be frustrated, by his unfailing power, created on the surface of the earth all those mountains which had been burnt up in the former creation. 48. Having then divided the earth, just as it had been, into seven dvīpas, he formed the four worlds Bhūrloka and others as before. 49. Becoming next pervaded with the quality of passion, that divine being Hari, assuming the form of Brahma, with four faces, effected the creation. 50. But he is merely the instrumental cause of the things to be created and of the creative operations, since the properties of the things to be created arise from Pradhana as their (material) cause. 51. Excepting an instrumental cause alone, nothing else is required. Every substance (vastu) is brought into the state of substance (vastutā) by its own inherent power." 91

No mention is made in the Brahmanas (as I have already observed) of any such periods as the Kalpas. But here an attempt is made to systematize the different stories scattered through those older works which variously describe the manner in which the creation was effected—with the view, perhaps, of reconciling the discrepancies in those free and artless speculations which offended the critical sense of a later age.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> See Professor Wilson's translation of these verses, and the new version proposed by the editor of the second edition, Dr. Hall, p. 66, note. I do not think the phrase

[Before proceeding further with the narrative of the Vishnu Purana, I wish to quote or refer to some passages from the Taittiriya Sanhita and Brahmana and from the Satapatha Brahmana, which appear to furnish the original germs of the legends of the boar, fish, tortoise, and dwarf incarnations.

The first of these texts is from the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vii. 1, 5, 1 ff:

Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt | tasmin Prajāpatir vāyur bhūtvā acharat | sa imām apašyat | tam varāho bhūtvā āharat | tām Viśvakarmā bhūtvā vyamārt | sā aprathata | sā prithivy abhavat | tat prithivyai prithivitvam | tasyām aśrāmyat Prajāpatih | sa devān asrijata Vasūn Rudrān Ādityān | to devāh Prajāpatim abruvan "prajāyāmahai" iti | so 'bravīd "yathā aham yushmāms tapasā asrikshi evam tapasi prajananam ichchhadhvam" iti | tebhyo 'gnim āyatanam prāyachhad "etena āyatanena śrāmyata" iti | te 'gninā āyatanena aśrāmyan | to samvatsare ekām gām asrijanta |

"This universe was formerly waters, fluid. On it Prajāpati, becoming wind, moved." He saw this (earth). Becoming a boar, he took her up. Becoming Viśvakarman, he wiped (the moisture from) her. She extended. She became the extended one (prithivī). From this the earth derives her designation as the extended one. In her Prajāpati performed arduous devotion. He created gods, Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas. The gods said to Prajāpati, 'let us be propagated.' He answered, 'As I have created you through austere fervour, so do ye seek after propagation in austere fervour.' He gave them Agni as a resting-place (saying), 'With this as a resting-place perform your devotion.' They (accordingly) performed devotion with Agni as a resting-place. In a year they created one cow, etc."

sra-saktyā can be properly rendered, as Dr. Hall does, "by its potency." The reading of the MSS, in v. 50, pradhāna-kāraņābhūtāh seems to me doubtful, as it would most naturally mean "have become the Pradhāna-cause." I conjecture pradhāna-kāraņodbhūtah, which gives the sense which seems to be required.

12' It is possible that the idea assigned to the word Nārāyaṇa (see Manu i. 10, above), "he whose place of movement is the waters," may be connected with this passage. See also Genesis i. 2, " And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the

waters."

93 After having noticed this passage in the Taittiriya Sanbita, I became aware that it had been previously translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Essays i. 75, or p. 44 of Williams & Norgate's edition). Mr. Colebrooke prefaces his version by remarking, "The pre-

The second passage is from the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i. 1, 3, 5 ff. Āpo vai idam agre salilam āsīt | tena Prajāpatir aśrāmyat "katham idam syād" iti | so 'paśyat pushkara-parnam tishthat | so 'manyata " asti vai tād yasminn idam adhitishthati" iti | sa varāho rūpam kritvā upanyamajjat | sa prithivīm adhaḥ ārchhat | tasyā upahatya udamajjat | tat pushkara-parne 'prathayat | yad " aprathata" tat prithivai prithivitvam | "abhād vai idam" iti tad bhūmyai bhūmitvam | tām diśo'nu vātaḥ samavahat | tām śarkarābhir adrimhat |

"This (universe) was formerly water, fluid." With that (water) Prajāpati practised arduous devotion (saying), 'how shall this (universe be (developed)?' He beheld a lotus-leaf standing. He thought, 'there is somewhat on which this (lotus-leaf) rests.' He as a boar—having assumed that form—plunged beneath towards it. He found the earth down below. Breaking off (a portion of) her, he rose to the surface. He then extended it on the lotus-leaf. Inasmuch as he extended it, that is the extension of the extended one (the earth). This became (abhūt). From this the earth derives its name of bhūmī. The wind carried her, to the four quarters. He strengthened her with gravel, etc., etc.

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiv. 1, 2, 11, has the following reference to the same idea, although here Prajāpati himself is not the boar:

Iyatī ha vai iyam agre prithivy üsa prūdeša-mūtrī | tām Emūshah iti varāhah ujjaghāna | so 'syāh patih Prajāpatis tena eva enam etan-mithunena priyena dhāmnā samardhoyati kritmam karoti |

"Formerly this earth was only so large, of the size of a span. A boar called Emusha raised her up. Her lord Prajupati, therefore, prospers him with (the gift of) this pair, the object of his desire, and makes him complete."

Another of the incarnations referred to in the preceding passage of

sent extract was recommended for selection by its allusion to a mythological notion, which apparently gave origin to the story of the Varaha-acatara, and from which an astronomical period, entitled Caipa, has perhaps been taken."

The Commentator gives an alternative explanation, viz., that the word salida is the same as sarira, according to the text of the Veda, "these worlds are sarira" ("time

vai lokūh sariram" iti iruteh),

\*\* Supported upon the end of a long stalk" (dirghamiliogre'reathilum), according to the Commentator. In a passage from the Taitt, Aranyaka, already quoted (p. 32, above), it is said that Prajapati himself was born on a lotus-leaf.

the Vishnu Purana is foreshadowed in the following text from the Satapatha Brahmana, vii. 5, 1, 5:

Sa yat kūrmo nāma | etad vai rūpam kritvā Prajāpatih prajāh asrijata | yad asrijata akarot tat | yad akarot tasmāt kūrmah | kasyapo vai kūrmah | tasmād āhuḥ "sarvāḥ prajāh kāsyapyaḥ" iti | sa yaḥ sa kūrmo sau sa Ādityaḥ |

"As to its being called kūrma (a tortoise); Prajāpati having taken this form, created offspring. That which he created, he made (akarot); since he made, he is (called) kūrmaḥ. The word kuśyapa means tortoise; hence men say all creatures are descendants of Kaśyapa. This tortoise is the same as Āditya."

The oldest version of the story of the fish incarnation, which is to be found in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 8, 1, 1 ff., will be quoted in the next chapter.

For the passages which appear to supply the germ of the dwarf incarnation, the reader may consult the fourth volume of this work, pp. 54-58 and 107 f.

It will have been noticed that in the passage above adduced from the Vishnu Purāṇa, the word Nārāyaṇa is applied to Vishnu, and that it is the last named deity who (though in the form of Brahmā) is said to have taken the form of a boar. In the verses formerly cited from Manu (i. 9, 10), however, Nārāyaṇa is an epithet, not of Vishnu, but of Brahmā; and in the following text, from the Rāmāyaṇa, xi. 110, 3, it is Brahmā who is said to have become a boar:

Sarvam salilam evāsīt prithivī tatra nirmitā | tataḥ samabhavad Brahmā svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha n | sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām ityādi |

"All was water only, and in it the earth was fashioned. Then arose

With this compare the mention made of a tortoise in the passage cited above, p. 32, from the Taitt. Aranyaka.

<sup>27</sup> Such is the reading of Schlegel's edition, and of that which was recently printed at Bombay, both of which, no doubt, present the most ancient text of the Rāmāyana. The Gauda recension, however, which deviates widely from the other, and appears to have modified it in conformity with more modern taste and ideas, has here also introduced a various reading in the second of the lines quoted in the text, and identifies Brahmā with Vishņu in the following manner: totah samabhavad Brahmā svoyambhūr Vishņur aryanah | "Then arose Brahmā the self-existent and imperishable Vishņu."

Brahmā, the self existent, with the deities. He then, becoming a boar, raised up the earth," etc.

I now return to the narrative of the Vishnu Purana.]

\* The further process of cosmogony is thus described in chapter v.:

Maitreya weachs | 1. Yatha sasarija devo'sau devarshi-pitri-danavan | manushya-tiryaq-vrikshadin bhu-vyoma-salilankasah | 2. Yad-qunam yat-svabhavam cha yad-rupam cha jagad dvija | sargadau srishtavan Brahmā tad mamāchakshva vistarāt | Parāšara uvācha | 3. Maitreya kathayamy esha śrinushva susamāhitah | yathā sasarija devo 'sau devādīn akhilan vibhuh | erishtim chintayatas tasya kalpadishu yatha pura | abuddhi-purvakah sargah pradurbhutas tamomayah | 4. Tamo moho mahāmohas tāmiero hy andha-saminitah | avidyā pancha-parvaishā prādurbhūtā mahūtmanah | 5. Panchadhā 'vasthitah sargo dhyāyato 'pratibodhavan | vahir-anto-'prakasas cha samerittatma nagatmakah | 6. Mukhyā nagā yataš choktā mukhya-sargas tatas tv ayam | 7. Tam drishtvā sādhakam sargam amanyad aparam punah | tasyābhidhyāyatah sargas tiryak-srotā " 'bhyavarttata | 8. Yasmāt tiryak pravrittah sa tiryakerotas tatah emritah | 9. Paśvādayas te vikhyātās tamah-prayāh hy avedinah | utpatha-grahinas chaiva te' jnanc jnana-maninah | 10. Ahamkrita ahammana ashtavimsad-vadhanvitah | antah-prakasas to sarve avritas cha parasparam | 11. Tam apy asadhakam matea dhyayato'nyas tato'bhayat | ürdhvasrotas tritīyas tu sāttvikorddhvam avarttata" | 12. Te sukha-prītibahulā bahir antas cha nāvritāh 100 | prakāšā bahir antas cha ūrdheasroto-bhavāh smritāh | 13. Tushty-ātmakas tritīyas tu deva-sargas tu yah smritah | tasmin sarge 'bhavat pritir nishpanno Brahmanas tadā | 14. Tato 'nyam sa tadā dadhyau sādhakam sargam uttamam | asādhakāms tu tān jnāteā mukhya-sargādi-sambhavān | 15. Tathā 'bhidhyayatas tasya satyābhidyāyinas tatah | prādurbhūtas tadā 'eyaktād arvāk-srotas tu sādhakah | 16. Yasmād arvāg vyavarttanta tato 'rvāk-srotasas tu to ! te cha prakāša-bahulā tamodriktā 101 rajo dhikāh | taemāt te duhkhabahulā bhūyo bhūyas cha kārinah | prakāšā bahir antas cha manushyā sādhakās tu to | . . . . 23. Ity ete tu samākhyātā nava sargāh Prajā-

<sup>48</sup> iti sandhir ürshah.—Comm.

The reading of the Vüyu P., in the parallel passage, is tanyābhidhyāyate nityašs sātteikah samavarttata | ūrdhvasrotas triliyas tu sa chaicordhvaši vyacasthitah | The combination sātteikordhvam in the text of the Vishnu P. must be ārsha.

<sup>100</sup> For narritan the Vayu P. reads sameritan.

<sup>101</sup> Iti sandhirārshah | Comm. But there is a form tama. The Vayu P. has tamah-saktāh.

pateh | prakrita vaikritas chaica jagato mala-hetavah | srijato jagadīšasya kim unyach chhrotum ichhasi | Maitreya wcācha | 24. Samkshepāt kathitah sargo devädīnām trayā mune | vistarāch chhrotum ichhāmi tvatto munivarottama | Parasara uvācha | karmabhir bhāvitāh pūrvaih kuśalākuśalais tu tāh | khyātyā tayā hy anirmuktāh samhāre hy upasamhritāķ | 25. Sthāvarāntāh surādyāścha prajā brahmams chaturvidhāḥ | Brahmanah kurvatah srishtim jajnire mānasīs tu tāḥ | 26. Tato devāsurapitrīn mānushāms cha chatushtayam | visrikshur ambhāmsy etāni svam ātmānam ayūyujat | 27. Yuktātmanas tamomātrā udriktā 'bhūt Prajāpateh | sisrikshor jaghanāt pūrvam asurāh jajnire tatah | 28. Utsasarja tatas tām tu tamo-mātrātmikām tanum | sā tu tyaktā tanus tena Maitreyabhad vibhavarī | 29. Sisrikshur anya-deha-sthah pritim apa tatah surah | sattodriktah samudbhatah mukhato Brahmano dvija | 30. Tyaktā sā 'pi tanus tena sattva-prāyam abhūd dinam | tato hi balino rātrāv asurā devatā divā | 31. Sattvamātrātmikām eva tato 'nyam jagrihe tanum | pitrivad manyamanasya pitaras tasya jajnire | 32. Utsasarja pitrīn spishtvā tatas tām api sa prabhuh | sā chotsrishta 'bhavat sandhya dina-naktantara-sthitih | 33. Rajo-matratmikām anyām jagrihe sa tanum tatah | rajo-mātrotkatā jātā manushyā dvija-sattama | tam apy asu sa tatyāja tanum ādyah Prajāpatih | jyotsnä samabhavat sa 'pi prak-sandhya ya 'bhidhiyate | 34. Juotsnodgame tu balino manushyāh pitaras tathā | Maitreya sandhyā-samaye tasmād ete bhavanti vai | 35. Jyotenā-rātry-ahanī sandhyā ehatvāry etāni vai vibhoh | Brahmanas tu šarīrāni trigunāpāśrayāni cha | 36. Rajo-mātrātmikām eva tato 'nyām jagrihe tanum | tataḥ kehud Brahmano jätä jajne kopas taya tatah | 37. Kshut-khaman andhakare 'tha so 'srijad bhagavāms tatah | Virūpāh smasrulā jātās te 'bhyudhāvams tatah prabhum | 38. "Maicam bho rakshyatām esha" yair uktam rākshasās tu to | ūchuḥ "khādāma" ity anye ye te yakshās tu yakshanāt |

"Maitreya said: 1. Tell me in detail how at the beginning of the creation that deity Brahmá formed the gods, rishis, fathers, dănavas, men, beasts, trees, etc., dwelling respectively on the earth, in the sky, and in the water; 2. and with what qualities, with what nature, and of what form he made the world. Parăsara replied: 3. I declare to thee, Maitreya, how that deity created the gods and all other beings; listen with attention. While he was meditating on creation, as at the beginnings of the (previous) Kalpas, there appeared an insentient creater.

tion, composed of gloom (tamas). 4. Gloom, illusion, great illusion, darkness, and what is called utter darkness-such was the five-fold ignorance, which was manifested from that great Being, 5. as he was meditating-an insensible creation, 108 under five conditions, devoid of feeling either without or within, 108 closed up, motionless. 6. And since motionless objects are called the primary objects, this is called the primary (mukhya) creation. 104 7. Beholding this creation to be ineffective, he again contemplated another. As he was desiring it the brute (tiryakarotas) creation came forth. 8. Since (in its natural functions) it acts horizontally it is called Tiryaksrotas. 9. The (creatures composing it) are known as cattle, etc., distinguished mainly by darkness (tamas) ignorant, following irregular courses, 100 while in a state of ignorance having a conceit of knowledge, (10) self-regarding, self-esteeming, affected by the twenty-eight kinds of defects, endowed with inward feeling, and mutually closed. 11. As Brahmá, regarding this creation also as ineffective, was again meditating, another creation, the third, or urdhrasrotas, which was good, rose upward. 12. They (the creatures belonging to this creation) abounding in happiness and satisfaction, being unclosed both without and within, and possessed both of external and internal feeling, are called the offspring of the Urdhvasrotas creation. 13. This third creation, known as that of the gods, was one full of enjoyment. When it was completed, Brahmā was pleased. 14. He then contemplated another creation, effective and most excellent, since he regarded as ineffective the beings sprung from the primary and other creations. 15. While he, whose will is efficacious, was so desiring, the Arvaksrotas, an effective creation, was manifested. 108 16. They

102 The Väyu P. here inserts an additional line, sarvatas tamasā chaiva dīpaḥ kumbha-vad övritaḥ | "and covered on all sides with darkness, as a lamp by a jar."

<sup>192</sup> Vahir-anto'prakāiasehs appears to be the true reading, as the Commentator renders the last word by prakrishta-jnāna-sūnyah, "devoid of knowledge." But if this be the correct reading, it is ungrammatical, as antah and aprakāia would properly make antar-aprakāia, not anto'prakāia. But the Purāṇas have many forms which are irregular (āraha, "peculiar to the rishis," "vedic," or "antiquated "as the Commentators style them). The Taylor MS, of the Vāyu Purāṇa reads in the parallel passage bahir-antah-prakāiaisha.

<sup>104</sup> See Dr. Hall's note p. 70 on Professor Wilson's translation; and also the passage quoted above p. 16 from the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4, where the word makhya is otherwise applied and explained.

<sup>100</sup> Bhakshyadi-viwekak-hīnāh | " Making no distinction in food, etc., etc." Comm.

<sup>104</sup> Compare M. Bh. xiv. 1038.

(the creatures belonging to it) are called Arvāksrotas, because (in their natural functions) they acted downwardly. And they abound in sensation (prakāša) and are full of darkness (tamas) with a preponderance of passion (rajas). Hence they endure much suffering, and are constantly active, with both outward and inward feeling. These beings were men, and effective. "100"

In the next following verses, 17-22, the names of the different creations, described in the first part of this section, and in the second chapter of the first book of the Vishnu Purāna, are recapitulated, and two others, the Anugraha and the Kaumāra, are noticed, but not explained. 105

The speaker Parasara then adds: "23. Thus have the nine creations of Prajapati, both Prakrita and Vaikrita, the radical causes of the world, been recounted. What else dost thou desire to hear regarding the creative lord of the world? Maitreya replies: 24. By thee, most excellent Muni, the creation of the gods and other beings has been summarily narrated: I desire to hear it from thee in detail. Parasara rejoins: Called into (renewed) existence in consequence of former actions, good or bad, and unliberated from that destination when they were absorbed at the (former) dissolution of the world, (25) the four descriptions of creatures, beginning with things immovable and ending with gods, were produced, o Brahman, from Brahma when he was creating, and they sprang from his mind. 26. Being then desirous to create these streams (ambhāmsi)100-the four classes of Gods, Asuras, Fathers, and Men, he concentrated himself. 27. Prajapati, thus concentrated, received a body, which was formed of the quality of gloom (tamas); and as he desired to create, Asuras were first produced from his groin. 28. He then abandoned that body formed entirely of gloom; which when abandoned by him became night. 29. Desiring to create, when he had occupied another body, Brahma experienced pleasure; and then gods, full of the quality of goodness, sprang from his mouth. 30. That body

<sup>101</sup> The Vüyn P, adds here: Lakshanais tärakadyaileha ashtadhä eha vyavasthitäh | siddhätmäno manushyäs te gandharva-saha-dharminah | ity esha taijasah sargo hy areäkeretäh prakirttitah | "Constituted with preservative(i) characteristics, and in an eightfold manner. These were men perfect in their essence, and in nature equal to Gandharvas. This was the lustrous creation known as Arväksrotas,"

<sup>100</sup> See Dr. Half's edition of Wilson's V. P. pp. 32 ff.; and pp. 74 ff.

<sup>189</sup> This word is borrowed from the passage of the Taittiriya Brähmana, ii. 3, 5, 3, quoted above, p. 23. Most of the particulars in the rest of the narrative are imitated from another passage of the same Brähmana, ii. 2, 9, 5 ff., also quoted above, p. 28.

also, being abandoned by him, became day, which is almost entirely good. Hence the Asuras are powerful by night110 and the gods by day-31. He then assumed another body formed of pure goodness; and the Fathers were born from him, when he was regarding himself as a father. 111 32. The Lord, after creating the Fathers, abandoned that body also; which, when so abandoned, became twilight, existing between day and night. 33. He next took another body entirely formed of passion; and men, in whom passion is violent, were produced. The primoval Prajapati speedily discarded this body also. which became faint light (jyotsnā), which is called early twilight. 34. Hence, at the appearance of this faint light, men are strong, while the fathers are strong at evening-twilight. 35. Morning-twilight, night, day, and evening-twilight, these are the four bodies of Brahma. and the receptacles of the three qualities. 36. Brahma next took another body entirely formed of passion, from which sprang hunger, and through it anger was produced. 37. The Divine Being then in darkness created beings emaciated with hunger, which, hideous of aspect, and with long beards, rushed against the lord. 38. Those who said, 'Let him not be preserved' (rakshyatām) were called Rākshasas. whilst those others who cried, 'Let us cat (him)' were called Yakshas from 'eating' (yakshanāt).112

It is not necessary for my purpose that I should quote at length the conclusion of the section. It may suffice to say that verses 39 to 51 describe the creation of serpents from Brahmā's hair; of Bhūtas; of Gandharvas; of birds (vayāmsi) from the creator's life (vayas), of sheep from his breast, of goats from his mouth, of kine from his belly and sides, and of horses, is elephants, and other animals from his feet; of plants from his hairs; of the different metres and vedas from his eastern, southern, western, and northern mouths. Verses 52 ff. contain a recapitulation of the creative operations, with some statement of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> In the Rămāyana, Sundara Kānda 82, 13 f. (Gorresio's edit.) we read: Ruk-shasāā rajanī-kālah samyugeshu pralasyate | 14. Tasmād rājan nilā-yudāhe jāya 'amākam na samjayah | "Night is the approved time for the Rakshases to fight. We should therefore undoubtedly conquer in a necturnal conflict."

This idea also is borrowed from Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2.
 See Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 83, and Dr. Hall's note.

<sup>113</sup> See the passage from the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4 ff. quoted above, p. 16, where the same origin is ascribed to horses.

principles according to which they were conducted. Of these verses I quote only the following: 55. Teshām ye yāni karmāni prāk-sristhyām pratipedire | tāny eva pratipadyante srijyamānāh punah punah | . . . 60. Yathārtāv ritu-lingāni nānārūpāni paryaye | drišyante tāni tānyevā tathā bhāvā yugādishu | 61. Karoty evameidhām srishtim kalpādau sa punah punah | sisrikshāšakti-yukto'sau srijya-šakti-pracheditah | "These creatures, as they are reproduced time after time, discharge the same functions as they had fulfilled in the previous creation . . . 60. Just as, in each season of the year, all the various characteristics of that season are perceived, on its recurrence, to be the very same as they had been before; so too are the beings produced at the beginnings of the ages. 14 61. Possessing both the will and the ability to create, and impelled by the powers inherent in the things to be created, the deity produces again and again a creation of the very same description at the beginning of every Kalpa."

The sixth section of the same book of the V. P., of which I shall cite the larger portion, professes to give a more detailed account of the creation of mankind.

V. P. i. 6, 1. Maitreya uvācha | Arvākerotas tu kathito bhavatā yas tu mānushah | brahman vistarato brūhi Brahmā tam asrijad yathā | 2. Yathā cha varnān asrijad yad-guņāms cha mahāmune | yachcha teshām smritam karma viprādīnam tad uchyatām | Parāšara uvācha | 3. Satyābhidhyāyinas tasya sisrikshor Brahmano jagat | ajāyanta dvijašreshtha sattvodríkta mukhat prajah | 4. Vakshaso rajasodríktas tatha 'nya Brahmano 'bhavan | rajasā tamasā chaiva samudriktās tathorutah | 5. Padbhyām anyāh prajā Brahmā sasarjja dvija-sattama | tamah-pradhānās tāh sarvāš chāturvarnyam idam tatah | brāhmaņāh kshattriyā vaišvāh śūdrūšcha dvija-sattama | pādoru-vakshah-sthalato mukhataš cha samudgatāh | 6. Yajna-nishpattoye sarvam etad Brahmā chakāra vai | chāturvarnyam mahābhāga yajna-sādhanam uttamam | 7. Yajnair āpyāvitā decā vrishty-utsargena vai prajāķ | âpyāyayante dharma-jna yājnāh kalyāna-hetavah | 8. Nishpadyante narais tais tu sva-karmābhirataih sadā | viruddhācharanāpetaih sadbhih sanmārga-gāmībhih | 9. Scargaparargau mänushyät präpnuvanti narä mune | yuch chäbhiruchitam sthanam tad yanti manuja dvija | 10. Prajas tah Brahmana srishtäs chāturvarnya-vyavasthitau | somyak śraddhā-samāchāra-pra-144 Verses similar to this occur in Manu i. 30; and in the Mahabharata xii. 8550 f.

vanā muni-sattama | 11. Yatheehhā-vāsa-niratāh sarvābādha-vivarjitāh | śuddhāntaḥ-karaṇāh śuddhāh sarvānushṭhāna-nirmalāḥ | 14.115 Suddhe cha tasam manasi suddhe 'ntah-samsthite Harau | suddha-jnanam prapasyanti Vishne-ākhyam yena tatpadam | 15. Tatah kālātmako yo 'sau sa chāmsah kathito Hareh | sa pātayaty agho ghoram alpam alpālpasāravat | 16. Adharma-vija-bhūtam tu tamo-lobha-samudbhavam | prajāsu tāsu Maitreya rāgādikam asādhakam | 17. Tatah sā sahajā siddhis tăsam nătiva jāyate | rasollāsādayas chānyāh siddhayo shtau bhavanti yāḥ | 18. Tāsu kshīnāse ašeshāsu varddhamāne cha pātake | dvandvādibhava-duhkhārttās tā bhavanti tatah prajāh | 19. Tato durgāni tāś chakrur värkshyam pärvatam audakam | kritimam eha tatha durgam purakarcatakādi yat | 20. Grihāni cha yathanyayam teshu chakruh purādishu | šītātapādi-bādhānām prašamāya mahāmate | 21. Pratikāram imam kritvā šītādes tāh prajāh punah | vārttopāyam tatas chakrur hasta-siddham cha karma-jam | . . . 26. Gramyaranyah smrita hy eta oshadhyaś cha chaturdaśa | yajna-nishpattaye yajnas tathā "sām hetur uttamah | 27. Etäš cha saha yajnena prajānām karāṇam param | parāpara-vidah prājnās tato yajnān vitanvate | 28. Ahany ahany anushthānam yajnānām munisattama | upakāra-karam pumsām kriyamanach cha śanti-dam | 29. Tesham tu kala-spishto sau papa-vindur mahāmate | chetassu vavridhe chakrus te na yajneshu mānasam | 30. Veda-vädäms tatha devan yainakarmädikam cha yat | tat sarvam nindamānās te yajna-vyāsedha-kārinah | 31. Pravritti-mārga-vyuchchittikarino veda-nindakah | duratmano durachara babhavuh kutilasayah | 32. Samsiddhayam tu varttayam prajah srishtea Prajapatih | maryadām sthāpayāmāsa yathā-sthānam yathā-guņam | 34. Varnānām āśramānām cha dharmān dharma-bhritām vara | lokāms sarva-varnānām samyag dharmānupālinām | 35. Prājāpatyam brāhmanānām smritam sthänam krivävatām | sthänam aindram kshattrivanām sangrameshv anivarttinām | 36. Vaišyānām mārutam sthānam sva-dharmam anuvarttinām | gāndhareum śūdra-jātīnām paricharyāsu varttinām |

"Maitreya says: 1. You have described to me the Arvāksrotas, or human, creation: declare to me, o Brahman, in detail the manner in which Brahmā formed it. 2. Tell me how, and with what qualities, he created the castes, and what are traditionally reputed to be the

<sup>119</sup> There are no verses numbered 12 and 13, the MSS, passing from the 11th to the 14th.

functions of the Brahmans and others. Parasara replies: 3. When, true to his design, Brahma became desirous to create the world, creatures in whom goodness (sattva) prevailed sprang from his mouth; (4) others in whom passion (rajas) predominated came from his breast; others in whom both passion and darkness (tamas) were strong, proceded from his thighs; (5) others he created from his feet, whose chief characteristic was darkness. Of these was composed the system of four castes, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, who had respectively issued from his mouth, breast, thighs, and feet. 6. Brahmā formed this 116 entire fourfold institution of classes for the performance of sacrifice, of which it is an excellent instrument. 7. Nourished by sacrifices, the gods nourish mankind by discharging rain. Sacrifices, the causes of prosperity, (8) are constantly celebrated by virtuous men, devoted to their duties, who avoid wrong observances, and walk in the right path. 9. Men, in consequence of their humanity, obtain heaven and final liberation; and they proceed to the world which they desire, 10. These creatures formed by Brahma in the condition of the four castes, (were) perfectly inclined to conduct springing from religious faith, (11) loving to dwell wherever they pleased, free from all sufferings, pure in heart, pure, spotless in all observances. 14. And in their pure minds,-the pure Hari dwelling within them,-(there existed) pure knowledge whereby they beheld his highest station, called (that of) Vishnu.117 15. Afterwards that which is described as the portion of Hari consisting of Time 118 infused into those beings direful sin, in the form of desire and the like, ineffective (of man's end), small in amount, but gradually increasing in force, (16) the seed of unrighteousness, and sprung from darkness and cupidity. 17. Thenceforward their innate perfectness was but slightly evolved: and as all the other eight perfections called rasollass and the rest (18) declined, and sin increased, these creatures (mankind) were afflicted with suffering arising

ur This alludes to an expression in the Rig-veda, i. 22, 20. See the 4th vol. of this work, p. 54.

<sup>118</sup> How does this agree with the statements made in the Taitt. Sanh. vii. 1, 1, 4 ff. as quoted above, p. 16, and in the Taitt. Br. iii. 2, 3, 9, p. 21, that the S'adra is incapacitated for sacrifice, and that anything he milks out is no oblation?

<sup>118</sup> In regard to Kala, "Time," see Wilson's V. P. vol. i. p. 18 f., and the passages from the Atharva-veda, extracted in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 380 ff.

out of the pairs (of susceptibilities to pleasure and pain, etc., etc.) 19. They then constructed fastnesses among trees, on hills, or amid waters, as well as artificial fortresses, towns, villages, etc. 20. And in these towns, etc., they built houses on the proper plan, in order to counteract cold, heat, and other discomforts. 21. Having thus provided against cold, etc., they devised methods of livelihood depending upon labour, and executed by their hands." The kinds of grain which they cultivated are next described in the following verses 22 to 25. The text then proceeds, verse 26: "These are declared to be the fourteen kinds of grain, cultivated and wild, fitted for sacrifice; and sacrifice is an eminent cause of their existence. 27. These, too, along with sacrifice, are the most efficacious sources of progeny. Hence those who understand cause and effect celebrate sacrifices. 28. Their daily performance is beneficial to men, and delivers from sins committed. 29. But that drop of sin which had been created by time increased in men's hearts, and they disregarded sacrifice. 30. Reviling the Vedas, and the prescriptions of the Vedas, the gods, and all sacrificial rites, etc., obstructing oblations, (31) and cutting off the path of activity, 110 they became malignant, vicious, and perverse in their designs. 32. The means of subsistence being provided, Prajapati, having created living beings, established a distinction according to their position and qualities (see verses 3 to 5 above), (and fixed) the duties of the eastes and orders, and the worlds (to be attained after death) by all the castes which perfectly fulfilled their duties. 33. The world of Prajapati is declared to be the (future) abode of those Brahmans who are assiduous in religious rites; the realm of Indra the abode of those Kshattriyas who turn not back in battle; (34) that of the Maruts the abode of those Vaisyas who fulfil their duties; and that of the Gandharvas the abode of the men of Sudra race who abide in their vocation of service." In the remaining verses of the chapter (35 to 39) the realms of blessedness destined for the reception of more eminent saints are briefly noticed, as well as the infernal regions, to which the wicked are doomed.

<sup>119</sup> Prospitti-mārga-ryuchchhitti-kāripah. The Commentator ascribes this to the human race being no longer sufficiently propagated, for he adds the explanation: yajnānaunuhthāne devair avarehanād annābhārena prajā-vriddher asiddheh | "because population did not increase from the want of food caused by the gods ceasing to send rain in consequence of the non-celebration of sacrifice."

At the beginning of the seventh section, without any further enquiry on the part of Maitreya, Parasara proceeds as follows:

V. P. i. 7, 1. Tato 'bhidhyayatas tasya jajnire manasih prajah | tachchharira-samutpannaih karyais taih karanaih saha | 2. Kshettrajnah samavarttanta gatrebhyas tasya dhimatah | te sarve samavarttanta ye mayā prāg udāhritāh | 3. Devādyāh sthāvarāntās cha traigunyavishaye sthitäh | evam bhūtāni srishtāni charāni sthāvarāni cha | 4. Yadā 'sya tāh prajāh sarvā va vyavarddhanta dhīmatah | athānyān mānasān putrān sadrišān ātmano 'srijat | 5. Bhrigum Pulastyam Pulaham Kratum Angirasam tatha | Marichim Daksham Atrim cha Vasishtham chaira manasan | nava brahmana ity ete purane niśchayam gatah | 6. Sanandanādayo ye cha purcam spishtās tu Vedhasā | na te lokeshv asajjanta nirapekshah prajasu to | sarce te chagata-jnana cita-raga vimatsarāh | 7. Teshv evam nirapeksheshu loka-srishtau mahātmanah | Brahmano 'bhūd mahākrodhas trailokya-dahana-kshamah | 8. Tasya krodhāt samudbhūta-jvālā-mālā-vidīpitom | Brahmaņo 'bhūt tadā sarvam trailokyam akhilam mune | 9. Bhrūkuţī-kuţilāt tasya lalāţāt krodhadīpitāt | samutpannas tadā Rudro madhyāhnārka-sama-prabhah | ardhanārī-nara-vapuh prachando 'tišarīravān | vibhajātmānam ity ukteā tam Brahmā 'ntardadhe punah | 10. Tathokto 'sau dvidhā strītvam purushatvam tathā 'karot | bibheda purushtvam cha dasadhā chaikadhā cha sah | 11. Saumyāsaumyais tathā šāntāšāntaih strītcam cha sa prabhuh | bibheda bahudhā devah svarūpair asitaih sitaih | 12. Tato Brahmā "tmasambhūlam pūrvam svāyambhuvam prabhum | ātmānam eva kritavān prajāpālam Manum dvija | 13. Satarūpām cha tām nārīm tapo-nirdhūtakalmasham | svayambhuvo Manur devah patnyartham jagrihe vibhuh | 14. Tasmāch cha purushād devī Satarāpā vyajāyata | Priyavratottānapadau Prasūtyākūti-sanjnitam | kanyā-dvayam cha dharma-ina rūpaudarya-gunanvitam | 15. Dadau Prasūtim Dakshāyāthākūtim Ruchaye purā ityādi |

"1. Then from him, as he was desiring, there were born mental sons with effects and causes 150 derived from his body. 2. Embodied spirits sprang from the limbs of that wise Being. All those creatures sprang forth which have been already described by me, (3) beginning

<sup>130</sup> The Commentator explains these words kāryais taih kāranaih saha to mean "bodies and senses."

with gods and ending with motionless objects, and existing in the condition of the three qualities. Thus were created beings moving and stationary. 4. When none of these creatures of the Wise Being multiplied, he next formed other, mental, sons like to himself, (5) Bhrigu, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Angiras, Marīchi, Daksha, Atri, and Vasishtha, all born from his mind. These are the nine Brahmas who have been determined in the Puranas. 6. But Sanandana and the others who had been previously created by Vedhas (Brahma) had no regard for the worlds, and were indifferent to offspring. They had all attained to knowledge, were freed from desire, and devoid of envy. 7. As they were thus indifferent about the creation of the world, great wrath, sufficient to burn up the three worlds, arose in the mighty Brahmā. 8. The three worlds became entirely illuminated by the wreath of flame which sprang from his anger. 9. Then from his forehead, wrinkled by frowns and inflamed by fury, arose Rudra, luminous as the midday sun, with a body half male and half female, fiery, and huge in bulk. After saying to him, 'Divide thyself,' Brahma vanished. 10. Being so addressed, Rudra severed himself into two, into a male and a female form. The god next divided his male body into eleven parts, (11) beautiful and hideous, gentle and ungentle; and his female figure into numerous portions with appearances black and white. 12. Brahmä then made the lord Sväyambhuva, who had formerly sprung from himself, and was none other than himself, to be Manu the protector of creatures. 13. The god Manu Sväyambhuva took for his wife the female Satarūpa, who by austere fervour had become freed from all defilement. 14. To that Male the goddess Satarūpā bore Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, and two daughters called Prasūti and Akūti, distinguished by the qualities of beauty and magnanimity. 15. He of old gave Prasuti in marriage to Daksha, and Akūti to Ruchi."

From a comparison of the preceding narratives of the creation of mankind, extracted from the fifth and sixth chapters of the First Book of the Vishnu Purana, it will be seen that the details given in the different accounts are not consistent with each other. It is first of all stated in the fifth chapter (verse 16) that the arvaksrotas, or human creation was characterized by the qualities of darkness and passion. In the second account (verse 33) we are told that Brahmā assumed a body composed of passion, from which men, in whom that quality is power-

ful, were produced. in In neither of these narratives is the slightest allusion made to there having been any primeval and congenital distinction of classes. In the third statement given in the sixth chapter (verses 3 to 5) the human race is said to have been the result of a fourfold creation; and the four castes, produced from different parts of the creator's body, are declared to have been each especially characterized by different qualities (gunas), viz., those who issued from his mouth by goodness (sattra), those who proceeded from his breast by passion (rajas), those who were produced from his thighs by both passion and darkness (tamas), and those who sprang from his feet by darkness. In the sequel of this account, however, no mention is made of any differences of conduct arising from innate diversities of disposition having been manifested in the carliest age by the members of the different classes. On the contrary, they are described (verses 10 ff.) in language applicable to a state of perfection which was universal and uniform, as full of faith, pure-hearted and devout. In like manner the declension in purity and goodness which ensued is not represented as peculiar to any of the classes, but as common to all. So far, therefore, the different castes seem, according to this account, to have been undistinguished by any variety of mental or moral constitution. And it is not until after the deterioration of the entire race has been related, that we are told (in verses 32 f.) that the separate duties of the several castes were fixed in accordance with their position and qualities. This sketch of the moral and religious history of mankind, in the earliest period, is thus deficient in failing to explain how beings, who were originally formed with very different ethical characters, should have been all equally excellent during their period of perfection, and have also experienced an uniform process of decline.

In regard to the variation between the two narratives of the creation found in the fifth chapter of the Vishau Purana, Professor Wilson remarks as follows in a note to vol. i. p. 80: "These reiterated, and not always very congruous, accounts of the creation are explained by the Puranas referring to different Kalpas or renovations of the world, and therefore involving no incompatibility. A better reason for their appearance

<sup>191</sup> Compare the passage given above at the close of Sect. V. pp. 41 ff., from Manu xii. 39 ff. and the remarks thereon.

is the probability that they have been borrowed from different original authorities." 222

As regards the first of these explanations of the discrepancies in question, it must be observed that it is inapplicable to the case before us, as the text of the Vishnu Purana itself says nothing of the different accounts of the creation having reference to different Kalpas: and in absence of any intimation to the contrary we must naturally assume that the various portions of the consecutive narration in the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters, which are connected with each other by a series of questions and answers, must all have reference to the creation which took place at the commencement of the existing or Vārāha Kalpa, as stated in the opening verse of the fourth chapter. Professor Wilson's supposition that the various and discrepant accounts "have been borrowed from different original authorities" appears to have probability in its favour. I am unable to point out the source from which the first description of the creation, in the early part of the fifth chapter, verses 1 to 23, has been derived. But the second account, given in verses 26 to 35, has evidently drawn many of its details from the passages of the Taittiriya Brāhmana ii. 2, 9, 5-9, and ii. 3, 8, 2 f., and Satapatha Brahmana xi. 1, 6, 6 ff. which I have quoted above. And it is possible that the references which are found in the former of these descriptions in the Vishpu Purana to different portions of the creation

<sup>123</sup> The discrepancies between current legends on different subjects are occasionally noticed in the text of the Vishyu Paraya. Thus in the eighth chapter of the first book, v. 12, Maitreya, who had been told by Parasara that S'ri was the daughter of Bhrigu and Khyāti, enquires : Kshīrābdhau S'rīh puratpannā śrūyate mrita-manthans | Bhrigoh Khyātyam samutpannety etad aha katham bhavan | "It is reported that S'ri was produced in the ocean of milk when ambrosia was churned. How do you say that she was born to Bhrigu by Khyāti?" He receives for answer: 13. Nityaina sā jaganmātā Vishneh S'rīr anapāyinī (another MS. reads anuyāyinī) pathā sarvagata Vishnus tathoiceyam dejjottama | "S'ri, the mother of the world, and wife of Vishnu, is eternal and undecaying" (or, according to the other reading, " is the eternal follower of Vishpu"). " As he is omnipresent, so is she," and so on. The case of Daksha will be noticed further on in the text. On the method resorted to by the Commentators in cases of this description Professor Wilson observes in a note to p. 203 (4to. edition), "other calculations occur, the incompatibility of which is said, by the Commentators on our text and on that of the Bhugavata, to arise from reference being made to different Kalpas; and they quote the same stanza to this effect : Keachit brachit puraneshu virodho yadi lakshyate | kalpa-bhedadibhis tatra virodhah sadbhir ishyate | Whenever any contradictions in different Puranas are observed, they are ascribed by the pious to differences of Kalpas and the like."

being ineffective may have been suggested by some of the other details in the Brāhmaṇas, which I shall now proceed to cite. At all events some of the latter appear to have given rise to the statement in the fourth verse of the seventh chapter of the Vishṇu P. that the creatures formed by Brahmā did not multiply, as well as to various particulars in the narratives which will be quoted below from the Vāyu and Mārkaṇ-deya Purāṇas. The Brāhmanas describe the creative operations of Pra-jāpati as having been attended with intense effort, and often followed by great exhaustion; and not only so, but they represent many of these attempts to bring living creatures of various kinds into existence, to sustain them after they were produced, and to ensure their propagation, as having been either altogether abortive, or only partially successful. The following quotations will afford illustrations of these different points:

Taitt. Br. i. 1, 10, 1. Prajāpatiķ prajāķ asrijata | sa ririchāno manyata | sa tapo 'tapyata | sa ātman vīryam apašyat tad avarddhata |

"Prajāpati created living beings. He felt himself emptied. He performed austere abstraction. He perceived vigour in himself. It increased, etc."

Taitt. Br. i. 2, 6, 1. Prajāpatiķ prajāķ sriskţvā vritto<sup>121</sup> 'šayat | tam devāķ bhūtānām rasam tejaķ sambhritya tena enam abhishajyan "mahān avavartti" iti |

"Prajāpati after creating living beings lay exhausted. The gods, collecting the essence and vigour of existing things, cured him therewith, saying he has become great, etc."

Taitt. Br. ii. 3, 6, 1. Prajāpatiķ prajāķ sriskţvā vyasramsata | sa hridayam bhūto 'śayat |

"Prajāpati, after creating living beings, was paralysed. Becoming a heart, he slept."

S. P. Br. iii. 9, 1, 1. Prajāpatir vai prajāh sasrijāno ririchānah iva amanyata | tasmāt parāchyah prajāh āsuh | no asya prajāh śriye 'nnād-yāya jajnire | 2. Sa aikshata " arikshy aham asmai (? yasmai) u kāmāya asrikshi na me sa kāmah samārdhi parāchyo mat-prajāh abhūvan na me prajāh śriye 'nnādyāya asthishata' iti | 3. Sa aikshata Prajāpatih " katham nu punar ātmānam āpyāydyeya upa mā prajāh samāvartterams tishtheran me prajāh śriye annādyāya' iti | so 'rehhan śrāmyamś cha-

chāra prajā-kāmaḥ | sa etām ekādaśinīm apašyat | sa ekādaśinyā ishţvā Prajāpatiḥ punar ātmānam āpyāyayata upa enam prajāḥ samāvarttanta atishṭhanta asya prajāḥ śriye 'nnādyāya sa vasīyān eva ishṭvā 'bhavat |

"'Prajāpati when creating living beings felt himself as it were emptied. The living creatures went away from him. They were not produced so as to prosper and to eat food. 2. He considered: 'I have become emptied: the object for which I created them has not been fulfilled: they have gone away, and have not gained prosperity and food.' 3. He considered: 'how can I again replenish myself; and how shall my creatures return to me, and acquire prosperity and food?' Desirous of progeny, he went on worshipping and performing religious rites. He beheld this Ekādaśinī (Eleven); and sacrificing with it, he again replenished himself; his creatures returned to him, and gained prosperity and food. Having sacrificed, he became more brilliant."

S. P. Br. x. 4, 2, 2. So'yam samvatsarah Prajapatih sarvani bhūtāni sasrije yach cha prāni yach cha aprānam ubhayān deva-manushyān | sa sarvāni bhūtāni srīshtvā ririchāna iva mene | sa mrityor bibhiyānchakāra | 2. Sa ha īkshānchakre "katham nv aham imāni sarvāni bhūtāni punar ātman ācapeya punar ātman dadhīya katham nv aham eva eshām sarveshām bhūtānām punar ātmā syām" iti |

"This Year, (who is) Prajāpati, created all beings, both those which breathe and those that are without breath, both gods and men. Having created all beings he felt himself as it were emptied. He was afraid of death. 2. He reflected, 'How can I again unite all these beings with myself, again place them in myself? How can I alone be again the soul of all these beings?"

S. P. Br. x. 4, 4, 1. Prajapatim vai prajāķ srijamānam pāpmā mrityur abhiparijaghāna | sa tapo 'tapyata sahasram samvatsarān pāpmānam vijihāsan |

"Misery, death, smote Prajapati, as he was creating living beings. He performed austere abstraction for a thousand years, with the view of shaking off misery."

S. P. Br. ii. 5, 1, 1. Prajāpatir ha vai idam agre ekah eva āsa | sa aikshata "katham nu prajāyeya" iti | so 'śrāmyat sa tapo 'tapyata | sa prajāh asrijata | tāh asya prajāh srishtāh parābabhūvuh | tāni imāni vayāmsi | purusho vai Prajāpater nedishtham | dvipād vai ayam purushah | tasmād dvipādo vayāmsi | 2. Sa aikshata Prajāpatih | "yathā

nv eva purā eko'bhūvam evam u nv eva apy etarhy eka eva asmi'' iti | sa deitīyāḥ sasrije | tāḥ asya parā eva babhūvuḥ | tad idam kshudram sarīsripam yad anyat sarpebhyaḥ | tritīyāḥ sasrije ity āhus tāḥ asya parā eva babhūvuḥ | te ime sarpāḥ . . . | 3 So'rehhan śrāmyan Prajāpatir īkshānchakre "katham nu me prajāḥ srishtāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa ha etad eva dadarśa "anaśanatayā vai me prajāḥ parābhavanti" iti | sa ātmanaḥ eva agro stanayoḥ paya āpyāyayānchakre | sa prajāḥ asrijata | tāḥ asya prajāḥ srishtāḥ stanāv eva obhipadya tās tataḥ sambabhūvuḥ | tāḥ imāḥ aparābhūtāḥ |

"1. Prajāpati alone was formerly this universe. He reflected, 'How can I be propagated?' He toiled in religious rites, and practised austere fervour. He created living beings. After being created by him they perished. They were these birds. Man is the thing nearest to Prajāpati. This being, man, is two-footed. Hence birds are two-footed creatures. Prajāpati reflected, 'As I was formerly but one, so am I now also only one.' He created a second set of living beings. They also perished. This was the class of small reptiles other than serpents. They say he created a third set of beings, which also perished. They were these serpents . . . 3. Worshipping and toiling in religious rites, Prajāpati reflected, 'How is it that my creatures perish after they have been formed?' He perceived this, 'they perish from want of food.' In his own presence he caused milk to be supplied to breasts. He created living beings, which resorting to the breasts were then preserved. These are the creatures which did not perish."

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 2, 1. Vaisvadevena vai Prajāpatih prajāh asrijata | tāḥ srishtāh na prājāyanta | so'gnir akāmayata "aham imāh prajanayeyam" iti | sa Prajāpataye šucham adadhāt | so'šochat prajām ichhamānah | tasmād yam cha prajā bhunakti yam cha na tāv ubhau šochatah prajām ichhamānau | tāse Agnim apy asrijat | tā Agnir adhyait (2) Somo reto'dadhāt Savitā prājanayat | Sarasvatī vācham adadhāt | Pūshā'poshayat | te vai ete trih samvatsarasya prayujyante ye devāh pushtipatayah | samvatsaro vai Prajāpatih | samvatsarena eva asmai prajāh prējanayat | tāh prājāh jātāh Maruto'ghnan "asmān api na prāyukshata" iti | 3. Sa etam Prajāpatir mārutam saptakapālam apašyat | tam niravapat | tato vai prajābhyo'kalpata | . . . sa Prajāpatir ašochat "yāh pūrvāh prajāh asrikshi Marutas tāh avadhishuh katham aparāh

srijeya" iti | tasya sushma andam bhūtam niravartlata | tad vyudaharat | tad avoshavat | tat prājāvata |

"Prajāpati formed living creatures by the vaiśvadeva (offering to the Wiśvedevas). Being created they did not propagate. Agni desired' 'let me beget these creatures.' He imparted grief to Prajapati. He grieved, desiring offspring. Hence he whom offspring blesses, and he whom it does not bless, both of them grieve, desiring progeny. Among them he created Agni also. Agni desired (?) them. Soma infused seed. Savitri begot them. Sarasvatī infused into them speech. Pūshan nourished them. These (gods) who are lords of nourishment are employed thrice in the year. Prajapati is the Year. It was through the year that he generated offspring for him. The Maruts killed those creatures when they had been born, saying 'they have not employed us also. 3. Prajapati saw this Maruta oblation in seven platters. He offered it. In consequence of it he became capable of producing offspring . . . . Prajapati lamented, (saying) 'the Maruts have slain the former living beings whom I created. How can I create others?' His vigour sprang forth in the shape of an egg. He took it up. He cherished it. It became productive."

Taitt. Br. iii. 10, 9, 1. Prajāpatir devān asrijata | te pāpmanā sanditāḥ ajāyanta | tān vyadyat |

"Prajapati created gods. They were born bound by misery. He released them."

Taitt. Br. ii. 7, 9, 1. Prajāpatiķ prajāķ asrijata | tāķ asmāt srishtāķ parāchīr āyan | sa etam Prajāpatir odanam apasyat | so 'nnam bhūto 'tishthat | tāḥ anyatra annādyam avitcā Prajāpatim prajāh upāvarttanta |

"Prajapati created living beings. They went away from him. He beheld this odana. He was turned into food. Having found food nowhere else, they returned to him."

Taitt. Br. i. 6, 4, 1. Prajāpatiḥ Savitā bhūtvā prajāḥ anrijata | tā enam atyamanyanta | ta asmād apākrāman | tā Varuņo bhūtvā prajāḥ Varuņa-grihītāḥ Prajāpatim punar upādhāvan nātham ichhamānāḥ |

"Prajāpati, becoming Savitri, created living beings. They disregarded him, and went away from him. Becoming Varuna he caused Varuna to seize them. Being seized by Varuna, they again ran to Prajāpati, desiring help." Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 1, 1. Tato vai sa (Prajāpatiķ) prajāķ asrijata | tāķ asmat srisktā apākrāman |

"Prajapati then created living beings. They went away from him."

I have perhaps quoted too many of these stories, which are all similar in character. But I was desirous to afford some idea of their number as well as of their tenor.

As regards the legend of Satarūpā, referred to in the seventh chapter of the first book of the Vishnu Purāṇa, I shall make some further remarks in a future section, quoting a more detailed account given in the Matsya Purāṇa.

Of the two sons of Manu Sväyambhuva and Satarūpā, the name of the second, Uttánapåda, seems to have been suggested by the appearance of the word Uttanapad in Rig-veda x. 72, 3, 4, as the designation (nowhere else traccable, I believe) of one of the intermediate agents in the creation.134 A Priyavrata is mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana vii. 34, and also in the Satapatha Brāhmana x. 3, 5, 14, (where he has the patronymic of Rauhinayana) but in both these texts he appears rather in the light of a religious teacher, who had lived not very long before the age of the author, than as a personage belonging to a very remote antiquity. Daksha also, who appears in this seventh chapter as one of the mindborn sons of Brahma, is named in R. V. ii. 27, 1, as one of the Adityas, and in the other hymn of the R.V. just alluded to, x. 72, vv. 4 and 5, he is noticed as being both the son and the father of the goddess Aditi. In the S. P. ii. 4, 4, he is identified with Prajapati.125 In regard to his origin various legends are discoverable in the Puranas. Besides the passage before us, there are others in the V. P. in which he is mentioned. In iv. 1, 5, it is said that he sprang from the right thumb of Brahma, and that Aditi was his daughter (Brahmanaścho dakshinangushtha-janma Dakshah | Prajapater Dakshasyapy Aditih). In another place, V. P. i. 15, 52, it is said that Daksha, although formerly the son of Brahma, was born to the ten Prachetases by Műrishä (Daśabhyas tu Prachetobhyo Műrishäyäm Prajápatih | jajne Daksho mahabhago yah parvam Brahmano 'bhacat |). 'This double pa-

<sup>124</sup> See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 10 f.

<sup>325</sup> See the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 10 ff. 24, 101; Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1865, pp. 72 ff.; Roth in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 75.

rentage of Daksha appears to Maitreya, one of the interlocutors in the Purăna, to require explanation, and he accordingly enquires of his informant, vv. 60 ff.: Angushthād dakshinad Dakshah pūrvam jātah šrutam mayā | katham Prāchetaso bhūyah sa sambhūto mahāmuns | esha me samsayo brahman sumahān hridi varttate | yad dauhitras cha somasya punah śvasuratām gatah | Parāsara uvācha | utpattis cha nirodhas cha nityau bhūteshu vai mune | rishayo 'tra na muhyanti ye chānye divyachakshushah | 61. Yuge yuge bhavanty ete Dakshādyā muni-sattama | punas chaiva nirudhyante vidvāms tatra na muhyati | 62. Kānishthyam jyaishthyam apy eshām pūrvam nābhūd dvijottama | tapa eva garīyo 'bhūt prabhāvas chaiva kāraṇam |

"60. I have heard that Daksha was formerly born from the right thumb of Brahmā. How was he again produced as the son of the Prachetases? This great doubt arises in my mind; and also (the question) how he, who was the daughter's son of Soma, 155 afterwards became his father-in-law. Parāśara answered: Both birth and destruction are perpetual among all creatures. Rishis, and others who have celestial insight, are not bewildered by this. In every age Daksha and the rest are born and are again destroyed: a wise man is not bewildered by this. Formerly, too, there was neither juniority nor seniority: austere fervour was the chief thing, and power was the cause (of distinction)."

The reader who desires further information regarding the part played by Daksha, whether as a progenitor of allegorical beings, or as a creator, may compare the accounts given in the sequel of the seventh and in the eleventh chapters of Book I. of the V. P. (pp. 108 ff. and 152 ff.) with that to be found in the fifteenth chapter (vol. ii. pp. 10 ff.).

I will merely add, in reference to Akūti, the second daughter of Manu Svāyambhuva and Satarūpā, that the word is found in the Rig-veda with the signification of "will" or "design;" but appears to be personified in a passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, iii. 12, 9, 5 (the context of which has been cited above, p. 41), where it is said: Frā patnī višvasrijām ākūtir apinaḍ haviḥ | "Irā (Iḍā) was the wife of the creators. Akūti kneaded the oblation."

<sup>128</sup> See Wilson's V. P. vol. ii. p. 2, at the top.

Secr. VIII.—Account of the different creations, including that of the castes, according to the Vayu and Markandeya Puranas.

I now proceed to extract from the Vāyu and Mārkandeya Purānas the accounts which they supply of the creation, and which are to the same effect as those which have been quoted from the Vishnu Purāna, although with many varieties of detail.

I shall first adduce a passage from the fifth chapter of the Vāyu (which to some extent runs parallel with the second chapter of the Vishnu Purāna 187), on account of its containing a different account from that generally given of the triad of gods who correspond to the triad of qualities (gunas).

Vayu Purana, chapter v. verse 11. Ahar-mukhe pravritte cha parah prakriti-sambhavah | kshobhayāmāsa yogena parena parameścarah | 12. Pradhānam purusham chaiva pravišyāndam Mahešvarah | 13. Pradhānāt kshobhyamanat tu rajo vai samavarttata | rajah pravarttakam tatra vijeshv api yathā jalam | 14. Guna-vaishamyam āsādya prasūyante hy adhishthitäh | gunebhyah kshobhyamanebhyas trayo deva vijajnire | 15. Aśritāh123 paramā guhyāh sarvātmānah śarīrinah | rajo Brahmā tamo hy Agnih sattvam Vishnur ajayata | 16. Rajah-prakasako Brahma erashtriteena vyavasthitah | tamah-prakāšako 'gnis tu kālatvena vyavasthitah | 17. Sattva-prakāšako Vizhņur audāsīnye vyavasthitah | ete eca trayo lokā ete eva trayo gunāh | 18. Ete eva trayo vedā ete eva trayo 'gnayah | parasparāśritāh hy ete parasparam anuvratāh | 19. Parasparena varttante dharayanti parasparam | anyonya-mithuna hy ete hy anyonyam upajívinah | 20. Kshanam viyogo na hy eshūm na tyajanti parasparam | Iśvaro hi paro deco Vishnus tu mahatah parah | 21. Brahmā tu rajosadriktah sargayeha pravarttate | paraścha purusho ineyah prakritiścha pară smrită |

"11, 12. At the beginning of the day, the supreme Lord Maheśvara, sprung from Prakriti, entering the egg, agitated with extreme intentness both Pradhāna (= Prakriti) and Purusha. 13. From

<sup>127</sup> See pp. 27 and 41 f. of Wilson's V. P. vol. i.

<sup>128</sup> The Gaikowar MS. of the India office, No. 2102, reads authitah, instead of airitah, the reading of the Taylor MS.

Pradhana, when agitated, the quality of passion (rajas) arose, which was there a stimulating cause, as water is in seeds. 14. When an inequality in the Gunas arises, then (the deities) who preside over them are generated. From the Gunas thus agitated there sprang three gods (15), indwelling, supreme, mysterious, animating all things, embodied. The rajas quality was born as Brahmâ, the tamas as Agni,170 the sattva as Vishnu. 16. Brahmā, the manifester of rajas, acts in the character of creator; Agni, the manifester of tamas, acts in the capacity of time; 17. Vishnu, the manifester of sattva, abides in a condition of indifference. These deities are the three worlds, the three qualities, (18) the three Vedas, the three fires; they are mutually dependent, mutually devoted. 19. They exist through each other, and uphold each other; they are twin-parts of one another, they subsist through one another. 20. They are not for a moment separated; they never abandon one another. Iśvara (Mahādeva) is the supreme god; and Vishnu is superior to Mahat (the principle of intelligence); while Brahma, filled with rajas, engages in creation. Purusha is to be regarded as supreme, as Prakriti is also declared to be."

The sixth section of the Vayu P., from which the next quotation will be made, corresponds to the fourth of the Vishnu P. quoted above.

1. Āpo hy agre samabhavan nashte 'gnau prithivī-tale | sāntarālaikalīne 'smin nashte sthāvara-jangams | 2. Ekārnave tadā tasmin na prājnāyata kinehana | tadā sa bhagavān Brahmā sahasrākshah sahasra-pāt |
3. Sahasra-šīrshā Purusho rukma-varno hy atīndriyah | Brahmā Nārāyanākhyah sa sushvāpa salile tadā | 4. Sattvodrekāt prabuddhas tu śūnyam lokam udīkshya sah | imam ehodāharanty atra ślokam Nārāyaṇam
prati | 5. Āpo nārā vai tanavah w ity apām nāma śuśruma | apsu śete
cha yat tasmāt tena Nārāyaṇah smritah | 6. Tulyam yuga-sahasrasya
naiśam kālam upāsya sah | śarvary-ante prakurute brahmatvam sargakāraṇāt | 7. Brahmā tu salile tasmin vāyur bhūtvā tadā 'eharat | niśāyām
iva khadyotih prāvrit-kāle tatas tatah | 8. Tatas tu salile tasmin vijnāyūntargatām mahīm | anumāṇād asammūdho bhūmer uddharaṇam prati |

130 See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, p. 57, with the translator's and editor's notes. Verses 1 to 6 are repeated towards the close of the 7th section of the Vayu P. with variations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> The Märk. P. chap. 46, verse 18, has the same line, but substitutes Rudra for Agni, thus: Rajo Brahmā tams Rudro Fishņuḥ sattvam jagat-patih | The two are often identified. See Vol. IV. of this work, 282 ff.

9. Akarot sa tanum hy anyām kalpādishu yathā purā | tato mahātmā manasā divyam rūpam achintayat | 10. Salilenāplutām bhūmim drishtvā sa tu samantatah | "kim nu rūpam mahat kritvā uddhareyam aham mahīm" | 11. Jala-krīdā-suruchiram vārāham rūpam asmarat | adhrishyam sarta-bhūtānām vānmayam dharma-sanjnitam |

"1. When fire had perished from the earth, and this entire world motionless and moving, together with all intermediate things, had been dissolved into one mass, and had been destroyed-waters first were produced. As the world formed at that time but one ocean, nothing could be distinguished. Then the divine Brahma, Purusha, with a thousand eyes, a thousand feet, (3) a thousand heads, of golden hue. beyond the reach of the senses-Brahmā, called Nārāyana, slept on the water. 4. But awaking in consequence of the predominance (in him) of the sattva quality, and beholding the world a void-: Here they quote a verse regarding Nārāyana: 5. 'The waters are the bodies of Nara: such is the name we have heard given to them; and because he sleeps upon them, he is called Narayana.' 6. Having so continued for a nocturnal period equal to a thousand Yugas, at the end of the night he takes the character of Brahma in order to create. 7. Brahma then becoming Vayu (wind) moved upon that water, in hither and thither, like a firefly at night in the rainy season. 8. Discovering then by inference that the earth lay within the waters, but unbewildered, (9) he took, for the purpose of raising it up, another body, as he had done at the beginnings of the (previous) Kalpas. Then that Great Being devised a celestial form. 10. Perceiving the earth to be entirely covered with water, (and asking himself) 'what great shape shall I assume in order that I may raise it up?'-he thought upon the form of a boar, brilliant from aquatic play, invincible by all creatures, formed of speech, and bearing the name of righteousness."

The body of the boar is then described in detail, and afterwards the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, and the restoration of its former shape, divisions, etc. 119—the substance of the account being

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> This statement, which is not in the corresponding passage of the Vishuu P., is evidently borrowed, along with other particulars, from the text of the Taittiriya Sanhita, vii. 1, 5, 1, quoted above p. 52.

IN Following the passage of the Taittiriya Sanhitä, quoted above, the writer in one verse ascribes to Brahma as Visvakarman the arrangement of the earth, totas teshu vis russhu lakodadhi-girisht otha | Visvakarma eibhajats kalpādishu punah punah |

much the same, but the particulars different from those of the parallel passage in the Vishnu Purana.

Then follows a description of the creation coinciding in all essential points 128 with that quoted above, p. 55, from the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Vishnu Purana.

The further account of the creation, however, corresponding to that which I have quoted from the next part of the same chapter of that Purāṇa, is not found in the same position in the Vāyu Purāṇa, 134 but is placed at the beginning of the ninth chapter, two others, entitled Pratisandhi-kīrttana and Chaturāśrama-vibhāga, being interposed as the seventh and eighth. With the view, however, of facilitating comparison between the various cosmogonics described in the two works, I shall preserve the order of the accounts as found in the Vishnu Purāṇa, and place the details given in the ninth chapter of the Vāyu Purāṇa before those supplied in the eighth.

The ninth chapter of the Vayu Purana, which is fuller in its details than the parallel passage in the Vishnu Purana, begins thus, without any specific reference to the contents of the preceding chapter:

Sūta wācha | 1. Tato 'bhidhyāyatas tasya jajnire mānasīh prajāḥ | tach-chharīra - samutpannaiḥ kāryais taiḥ kāraṇaiḥ saha | 2. Kshetrajnāḥ samavarttanta gātrebhyas tasya dhīmataḥ | tato devāsura-pitrīn mānavam cha chatushṭayam | 3. Sisrikshur ambhāmsy etāni svātmanā samayūyujat | yuktātmanas tatas tasya tamomātrā svayambhuvaḥ | 4. Tam abhidhyāyataḥ sargam prayatno 'bhūt Prajāpateḥ | tato 'sya jaghanāt pūrvam asurā jajnire sutāḥ | 5. Asuḥ prāṇaḥ smrito viprais taj-janmānas tato 'surāḥ | yayā srishṭāsurās tanvā tām tanum sa vyapohata 125 | 6. Sā 'pavidāhā tanus tena sadyo rātrir ajāyata | sā tamo-bahulā yasmāt tato rātris triyāmikā | 7. Āvritās tamasā rātrau prajās tasmāt svapanty uta | drishṭvā 'surāms tu deveśas tanum anyām apadyata | 8. Avyaktām sattva-bahulām tatas tām so 'bhyayūyujat | tatas tām yunjatas tasya priyam āsīt prabhoḥ kila | 9. Tato mukhe samutpannā dīcyatas tasya devatāh | yato 'sya dīcyato jātās tena devāh

<sup>123</sup> This is also the case with the details given in the Mark. P. xlvii. 15-27 and ff.

<sup>134</sup> The Mark, P. however observes the same order as the Vishnu P.

<sup>136</sup> The reading in the passage of the Taitt. Br. ii. 2, 9, 6, from which this parrative is borrowed (see above, p. 28), is apahata,—which, however, does not prove that that verb with vi prefixed should necessarily be the true reading here; as the Taylor and Gaikewar MSS, have eyapohata throughout, and in one place eyapohat.

prakirttitāk | 10. Dhātur divīti yah proktah krīdāyām sa vibhāvyate | tasmāt (? yasmāt) tanvām tu divyāyām jajnire tena devatāh | 11. Devān srishteā 'tha devesas tanum anyām apadyata | sattva - mātrātmikām devas tato 'nyām so 'bhyapadyata 196 | 12. Pitrivad manyamānas tan putran pradhyayata prabhuh | pitaro hy upapakshabhyam 14 ratry-ahnor antară 'erijat | 13. Tasmât te pitaro devâh putrateam tena tezhu tat | vavā srishtās tu pitoras tām tanum sa vyapohata | 14. Sā 'paviddhā tanus tena sadyah sandhyā prajāyata | tasmād ahas tu devānām rātrir yā sā "surī smritā | 15. Tayor madhye tu vai paitrī yā tanuh sā garīyası | tasmad devasurah sarce rishayo manavas tatha | 16. Te yuktas tām upāsante rātry-ahnor 136 madhyamām tanum | tato 'nyām sa punar Brahmā tanum vai pratyapadyata | 17. Rajo-mātrātmikām yām tu manasā so 'srijat prabhuh | rajah-prāyān tatah so 'tha mānasān asrijat sutān | 18. Manasas tu tatas tasņa mānasā jajnire prajāk | drishteā punah prajās chāpi svām tanum tām apohata | 19. Sā 'pacidāhā tanus tena įvotenā sadyas to ajūyata | tasmād bhavanti samhrishtā įvotenāvām udbhave prajah | 20. Ity etas tanavas tena vyapaviddha mahatmana | sadyo ratry-ahani chaics sandhya jyotsna cha jajnire | 21. Jyotsna sandhyā tathā 'haścha sattva-mātrūtmakam svayam | tama-mātrūtmikā rātrih sā vai tasmāt triyāmikā | 22. Tasmād devā divya-tanvā 130 drishtāh srishtā mukhāt tu vai | yanmāt teshām divā janma balinas tena te divā | 23. Tanvā yad asurān rātrau jaghanād asrijat punah | prāzebhyo rātri-janmāno hy asahyā niśi tena te | 24. Etāny evam bhavishyānām devānām asuraih saha | pilrinām mānavānām cha atītānāgatesku vai | 25. Mancantareshu sarveshu nimittani bhacanti hi | jyotma ratry-ahani sandhyā chatvāry ambhāmsi tāni vai | 26. Bhānti yasmāt tato 'mbhāmsi bhā-śabdo 'yam manīshibhih | cyāpti-dīptyam nigadito pumāms chāha Prajapatih | 27. So 'mbhamsy etani drishtva tu deva-danava-manavan | pitrīms chaivāsrijat so 'nyān ātmano vividhān punah | 28. Tām uterijva tanum kritenām tato'nyām asrijat prabhuh | mūrttim rajas-tama-prāyām vunar evābhyayūyujat | 29. Andhakāre kehudhāviehtas tato'nyām erijate punah | tena srishtah kshudhatmanas te 'mbhamsy adatum udyatah | 30. " Ambhāmsy etāni rakshāma" uktavantašcha teshu ye | rākshasās te smritah loke krodhatmano nisacharah |

<sup>130</sup> This line is omitted in the Guikowar MS.

un The Gaikowar MS. seems to read upapar/eabhyam.

<sup>128</sup> The Gaikowar MS. reads Brahmano madhyamim tanum,

<sup>130</sup> The Guikowar MS, reads dieā taneā,

"Suta says: 1. Then, as he was desiring, there sprang from him mind-born sons, with those effects and causes derived from his body. 2. Embodied spirits were produced from the bodies of that wise Being. 3. Then willing to create these four streams (ambhāmsi) gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, he fixed his spirit in abstraction. As Svavambhū was thus fixed in abstraction, a body consisting of nothing but darkness (invested him). 4. While desiring this creation, Prajapati put forth an effort. Then Asuras were first produced as sons from his groin. 5. Asu is declared by Brahmans to mean breath. From it these beings were produced; hence they are Asuras.140 He cast aside the body with which the Asuras were created. 6. Being cast away by him, that body immediately became night. Inasmuch as darkness predominated in it, night consists of three watches. 7. Hence, being enveloped in darkness, all creatures sleep at night. Beholding the Asuras, however, the Lord of gods took another body, (8) imperceptible, and having a predominance of goodness, which he then fixed in abstraction. While he continued thus to fix it, he experienced pleasure. 9. Then as he was sporting, gods were produced in his mouth. As they were born from him, while he was sporting (divyatab), they are known as Devas (gods). 10. The root div is understood in the sense of sporting. As they were born in a sportive (divya)140 body, they are called Devatas, 11. Having created the deities, the Lord of gods then took another body, consisting entirely of goodness (sattea). 12. Regarding himself as a father, he thought upon these sons: he created Fathers (Pitris) from his armpits in the interval between night and day. 13. Hence these Fathers are gods: therefore that sonship belongs to them. He cast aside the body with which the Fathers were created. 14. Being cast away by him, it straightway became twilight. Hence day belongs to the gods, and night is said to belong to the Asuras. 15. The body intermediate between them, which is that of the Fathers, is the most important. Hence gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men (16) worship intently this intermediate body of Brahma. He then took again another body. But from that body, composed altogether of passion (rajas),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> This statement, which is not found in the parallel passage of the Vishgu Puräna, is borrowed from Tnitt. Br. ii. 3, 8, 2, quoted above.

<sup>141</sup> Diego properly means "celestial." But from the play of words in the passage, the writer may intend it to have here the sense of "sportive."

which he created by his mind, he formed mind-born 142 sons who had almost entirely a passionate character. 18. Then from his mind sprang mind-born sous. Beholding again his creatures, he cast away that body of his. 19. Being thrown off by him it straightway became morning twilight. Hence living beings are gladdened by the rise of early twilight. 20, Such were the bodies which, when cast aside by the Great Being, became immediately night and day, twilight and early twilight. 21. Early twilight, twilight, and day have all the character of pure goodness. Night has entirely the character of darkness (tamas); and hence it consists of three watches. 22. Hence the gods are beheld with a celestial body, and they were created from the mouth. As they were created during the day, they are strong during that period. 23. Inasmuch as he created the Asuras from his groin at night, they, having been born from his breath, during the night, are unconquerable during that season. 24, 25. Thus these four streams, early twilight, night, day, and twilight, are the causes of gods, Asuras, Fathers, and men, in all the Manyantaras that are past, as well as in those that are to come. 26. As these (streams) shine, they are called ambhamsi. This root bha is used by the intelligent in the senses of pervading and shining, and the Male, Praiapati, declares (the fact). 27. Having beheld these streams (ambhamsi), gods, Danavas, men, and fathers, he again created various others from himself. 28. Abandoning that entire body, the lord created another, a form consisting almost entirely of passion and darkness, and again fixed it in abstraction. 29. Being possessed with hunger in the darkness, he then created another. The hungry beings formed by him were bent on seizing the streams (ambhamsi). 30. Those of them, who said 'let us preserve (rakshāma) these streams,' are known in the world as Rakshasas, wrathful, and prowling about at night."

This description is followed by an account of the further creation corresponding with that given in the same sequence in the Vishnu Purāṇa; and the rest of the chapter is occupied with other details which it is not necessary that I should notice. I therefore proceed to make some quotations from the eighth chapter, entitled Chaturāśrama-vibhāga, or "the distribution into four orders," which corresponds, in

<sup>142</sup> Mönnsön. We might expect here however, mönnsön or mönnshön, "human," in conformity with the parallel passages both in the Vishnu Purana (see above, p. 56), and the Märkandeya Purana, xiviii. 11.

its general contents, with the sixth chapter of the Vishnu Purana, book i., but is of far greater length, and, in fact, extremely prolix, as well as confused, full of repetitions, and not always very intelligible.

The chapter immediately preceding (i.e. the seventh), entitled Pratisandki-kirttanam, ends with the words: "I shall now declare to you the present Kalpa; understand." Sūta accordingly proceeds at the opening of the eighth chapter to repeat some verses, which have been already quoted from the beginning of the sixth chapter, descriptive of Brahmā's sleep during the night after the universe had been dissolved, and to recapitulate briefly the elevation of the earth from beneath the waters, its reconstruction, and the institution of Yugas. At verse 22 the narrative proceeds:

Kalpasyādau kritayuge prathams so 'srijat prajāḥ | 23. Prāg uktā yā mayā tubhyam pūrva-kāle prajās tu tāh | tasmin samvarttamāne tu kalpe dagdhās tadā 'gninā | 24. Aprāptā yas tapo-lokam jana-lokam samāśritāḥ | provarttati punaḥ sarge vijartham tā bhavanti hi | 25. Vijārthena sthitās tatra punah sargasya kāranāt | tatas tāh srijyamānās tu santanartham bhavanti hi | 26. Dharmarthu-kama-mokshanam iha tah sadhikah smritah | devas cha pitaraschaiva rishayo manavas tatha | 27. Tatas te tapasā yuktāh sthānāny āpūrayanti hi | Brahmano mānasās te vai ziddhātmāno bhavanti hi | 28. Ye sangādvesha-yuktena karmanā te divam gatāk | averttamānā iha te sambhacanti guge guge | 29. Svakarma-phala-śeshena khyātyā chaiva tathātmikā (? tathātmakāh) | sambhavanti janal lokāt karma-saīnšaya-bandhanāt | 30. Ašayah kāraņan tatra boddhacyam karmana tu sah | taih karmabhis tu jayante janal lokat śubhāśubhaih | 31. Grihnanti te śarirāni nānā-rūpāni yonishu | devādvāh sthāvarāntās cha utpadvants parasparam (? paramparam) | 32. Teshām ye yani karmani prak-srishtau pratipedire | tany eva pratipadyante srijyamanah punah punah | 33. Himsrähimere mridu-krure dharmadharme ritanrite | tadbhavitah prapadyante tasmat tat tasya rochate | 34. Kalpeshv asan vyatīteshu rūpa-nāmāni yāni cha | tūny evānāgate kāle prāyakah pratipedire | 35. Tasmāt tu nāma-rūpāni tāny eva pratipedire | punah punas te kalpeshu jayante nama-rapatah | 36. Tatah sarge hy avashtabdhe sisrikshor Brahmanas tu cai | 37.14 Prajūs tā dhyāyatas

<sup>143</sup> The narrative in the 49th chapter of the Markandeya Purana (verses 3-13) begins at this verse, the 37th of the Vaya Purana, and coincides, though with verbal differences, with what follows down to verse 47. After that there is more variation.

tasya satyābhidhyāyinas tadā | mithunānām sahasram tu so 'srijad vai mukhāt tadā | 38. Janās te hy upapadyante sattvodriktāh suchetasah 141 | sahasram anyad vakshasto mithunanam sasarja ha | 39. Te sarve rajasodriktah sushminas chapy asushminahus | srishtva sahasram anyat fu dvandvanam urutah punah | 40. Rajas-tamobhyam udrikta Thasilas tu to smritāh | padbhyām sahasram anyat tu mithunānām sasarja ha | 41. Udriktās tamasā sarve nihšrīkā hy alpa-tejasāh | tato vai harshamānās te dvandvotpannās tu prāninah | 42. Anyonya-hrichhoyāvishtā maithunayopachakramuh | tatahprabhriti kalpe 'smin maithunotpattir uchyate | 43. Māsi māsy ārttavam yat tu na tadā "sīt tu yoshitām 100 | tasmāt tadā na sushuvuh seritair api maithunaih | 44. Ayusho 'nte prasuyante mithunany eva tah sakrit | kunthakah kunthikas chaiva utpadyante mumurshatām 147 | 45. Tatah prabhriti kalpe 'smin mithunanām hi sambhacah | dhyane tu manasa tasam prajanam jayate sakrit | 46. Sabdadi-vishayah śuddhah pratyckam pancha-lakshanah | ity evam mānasī 148 pūrvam prāksrishtir ya Prajapateh | 47. Tasyanyavayo sambhuta yair idam puritam jagat | sarit-sarah samudrāms cha sevento parcatān api | 48. Tadā nātvanta-šītoskņā yuge tarmin charanti vai | prithvī-rasodbhavam nāma āhāram hy aharanti vai 10 | 49. Tāh prajāk kāma-chārinyo mānasīm siddhim asthitah | dharmadharmau na tasv astam nirvišeshah prajas tu tāh | 50. Tulyam ayuh sukham rapam tasam tasmin krite yuge | dharmādharmau na tāsv āstām kalpādau tu krite yuge | 51. Scena svenādhikārena jajnire te krite vuge | chatvāri tu sahasrāni varshānām divyasankhyayā | 52. Adyam krita-yugam prahuh sandhyanām tu chatuhšatam | tatah sahasrašas tāsa prajāsu prathitāsvapi | 53,166 Na tāsām pratighāto 'sti na dvandvam nāpi cha klamah | parvatodadhi-sevinyo hy aniketäśrayas tu tah | 54. Viśokah sattva-bahulah hy ekanta-sukhitah prajāh | tāh vai nishkāma-chārinyo nityam mudita-mānasāḥ | 55. Paśa-

<sup>144</sup> For suchetasah the Mark. P. reads sutejasah.

<sup>155</sup> For as ushminah the Mürk. P. reads amarshinah, "irascible."

<sup>146</sup> I have corrected this line from the Märkandeya Purana, 49, 9 8. The reading of the MSS, of the Vayu Purana cannot be correct. It appears to be: mose mose returned yad yat tat tadasid hi yoshitom | The negative particle seems to be indispensable here.

<sup>14:</sup> This half verse is not found in the Mark. P.

<sup>148</sup> The Mürk. P. has manushi, "human," instead of manasi, "mental."

<sup>148</sup> This verse is not in the Mark. P.; and after this point the verses which are common to both Puranas do not occur in the same places.

<sup>130</sup> Verses 53-56 coincide generally with verses 14-18 of the Mark. P.

rah pakshinas chaiva na tadāsan sarīsripāh | nodbhijjā nārakas un chaiva te hy adharma-prasutayah | 56. Na mula-phala-pushpam cha narttavam ritaco na cha | sarva-kāma-sukhah kālo nātyartham hy ushna-kītatā 100 | 57. Manobhilashitāh kāmās tāsām sarvatra sarvadā | uttishthanti prithivyam vai tābhir dhyātā rasoleanāh | 58. Balavarņa-karī tāsām siddhih sā roga-nāśinī | asamskāryyaih śarīraiś cha prajās tāh athirayauvanāh | 59. Tāsām višuddhāt sankalpāj jāyante mithunāh prajāķ | samam janma cha rūpam cha mriyante chaiva tāh samam | 60. Tadā satyam alobhaś cha kshamā tushtih sukham damah | nirvišeshās tu tāh sarvā rūpāyuhšīla-cheshtitaih | 61. Abuddhipurvakam vrittam prajanam jāyate svavam | apracrittih krita-yuge karmonoh subhapāpayoh | 62. Varnāsrama-vyavasthāś cha na tadā "san na sankarah | anichhādvesha-yuktās te varttayanti parasparam | 63. Tulya-rūpāyushah sarcāh adhamottama-varjiitah 133 | sukha-prāyā hy aśokāś cha udpadyante krite yuge | 64. Nityaprahrishta-manaso mahāsattvā mahābalāh | lābhālābhau na tāsv āstām mitrāmitre priyāpriye | 65. Manasā vishayas tāsām nirīhānām pravarttate | na lipsanti hi ta'nyoyam nanugrihnanti chaiva hi | 66. Dhyanam param krita-yuge tretāyām jnānam uchyate | praerittam deāpare yajnam dûnam kali-yuge varam | 67. Sattvam kritam rajas treto deaparam tu rajas-tamau | kalau tamas tu vijneyam yuga-vritta-rasena tu | 68. Kālah krite yuge te esha tasya sankhyām nibodhata | chatvāri tu sahasrāni carshanom tat kritam yugam | 69. Sandhyamsau tasya divyani satany ashtau cha sankhyayā | tadā tāsām babhūcāyur na cha kleśa-vipattayah 151 | 70. Tatah kritayuge tasmin sandhyamse hi gate tu vai | padavašishto bhavati yuga-dharmas tu sarvašah | 71. Sandhyāyām apy atītāyam anta-kale yugasya vai | padaśas chavasishte tu sandhya-dharme yuganya tu | 72. Evam krite tu nihšeshe siddhis tv antardadhe tada | tasyām cha siddhau bhrashtāyām mānasyām abhavat tatah | 73. Siddhir

192 The Mark. P. here inserts some other lines, 185-21a, instead of 57 and 58a of

154 Instead of babhurayub, etc., the Gaikowar MS, has prayuktani na cha kleio

babhina ha |

<sup>151</sup> The Mark. P. has makrah, "crocodiles," in its enumeration.

the Vavu P.

<sup>150</sup> The Mark. P. inserts here the following verses: 24. Chateuri tu sahairuni varshanam manushani tu | ayuh-pramanam jivonti na cha klesad vipattayah | 23. Kvachit keachit punuh sa bhut kehitir bhugyena sarvasah | kalena gachhata nasam upayinti yathu prajah | 26. Tathu tuh kramalah nasam jagmuh sarvatra siddhayah | tisu sarvasu nashtasu nabhasah prachyuta narah (latah in one MS.) | prayasah kalpavrikshas te sambkuta griha-samsthitah

anyā yuge turmims tretāyām antare kritā | sargādau yā mayā 'shfau tu mananyo vai prakirttitäh | 74. Ashtan täh krama-yogena siddhayo yanti sankshayam | kalpādau mānasī hy ekā siddhir bhavati sā krite | 75. Manvantarcehu sarveshu chatur-yuga-vibhagasah | varnasramachara-kritah karma-siddhodbharah (karma-siddhyudbharah?) smritah | 76. Sandhya kritasya pädena sandhyū pūdena chāmšatah | krita-sandhyāmšakā hy ete trīms trīn pādān parasparam | 77. Hrasanti yuga-dharmais te tapahśruta-balayushaih | tatah kritamise kshine tu babhava tud-anantaram | 78. Treta-yugam amanyanta kritamsam rishi-sattamah | tasmin kehine kritāmis tu tach-chhishtāsu prajāse iha | 79. Kalpādau sampravrittāyās tretayah pramukhe tada | pranasyati tada siddhih kala-yogena nanyatha | 80. Tasyām siddhau pranashtūyām anyā siddhir acarttata | apām saukshmye pratigate tadā meghātmanā tu vai | 81. Meghebhyah stanayitnubhyah pravrittam vrishti-sarjjanam | sakrid era taya vrishtya samyukte prithici-tale | 82. Pradurasams tadā tāsām crikshas tu griha-samsthitāh 100 | sarva-pratyupabhogas tu tāsām tebhyah prajāyate | 83. Farttayanti hi tebhyas tas treta-yuga-mukhe prajah | tatah kalena mahata tāsām eva viparyayāt | 84. Rāgalobhātmako bhāvas tadā hy ākasmiko bhacat | yat tad bhacati narinam jivitante tad artavam | 85. Tada tad vai na bhavati punar yuga-balena tu | tāsām punah pravritte tu māse māse tad arttavam (-ve?) | 86. Totas tenaiva yogena varttatum maithuno tada | tāsām tāt-kāla-bhāviteād māsi māsy upayachhatām | 87. Akāle hy ārttavotpattir gerbhotpattir ajāyata | viparyyayena tāsām tu tena kālena bhāvinā | 88. Pranasyanti tatah sarce vrikshas te grihasamsthitah | tatas teshu pranashteshu cibhranta eyakulendriyah | 89. Abhidhyayanti tam siddhim satyābhidhyāyinas tadā | prādurbabhūzus tāsām tu erikehās te grihasamsthitah | 90.10 Vastrāni cha prasuyante phaleshe abharanani cha | teshv eva jäyate tüsüm gandhu-varna-rasanvitam | 91. Amākahikam mahāvīryam puļake puļake madhu | tena tā carttayanti sma mukhe tretāvugasya vai | 92. Hrishta-tusktās tayā siddhyā prajā vai vigata-jearāh | pungh kalantarenaiva punar lobhavritas tu tah | 93. Vrikshams tan paryagriknanta madhu chamakshikam balat | tasam tenapacharena punar lobha-kritena vai | 94. Pranashta madhuna sardham kalpa-vrikshah kva-

<sup>133</sup> Verses 27-35 of the Märk. P. correspond more or less to this and the following verses down to 93.

use This and the following verses correspond more or less closely to the Mark. P. 30 ff.

chit keachit | tasyam eçalpa-sishtayam sandhya-kala-rasat tada | 95. varttatām tu tadā tāsām drandvāny abhyutthitāni tu | šītavātātapais tīvrais tatas tāh duhkhitā bhrisam | 96. Deandeais tāh pīdyamānās tu chakrur avaranani cha | kritva dvandva-pratikaram niketani hi bhejire | 97. Pürcam nikāma-chārās te aniķetāśrayā bhriśam | yathā-yogyam yatha-priti niketeshe avasan punah | 98. Maru-dhanvasu nimneshu parvateshu darishu cha 151 | samérayanti cha durgani dhancanam sascatodakam | 99. Yathā-yogam yathā-kāmam sameshu vishameshu cha | ārabdhās to niketā vai karttum šitoshna-pāranam | 100. Tatas tā māpayāmāsuh khetani cha purani cha | gramami chaira yotha-bhagam tathairantahpurāni cha | . . . 123.150 Kriteshu teshu sthāneshu punak chakrur grihani cha | yatha cha purram asan rai rrikshus tu griha-samathitah | 124. Tathā karttum samārabdhās chintayiteā punah punah | cridahās chaira gatāh śākhā natāś chairāparā gatāh | 125. Ata ardheam gatās changa enam tiryaggatah parah | buldhya 'neishya tatha 'nya ya eriksha-śākhā yathā gatāh | 126. Tathā kritgs tu taih śākhās tāsmāch chhālās tu tāh smritāh | evam prasiddhāh śākhābhyah śālāś chaiva grihani cha | 127. Tasmat ta vai smritah salah salatvam chaiva tāsu tat | prasīdati manas tāsu manah prāsādavams cha tāh | 128. Tasmād grihāni śālāś cha prāsādāś chaica sanjnitāh | kritvā deandeopaghātāms tān garttopāyam achintayan | 129.100 Nashteshu madhunā sarddham kalpa-rriksheshu vai tadā | vishāda-vyākulās tā vai prajās trishnā-kshudhānvitāh | 130. Tatah pradurbabhau tāsām siddhis treta-yuge punah | varttartha-sadhika hy anya vrishtis tasam hi kāmatah | 131. Tāsām vrishty-udakānīho yani nimnoir gotāni tu | vriehtyä nimnä(?) nirabhavan erotah-khätäni nimnagah | 132. Evam nadyah pravrittus tu dvitiye crishti-sarjane | ye purastud apam stoka āpannāh prithivītale | 133. Apām bhūmes cha samyogād oshadhyas tāsu chābhavan | pushpa-mūlaphalinyas tv oshadhyas tāh prajajnire | 134. Aphāla-krishtās chānuptā grāmyāranyas chaturdasa | ritu-pushpa-phalāšehaica erikshāh gulmāš eha jajuire | 135. Prādurbhavaš cha tretāyām ādyo'yam auskadhasya tu | tenauskadhena carttante prajās tretāyugs tadā | 136. Tatah punar abhūt tāsūm rūgo lobhas cha sarcasah | avasyam-

<sup>157</sup> I have corrected this line from Mark, P. xlix, 35.

Verses 52-54 of the Mark. P. correspond in substance to verses 123-128 of the Vavu P.

<sup>198</sup> Verses 55-62 of the Mark. P. correspond to verses 129-137 of the Vayo P.

bhavina 'rthena treta-yuga-casena tu | 137. Tatas tah paryagrihnanta nadīķ kshetrāni parvatān | vrikshān gulmaushadhīś chaiva prasahya tu yathā-balam | 138. Siddhātmānas tu ye pūrvam vyākhyātah prāk krite mayā | Brahmano mānasās te vai utpannā ye janād iha | 139. Santās cha śushminaś chaica karmino duhkhinas tadā | tatah pracarttamūnās to tretāyām jajnire punaķ | 140. Brāhmanāh kshattriyā vaisyāh śūdrā drohijanās tathā | bhāvitāh pūrva-jātīshu karmabhis cha subhāsubhaih | 141. Itas tebhyo 'bala ye tu satyasīlā hy ahimsakāh | vīta-lobhā sitātmāno nivasanti sma teshu vai | 142. Pratigrihnanti kurvanti tebhyas chanye 'lpa-tejasah | evam vipratipanneshu prapanneshu parasparam | 143. Tena doshena tesham ta oshadhyo mishatam tada 100 | pranashta hriyamānā vai mushtibhyām sikatā yathā | 144.10 Agrasad bhūr yuga-balād grāmyāranyās chaturdasa | phalam grihnanti pushpaischa phalaih patraih punah punah | 145.10 Tatas tāsu pranashtāsu vibhrantās tāh prajās tadā | Svayambhuvam prabhum jagmuh kzhudhāvishtāh prajāpatim | 146. eritty-artham abhilipsantah adau treta-yugasya tu | Brahma Scayambhur bhagaran jnatca tasam manishitam | 147. Yuktam pratyaksha-drishtena daršanena vichāryya cha | grastāh prithivyā oshadhyo jnātvā pratyaduhat punah | 148. Kritvā vatsam sumerum tu dudoha prithivīm imām | dugdheyam gaus tadā tena vijāni prithivī-tale | 149. Jajnire tāni vijāni grāmyāranyās tu tāḥ punaḥ | oshadhyaḥ phala-pākāntāḥ saṇa-saptadašās tu tāḥ | . . . 155. Utpannāh prathamam hy etā ādau tretā-yugasya tu | 156. Aphāla-krishţā oshadhyo grāmyāranyās tu sarvašah | vrikshā gulmalata-vallyo virudhas trina-jatayah | 157. Mulaih phalais cha rohinyo 'grihnan pushpais cha yah phalam | prithvī dugdha tu vijani yani purvam Svayambhuca | 158. Ritu-pushpa-phalas ta vai oshadhyo jajnire te iha | 182 yadā prasrishtā oshadyo na prarohanti tāh punah | 159. Tatah sa tāsām vritty-artham vārttopāyam chakāra ha | Brahmā Svayambhūr bhagavan hasta-siddham tu karma-jam | 160. Tatah-prabhrity athaushadhyah krishta-pachyas tu jajnire | samsiddhayam tu varttayam tatas tāsām Seayambhucah | 161, Maryūdāh sthāpayāmāsa yathārabdhāh parasparam ( 164 ye vai parigrihītāras tāsām āsan badhātmakāh | 162. Itaresham krita-tranan ethapayamaza kehattriyan | upatiehthanti ye tan

<sup>160</sup> Mark. P. verse 63a. ta Mark. P. verse 686.

Verses 64-67 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 145-149 of the Väyn P.
 Verses 73-75 of the Märk. P. correspond to verses 1588-160s of the Väyn P.
 This with all what follows down to verse 171 is omitted in the Märk. P.

vai vāranto nirbhayās tathā | 163. Satyam brahma yathā bhūtam bruvanto brāhmanās tu to | ye chānye'py abalas teshām vaišasam karma samsthitāh | 164. Kīnāšā nāšayanti sma prithivyām prāg atandritāh | vaisyan eva tu tan ahuh kinasan vritti-sadhakan | 165. Sochantas cha dravantas cha paricharyyāsu ye ratāh | nistejaso Ipa-vīryyās cha sūdrān tān abravīt tu sah | 166. Teshām karmāni dharmāms cha Brahmā'nuvyadadhūt prabhuh | samsthitau prakritāyām tu chāturvarnyasya sarvasah | 167. Funah prajās tu tā mohāt tan dharman nanvapālayan | varna-dharmair ajivantyo vyarudhyanta parasparam | 168. Brahmā tam artham buddheā tu yāthātathyena vai prabhuh | kshattriyānām balam dandam yuddham ajicam adisat | 169. Yajanadhyayanam chaica tritiyam cha parigraham | brūhmanānām vibhus teshām karmāny etāny athādiśat | 170. Paśupalyam vănijyam cha krishim chaiva viśam dadau | śilpājīvam bhritim chaica śūdrānām vyadadhāt prabhuh | 171. Sāmānyāni tu karmāni brahma-kshattra-višām punah | yājanādhyayanam dānam sămănyani țu teshu vai | 172. Karmajivam tato detvă tebhyas chaiva parasparam | lokantareshu sthanani tesham siddhyay 100 adat prabhuh | 173.106 Prājāpatyam brāhmanānām smritam sthānam kriyavatām | sthānam aindram kshattriyānām sangrāmeshe apalāyinām | 174. Vaišyānām mārutam sthānam sva-dharmam upajīvinām | gāndharvam śūdra-jātīnām praticharena (paricharena?) tishthatam | 175. Sthanany etani varnanam vyasyacharavatam svayam | tatah sthiteshu varneshu sthapayamasa chasraman | 176. Grihastham brahmacharitvam vanaprastham sabhikshukam | āśramāms chaturo hy etan pūrcam asthapayat prabhuh | 177. Varna-karmāni ye kechit teshām iha na kurvate | krita-karmakshitih(?) prāhur āśrama-sthāna-vāsinah | 178. Brahmā tān sthāpāyāmāsa āśramān nāma nāmatah | nirdesartham talas tesham Brahma dharman prabhashata | 179. Prasthānāni cha teshām vai yamāmscha niyamāms cha ha | chāturvarnyātmakah puream grihasthas te asramah smritah | 180. Trayanam asramānām cha pratishthā yonir eva cha | yathākramam pravakshyāmi yamais cha niyamaiś cha taih | . . . . 190. Vedāh sāngāś cha yajnāś cha vratāni niyamāš cha ye | 191. Na siddhyanti prādushţasya bhācadoshe upāgate | bahih-karmani sarvani prasiddhyanti (na siddhyanti?) kadachana |

<sup>145</sup> I conjecture siddhyöy adat to be the proper reading. The MSS. have siddhyò-dadat, or siddhyādadat, etc.

<sup>366</sup> Verses 173 f. are found in the Mark. P. verses 77 f.; but all that follows down to verse 193 is omitted there.

192. Antar-bhāva-pradushtasya kurvato'hi parākramāt | sarvasvam api yo dadyāt kalushenāntarātmanā | 193. No tena dharma-bhāk sa syād bhāca eca hi kāraņam | . . . . 199. Ecain carņāsramāņām cai pratibhage krite tadā | 200. Yadā 'sya na vyacardhanta prajā varnāsramatmikāh | tato 'nyā mānasīh so 'tha tretā-madhye 'srijat prajāh | 201. Atmanas tāh sarīrācheha tulyās chaivātmanā tu vai | tasmin tretā-yuge prapte madhyam prapte kramena tu | 202. Tato 'nyā manasīs tatra prajah srashtum prachakrame | tatah satea-rajodriktah prajah so 'thasrijat prabhuh | 203. Dharmartha-kama-mokshanam varttayas chaica sadhikāh | devās cha pitaras chaiva rishayo mangeas tathā | 204. Yuganurūpā dharmena yair imā viehitāh prajāh | upasthite tadā tasmin prajādharme (-sarge?) Svayambhuvah | 205 Abhidadhyan prajah sarra nanarūpās tu mānasīḥ | pūrvoktā yā mayā tubhyam jana-lokam samāsritāḥ | 206. Kalpe' tīte tu tā hy āsan devādyās tu prajā iha | dhyāyatas tusya tāḥ sarvah sambhuty-artham upasthitah | 207. Manvantara-krameneha kanishthe prathame matah | khyatya 'nubandhais tais tais tu sarearthair ika bhavitah | 208. Kuśalakuśala-prayaik karmabhis taih sada prajah | tat-karma-phala-seshena upashtabahah prajajnire | 209. Derasura-pitritvais tu pašu-pakshi-sarīsripaih | vriksha-nāraka-kītatvais tais tair bhūvair upasthitāh i ādhīnārtham prajānām cha ātmanā vai vinirmame i

"22. At the beginning of the Kalpa, in the first Krita age, he created those living beings (23) which I have formerly described to thee; but in the olden time, at the close of the Kalpa, those creatures were burnt up by fire. 24. Those of them who did not reach the Tapoloka took refuge in the Janaloka; and when the creation again commences, they form its seed. 25. Existing there as a seed for the sake of another creation, they then, as they are created, are produced with a view to progeny. 26. These are declared to accomplish, in the present state (the four ends of human life, viz.), duty, the acquisition of wealth, the gratification of love, and the attainment of final liberation, - both gods, Fathers, Rishis, and Manus. 27. They, then, filled with austere fervour, replenish (all) places. These are the mental sons of Brahma, perfect in their nature. 28. Those who ascended to the sky by works characterized by devotion to external objects, but not by hatred, return to this world and are born in every age. 29. As the result of their works, and of their destination, (returning) from the Janaloka, they are born of the same character (as

before), in consequence of the (previous) deeds by which they are bound. My 30. It is to be understood that the cause of this is their tendency (or fate), which itself is the result of works. In consequence of these works, good or bad, they return from Janaloka and are born, (31) and receive various bodies in (different) wombs. They are produced again and again in all states, from that of gods to that of motionless substances. 32. These creatures, as they are born time after time, receive the same functions as they had obtained in each previous creation. 33. Destructiveness and undestructiveness, mildness and cruelty, righteousness and unrighteousness, truth and falsehood-actuated by such dispositions as these, they obtain (their several conditions); and hence particular actions are agreeable to particular creatures. 34. And in succeeding periods they for the most part obtain the forms and the names which they had in the past Kalpas. 35. Hence they obtain the same names and forms. In the different Kalpas they are born with the same name and form. 36. Afterwards, when the creation had been suspended, as Brahma was desirous to create, (37) and, fixed in his design, was meditating upon offspring,he created from his mouth a thousand couples of living beings, (38) who were born with an abundance of goodness (sattra) and full of intelligence.168 He then created another thousand couples from his breast: (39) they all abounded in passion (rajus) and were both vigorous and destitute of vigour.100 After creating from his thighs another thousand pairs, (40) in whom both passion and darkness (tamas) prevailed, and who are described as active, -he formed from his feet yet another thousand couples (41) who were all full of darkness, inglorious, and of little vigour. Then the creatures sprung from the couples (or thus produced in couples) rejoicing, (42) and filled with mutual love, began to cohabit. From that period sexual intercourse is said to have arisen in this Kalpa. 43. But at that time women had no monthly discharge: and they consequently bore no children, although cohabit-

<sup>157</sup> Karma-samiaya-bandhanat. I am unable to state the sense of samiaya in this compound.

is Suchetorah. The reading of the Mürk. P. sutejarah, "full of vigour," is recommended, as an epithet of the Brühmans, by its being in opposition to alpa-tejarah, "of little vigour," which is applied to the S'udras a few lines below.

The reading of the Mark. P. amarshinah, "irascible," gives a better sense than a sahminah, "devoid of vigour," which the Vayu P. has.

ation was practised. 44. At the end of their lives they once bore twins. Weak-minded boys and girls were produced when (their parents) were on the point of death. 45. From that period commenced, in this Kalpa, the birth of twins; and such offspring was once only born to these creatures by a mental effort, in meditation (46), -(offspring which was) receptive (?) of sound and the other objects of sense, pure, and in every case distinguished by five marks. Such was formerly the early mental creation of Prajapati. 47. Those creatures by whom the world was replenished, born as the descendants of this stock, frequented rivers, lakes, seas, and mountains. 48. In that age (yuga) they lived unaffected by excessive cold or heat, and appropriated the food which was produced from the essences of the earth. 49. They acted according to their pleasure, existing in a state of mental perfection. They were characterized neither by righteousness nor unrighteousness; were marked by no distinctions. 50. In that Krita yuga, in the beginning of the Kalpa, their age, happiness, and form were alike: they were neither righteous nor unrighteous. 51. In the Krita age they were produced each with authority over himself. Four thousand years, according to the calculation of the gods, (52) and four hundred years for each of the morning and evening twilights, are said to form the first, or Krita, age.170 Then, although these creatures were multiplied by thousands, (53) they suffered no impediment, no susceptibility to the pairs of opposites (pleasure and pain, cold and heat, etc.) and no fatigue. They frequented mountains and seas, and did not dwell in houses. 54. They never sorrowed, were full of goodness (sattva), and supremely happy: acted from no impulse of desire, in and lived in continual delight. 55. There were at that time no beasts, birds, reptiles, or plants, 172 (for these things are produced by unrighteousness), 173 (56) no roots, fruits,

The first of the verses, which will be quoted below, in a note on verse 63, from the Märk. P., seems to be more in place than the description of the Krita age given here, of which the substance is repeated in verses 63 and 69.

<sup>171</sup> Perhaps we should read here nikūma-chārinyo instead of nishkāma-: if so, the sense will be, "they moved about at will."

<sup>123</sup> The text adds here nārakāh or narakāh, which may mean "bellish creatures."

125 This, although agreeing with what is said further on in verses 82, 133, and
155, does not seem in consonance with what is stated in the Vishnu Purāna, verse 45,
where it is declared: ashadhyah phala-mūlinyo romabhyas tasya jajnire | tretā-yugamukhs Brahmā kalpasyādan dvijottama | srishtvā pair-oshadhih samyay yuygis sa
tadā 'dhvare | "Plants bearing roots and fruits sprang from his hairs. At the com-

flowers, productions of the seasons, nor seasons. The time brought with it every object of desire and every enjoyment. There was no excess of heat or cold. 57. The things which these people desired sprang up from the earth everywhere and always, when thought of, and had a powerful relish. 58. That perfection of theirs both produced strength and beauty, and annihilated disease. With bodies, which needed no decoration, they enjoyed perpetual youth. 59. From their pure will alone twin children were produced. Their form was the same. They were born and died together. 60. Then truth, contentment, patience, satisfaction, happiness, and self-command prevailed. They were all without distinction in respect of form, term of life, disposition and actions. 61. The means of subsistence were produced spontaneously without forethought on their parts. In the Krita age they engaged in no works which were either virtuous or sinful. 62. And there were then no distinctions of eastes or orders, and no mixture of eastes. Men acted towards each other without any feeling of love or hatred. 63, ln the Krita age they were born alike in form and duration of life, without any distinction of lower and higher, 174 with abundant happiness, free from grief, (64) with hearts continually exulting, great in dignity

mencement of the Treta age Brahma-having at the beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants -employed them in sacrifice." Although the order of the words renders the sense in some degree uncertain, it appears to be that which Prof. Wilson assigns in his translation (i. 84), " Brahma, having created, in the commencement of the Kalpa, various [animals and] plants, employed them in sacrifices in the beginning of the Treta age." This interpretation is supported by the Commentator, who remarks: Tad eram kalpasyadar eva pasun oshadhis cha erishtea 'nantaram treta-yuga-mukhe prapte sati samyag gramyaranya-eyasthaya tada 'dheare sanataya (samyaktaya ?) yuyoja krita-yuge yajnasyopravrittek | " Having then thus at the very beginning of the Kalpa created animals and plants, he afterwards, when the commencement of the Treta age arrived, employed them properly, according to the distinction of domestic and wild, in sacrifice, -since sacrifice did not prevail in the Krita age." This agrees with the course of the preceding narrative which makes no allusion to plants and animals having been produced in a different Yuga from the other beings whose creation had been previously described. (See Wilson i. 82-84.) The parallel passage in the Vayu P. x. 44-45, is confused.

the Mark. P. alix. 24 inserts here the following lines: "They lived for four thousand years of mortals, as the measure of their existence, and suffered no calamities from distress. 25. In some places the earth again enjoyed prosperity in every respect. As through lapse of time the creatures were destroyed, so too those perfections everywhere gradually perished. 26. When they had all been destroyed, creeping-plants fell from the sky, which had nearly the character of Kalpa-trees (i.e. trees which yield

all that is desired), and resembled houses."

and in force. There existed among them no such things as gain or loss, friendship or enmity, liking or dislike. 65. It was through the mind (alone, i.e. without passion?) that these disinterested beings acted towards each other. They neither desired anything from one another; nor shewed any kindness to each other.178 Contemplation is declared to be supreme in the Krita age, knowledge in the Treta; sacrifice began in the Dvapara; liberality is the highest merit in the Kali. 67. The Krita age is goodness (sattea), the Treta is passion (rajas), the Dvapara is passion and darkness (tamas), in the Kali it is to be understood that darkness (prevails), according to the necessary course of these ages. 68. The following is the time in the Krita age: understand its amount. Four thousand years constitute the Krita; (69) and its twilights endure for eight hundred divine years. Then their life was (so long?)176 and no distresses or calamities befel them. 70. Afterwards, when the twilight in the Krita was gone, the righteonsness peculiar to that age was in all respects reduced to a quarter (of its original sum). 71. When further the twilight had passed, at the close of the Yugu, and the righteensness peculiar to the twilight had been reduced to a quarter, (72) and when the Krita had thus come altogether to an end, - then perfection vanished. When this mental perfection had been destroyed, there arose (73) another perfection formed in the period of the Treta age. The eight mental perfections, which I declared (to have existed) at the creation, (74) were gradually extinguished. At the beginning of the Kalpa mental perfection alone (existed), viz., that which existed in the Krita age. 75. In all the Manvantaras there is declared to arise a perfection proceeding from works, produced by the discharge of the duties belonging to castes and orders, according to the fourfold division of Yugas. 76. The (morning) twilight (deteriorates) by a quarter of the (entire) Krita,-and the evening twilight by (another) quarter ;- (thus) the Krits, the morning twilight, and the evening

176 It would seem as if the writer here meant to state that the period of life was that which in the verse of the Mark. P. (xlix. 24), quoted in the note on rerse 63, it is declared to have been. But the expression here is, from some cause or other, imperfect.

<sup>175</sup> This representation of the condition of mankind during the Krita age, the period of ideal goodness, was no doubt sketched in conformity with the opinions which prevailed at the period when the Puruna was compiled; when dispassion was regarded as the highest state of perfection.

twilight (together) deteriorate successively to the extent of three quarters, in the duties peculiar to the Yuga, and in austere fervour, sacred knowledge, strength, and length of life.177 Then after the evening of the Krita had died out, (78) the Treta age succeeded,-(which) the most excellent rishis regarded as the evening of the Krita. But when the evening of the Krita had died ont, (79) from the influence of time, and for no other reason, perfection disappeared from among the creatures who survived at the commencement of the Treta age which ensued at the beginning of the Kalpa. 80. When that perfection had perished, another perfection arose. The subtile form of water having returned in the form of cloud (to the sky),178 (81) rain began to be discharged from the thundering clouds. The earth having once received that rain, (82) trees resembling houses 179 were provided for these creatures. From them all means of enjoyment were produced. 83. Men derived their subsistence from them at the beginning of the Treta. Subsequently, after a great length of time, owing to their ill fortune, (84) the passions of desire and covetousness arose in their hearts uncaused. The monthly discharge, which occurred at the end of women's lives, (85) did not then take place: but as it commenced again, owing to the force of the age (guga), (86) and as the couples, in consequence of it, began to cohabit, and approached each other monthly, from necessity occasioned by the time,-(87) an unseasonable troa production of the monthly discharge, and of pregnancy ensued. Then through their misfortune, and owing to that fated time, (88) all those house-like trees perished. When these had been destroyed, men disturbed and agitated, (89) but genuine in their desire, longed after that perfection (which they had lost). Then those houselike trees appeared to them; (90) and among their fruits yielded clothes and jewels. On these trees too, in the hollow of every leaf, there was produced, (91) without the aid of bees, honey of great potency, having scent, colour, and flavour. By this means they subsisted at the beginning of the Treta, (92) delighted with this per-

<sup>177</sup> Such is the only sense I can extract from these rather obscure lines,

<sup>173</sup> Such is the only sense of the words here rendered which occurs to me.

<sup>122</sup> Griba-sansthitah. Professor Wilson, in his Dictionary, gives "like, resembling," among the meanings of sansthits.

tres Instead of abole, "out of season," Professor Aufrecht suggests abole, "in season," as the proper reading.

fection and free from trouble. Again, through the lapse of time, becoming greedy, (93) they seized by force those trees, and that honey produced without bees. And then, owing to that misconduct of theirs, occasioned by cupidity, (94) the Kalpa trees, together with their honey, were in some places destroyed. As but little of it 100 remained, owing to the effects of the period of twilight, (95) the pairs (of opposites, as pleasure and pain, etc.) arose in men when existing (in this state); and they became greatly distressed by sharp cold winds, and heats. 96. Being thus afflicted by these opposites, they adopted means of shelter: and to counteract the opposites they resorted to houses. 97. Formerly they had moved about at their will, and had not dwelt at all in houses: but subsequently they abode in dwellings, as they found suitable and pleasant, (98) in barren deserts, in valleys, on mountains, in caves; and took refuge in fortresses,-(in a) desert with perpetual water. 181 99. As a protection against cold and heat they began to construct houses on even and uneven places, according to opportunity and at their pleasure. 100. They then measured out towns, cities, villages, and private apartments, according to the distribution of each." [The following verses 101-107 give an account of the different measures of length and breadth, which is followed, in verses 108-122, by a description of the various kinds of fortresses, towns, and villages, their shapes and sizes, and of roads. The author then proceeds in verse 123:] "These places having been made, they next constructed houses; and as formerly trees existed, formed like houses, 182 (124) so did they (now) begin to erect them, after repeated consideration. (Some) boughs are spread out, others are bent down, (125) others rise upwards, while others again stretch horizontally. After examining thus by reflection how the different boughs of trees branch out, (126) they constructed in like manner the apartments (śākhāh) (of their houses): hence they

<sup>180 &</sup>quot;Perfection" seems to be here intended. If so, it would seem as if this line had been separated from its proper context.

<sup>181</sup> Dhaneānam sāśvatodakam. Perhaps we should read here with the Mārk. P. xlix. 35, vārkihyam pārvatam audakam "(fortresses) protected by trees, built on mountains, or surrounded by water."

<sup>182</sup> Whatever may be thought of this rendering of the phrase, rikshāh grihasais-sthitāh, the Mūrk. P. (xlix. 52), at least, is quite clear: grihākārā yathā pūream teshām ūsan mahīruhāh | tathā samamritya tat saream chekrur ceimāni tāh prajūḥ | "As they had formerly had trees with the shape of houses, so recalling all that to mind, these people built their dwellings."

are called rooms (salah).188 In this way rooms and houses derive their appellation from branches. 127. Hence rooms are called śālā, and in that their character as rooms (salatvam) consists. And inasmuch as the mind takes pleasure in them, and as they have gladdened ( prasadayan), the mind, (128) houses, rooms, and palaces are termed respectively grika, śālā, and prāsāda. Having adopted these means of defence against the 'opposites,' they devised methods of subsistence. 129. The kalpa-trees having been destroyed along with their honey, those creatures, afflicted with thirst and hunger, became disquieted by dejection. 130. Then again another perfection arose for them in the Treta age,-which fulfilled the purpose of subsistence,-viz., rain at their pleasure. 131. The rain-water, which flowed into the hollows, burst out in the form of springs, water-courses, and rivers, 184 through the rain. 132. Thus at the second fall of rain rivers began to flow. When the drops of water first reached the ground, then (133) from the conjunction of the waters and the earth plants sprang up among them, which bore both flowers, roots, and fruits. 134. Fourteen kinds of plants, cultivated and wild, were produced without ploughing or sowing, as well as trees and shrubs which bore flowers and fruit at the proper season. 135. This was the first appearance of plants in the Tretă age, and by them men subsisted at that period. 136. Then there again arose among them, universally, desire and cupidity, through a necessary process, and as a result of the Treta age. 137. They then appropriated to themselves, by force and violence, rivers, fields, bills, trees, shrubs, and plants. 138. Those perfect beings, who were described by me as existing formerly in the Krita, - the mind-born children of Brahma, who had been produced in this world when they come from the Janaloka,-(139) who were (some) tranquil, (some) fiery, (some) active, and (others) distressed,—were again born in the Treta. (140) as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, Sūdras, and injurious men. governed by the good and bad actions (performed) in former births. 141. Then those who were weaker than they, being truthful and innocent, dwelt among them, free from cupidity, and self-restrained; (142) whilst

The text here does not seem to be in a satisfactory state. The Cale. edition of the Mark. P. reads erishty@rarutdhair abhavat, etc.

is The reasoning here does not seem very cogent, as the two words \$\delta kha \text{and \$i\text{abs}\$}\$ and \$i\text{abs}\$ do not appear to have any close connection. But such unsuccessful attempts at etymology are frequent in Sanskrit works.

others, less glorious than they, took and did. When they had thus become opposed to each other,—(143) through their misconduct, while they struggled together, the plants were destroyed, being seized with their fists like gravel. 144. Then the earth swallowed up the fourteen kinds of cultivated and wild plants, in consequence of the influence exerted by the Yuga: for men had seized again and again the fruit, together with the flowers and leaves. 145. After the plants had perished, the famished people, becoming bewildered, repaired to Svayambhū the lord of creatures, (146) in the beginning of the Tretā age, seeking the means of subsistence. Learning what they desired, (147) and determining by intuition what was proper to be done, the Lord Brahmā Svayambhū, knowing that the plants had been swallowed up by the earth, milked them back. 148. Taking Sumera as a calf, he milked this earth. When this earth (or cow) was milked by him, roots were

185 It is difficult to extract any satisfactory sense out of this line.

<sup>186</sup> The St. P. Br. ii. 4, 2, 1, also speaks of different classes of creatures applying to the creator for food : Projupatin vai bhutany upasidan | projuh vai bhutani | " vi no dhehi yatha jirama" iti | tato dera yojnoparitino bhutra dakshinam janr achya upasīdan | tān abravīd " yajno to 'smam amritatvam va ūrg vak sūryo vo jyotir" iti | 2. Atha enam pitarah prachinoritinah savyah jang achya upasidan | tan abravid "māsi māsi co 'sanām seadhā vo manojaco vai chandramā vo jyotir" iti | 3. Atha enam manuskyüh pravritah upastham kritea upasidan | tan abrovit "sayam pratar vo 'anam prajuh vo mrityur vo 'gnir vo jyotir" iti | 4. Atha enam paiavah upasidan | tebhyah spaisham era chakara " yada era yuyam kadacha labhadhvai yadi kale yady anakale athu eva ainatha" iti | tasmad ete yada kadacha labhante yadi kale yady anākāle atha era asnanti | 5. Atka ha enam šasvad apy asurāh upasedur ity āhuh | tebhyas tamai cha möyüm cha pradadan | asty aka eva asura-müyü iti iva | parübkülü ha to eva tāh prajāh | tāh imāh prajūs tathaica upajicanti yathaira abhyah Prajūpatir adadot | "All beings resorted to Prajapati, -(creatures are beings), -(saving) 'provide for us that we may live.' Then the gods, wearing the sacrificial cord, and bending the right knee, approached him. To them he said, 'let sacrifice be your food, your immortality your strength, the sun your light.' 2. Then the Fathers, wearing the sacrificial cord on their right shoulders, and bending the left knee, approached him. To them he said, 'you shall cat mouthly, your oblation (weadho) shall be your rapidity of thought, the moon your light.' 3. Then men, clothed, and inclining their bodies, approached him. To them he said, 'ye shall eat morning and evening, your offspring shall be your death, Agni your light.' 4. Then cattle repaired to him. To them he accorded their desire, (saying), 'Whensoever ye find anything, whether at the proper season or not, cat it.' Hence whenever they find anything, whether at the proper season or not, they eat it. 5. Then they say that the Asuras again and again resorted to him. To them he gave darkness (tamas) and illusion. There is, indeed, such a thing as the illusion, as it were, of the Asuras. But those creatures succumbed. These creatures subsist in the very manner which Prajupati allotted to them." 151 Gault means both.

produced again in the ground,-(149) those plants, whereof hemp is the seventeenth, which end with the ripening of fruits." [The plants fit for domestic use, and for sacrifice are then enumerated in verses 150-155.] "155. All these plants, domestic and wild, were for the first time189 produced at the beginning of the Treta age, (156) without cultivation, trees, shrubs, and the various sorts of creepers and grasses, both those which produce roots as their fruits, and those which bear fruit after flowering. The seeds for which the earth was formerly milked by Svayambhū (158) now became plants bearing flowers and fruits in their season. When these plants, though created, did not afterwards grow, (159) the divine Brahma Svayambhu devised for the people means of subsistence depending on labour effected by their hands. 160. From that time forward the plants were produced and ripened through cultivation. The means of subsistence having been provided, Svayambhū (161) established divisions among them according to their tendencies.186 Those of them who were rapacious, and destructive, (162) he ordained to be Kshattriyas, protectors of the others. 100 As many men as attended on these, fearless, (163) speaking truth and propounding sacred knowledge (brahma) with exactness, (were made) Brihmans. Those others of them who had previously been feeble, engaged in the work of slaughter, 191 who, as cultivators (kluaśah), had been destructive, and were active in connection with the ground, were called Vaisyas, husbandmen (kīnāšān), providers of subsistence. 165. And he designated as Sudras those who grieved (sochantah), and ran (dravantah), 122 who were addicted to menial tasks, inglorious and feeble.

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<sup>144</sup> See the note on verse 55, above.

<sup>198</sup> Yathörarabhöh. The Mark. P. has yathä-nyäyöm yathä-gunam, "according to fitness and their qualities."

<sup>190</sup> Itareshöm krifa-trönön. The M. Bh. xii. 2247, thus explains the word Kshattriya: bröhmanönöm kshata-trönöt tatah kshattriya uchyats | "(a king) is called Kshattriya because he protects Brühmans from injuries."

<sup>181</sup> Vaisasam karma. The former word has the senses of (1) "hindrance, impediment," and (2) "slaughter," assigned to it in Wilson's Dictionary.

The reader who is familiar with the etymologies given in Yaska's Nirukta, or in Professor Wilson's Dictionary on Indian authority, will not be surprised at the absurdity of the attempts made here by the Puraga-writer to explain the origin of the words Kshattriya, Vaisya and S'ūdra. To account for the last of these names he combines the roots sinch, "to grieve," and dru, "to run," dropping, however, of necessity the last letter (ch) of the former. The word kshattriga is really derived from kshattra, "royal power;" and raisya comes from vis, "people," and means "a man of the people,"

166. Brahmā determined the respective functions and duties of all these persons. But after the system of the four castes had been in all respects established, (167) those men from infatuation did not fulfil their several duties. Not living conformably to those class-duties, they came into mutual conflict. 168. Having become aware of this fact, precisely as it stood, the Lord Brahma prescribed force, criminal justice, and war, as the profession of the Kshattriyas. 169. He then appointed these, viz., the duty of officiating at sacrifices, sacred study, and the receipt of presents, to be the functions of Brahmans. 170 The care of cattle, traffic, and agriculture, he allotted as the work of the Vaisyas; and the practice of the mechanical arts, and service, he assigned as that of the Sudras. 171. The duties common to Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas were the offering of sacrifice, study, and liberality. 172. Having distributed to the classes their respective functions and occupations, the Lord then allotted to them abodes in other worlds for their perfection. 173. The world of Prajapati is declared to be the (destined) abode of Brahmans practising rites; Indra's world that of Kshattriyas who do not fice in battle; (174) the world of the Maruts that of Vaisyas who fulfil their proper duty; the world of the Gandharvas that of men of Sudra birth who abide in the work of service. 175. Having allotted these as the future abodes of (the men of the different) classes, who should be correct in their conduct, he ordained orders (aśramas) in the classes which had been established. 176. The Lord formerly instituted the four orders of householder, religious student, dweller in the woods, and mendicant. 177. To those of them who do not in this world perform the duties of their castes, the men who dwell in hermitages apply the appellation of 'destroyer of works.' 178. Brahmā established these orders by name, and in explanation of them he declared their duties, (179) their methods of procedure, and their various rites. First of all there is the order of householder, which belongs to all the four classes, (180) and is the foundation and source of the other three orders. I shall declare them in order with their several obserservances." [The following verses 181-189, which detail these duties, need not be cited here. I shall, however, quote verses 190 ff. for their excellent moral tone.] "190. The Vedas, with their appendages, sacrifices, fasts, and ceremonies, (191) avail not to a depraved man, when his disposition has become corrupted. All external rites are

fruitless (192) to one who is inwardly debased, however energetically he may perform them. A man who bestows even the whole of his substance with a defiled heart will thereby acquire no merit-of which a good disposition is the only cause." [After giving some further particulars about the celestial abodes of the righteous, verses 194-198, the writer proceeds: ] "199. When-after the division into castes and orders had thus been made-(200) the people living under that system did not multiply, Brahma formed other mind-born creatures in the middle of the Treta (201) from his own body and resembling himself. When the Treta age had arrived, and had gradually reached its middle, (202) the Lord then began to form other mind-born creatures. next formed creatures in whom goodness (sattes) and passion (rajas) predominated, (203) and who were capable of attaining (the four objeets of human pursuit) righteousness, wealth, love, and final liberation, together with the means of subsistence. Gods, too, and Fathers, and Rishis, and Manus (were formed), (204) by whom these creatures were classified (2) according to their natures in conformity with the Yuga. When this character(?) of his offspring had been attained, Brahmā (205) longed after mental offspring of all kinds and of various forms. Those creatures, whom I described to you as having taken refuge in Janaloka, (206) at the end of the Kalpa, all these arrived here, when he thought upon them, in order to be reproduced in the form of gods and other beings. 207. According to the course of the Manvantaras the least were esteemed the first (?), being swayed by destiny, and by connections and circumstances of every description. 208. These creatures were always born, under the controuling influence of, and as a recompence for their good or bad deeds. 209. He by himself formed those creatures which arrived in their several characters of gods, asuras, fathers, cattle, birds, reptiles, trees, and insects, in order that they might be subjected (anew) to the condition of creatures."

The substance of the curious speculations on the origin and primeval condition of mankind contained in the preceding passage may be stated as follows: In verses 22-34 we are told that the creatures, who at the close of the preceding Kalpa had been driven by the mundane conflagration to Janaloka, now formed the seed of the new creation, which took place in the Krita Yuga, at the commencement of the present

<sup>183</sup> I confess that I have had great difficulty in attaching any sense to the last words.

Kalpa. These were mind-born sons of Brahma, perfect in nature, and they peopled the world. As a rule, we are informed, those beings who have formerly been elevated from the earth to higher regions, return again and again to this world, and, as a result of their previous works, are born in every age, in every possible variety of condition, exhibiting the same dispositions and fulfilling the same functions as in their former states of existence. It is next stated, verses 35-40, that when creation had, in some way not explained, come to a stand-still, four classes of human beings, consisting each of a thousand pairs of males and females, characterized respectively by different qualities, physical and moral, were produced from different members of the Creator's body. 194 These creatures sought to propagate the race, but abortively, for the reason specified (43). Children however were produced by mental effort (45 and 59), and in considerable numbers (52). The state of physical happiness, absolute and universal equality, moral perfection, and complete dispassion, in which mankind then existed, is depicted (48-65). The means of subsistence and enjoyment, which they are said to have drawn from the earth (48 and 57), were not, of the ordinary kind, as we are informed (55 f.) that neither animals nor plants, which are the products of unrighteousness, existed at that period. No division into castes or orders prevailed during that age of perfection (62). A gradual declension, however, had been going on, and at the end of the Krita Yuga, the perfection peculiar to it had altogether disappeared (70-79). Another kind of perfection, peculiar to the Treta, however, subsequently arose (73 and 80), and in the different Yugas there has existed a perfection springing from the performance of the duties belonging to each caste and order (75). The perfection described as prevailing in the Treta was of a physical kind, consisting in the production of rain and the growth of trees, shaped like houses, which at the same time yielded the materials of all sorts of enjoyments (80-82). Passion, however, in its various forms began to take the place of the previous dispassion (84). The constitution of women, which had formerly incapacitated them for effective impregnation, became ultimately so modified as to ensure the successful propagation of the species, which

<sup>198</sup> This statement agrees with that in the Märk. P. xlix. 3 ff. but differs from that already given from the Vishnu P. in so far as the latter does not specify the numbers created, or say anything about pairs being formed.

accordingly proceeded (84-87).100 We have then the destruction, and subsequent reproduction of the trees, formed like houses, described (88-91). These trees now produced clothes and jewels, as well as honey without bees, and enabled mankind to live in happiness and enjoyment. Again, however, the trees disappeared in consequence of the cupidity which led to their misuse (92-94). The absence of perfection occasioned suffering of various kinds, from moral as well as physical causes, and men were now driven to construct houses, which they had hitherto found unnecessary (96-99 and 123), and to congregate in towns and cities (100). Their houses were built after the model furnished by trees (123-128). The hunger and thirst which men endured from the loss of the trees which had formerly yielded all the means of subsistence and enjoyment, were relieved by means of a new perfection which appeared in the shape of rain, and the streams thereby generated, and by the growth of plants, which now sprang up for the first time as a result of the conjunction of water and earth (130-135 and 155). Desire and cupidity, however, now again arose and led to acts of violent appropriation (136 f.). At this juncture the perfect mindborn sons of Brahma, of different dispositions, who had formerly existed in the Krita age, were reproduced in the Treta as Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, Sūdras, and destructive men, as a result of their actions in their former existence (138-140). But in consequence of their dissensions and rapacity, the earth swallowed up all the existing plants (142-144). Under the pressure of the distress thus occasioned the inhabitants of the earth resorted to Brahma, who milked the earth, through the medium of mount Sumeru acting as a calf, and recovered the plants which had disappeared (145-149). As, however, these plants did not propagate themselves spontaneously, Brahmā introduced agriculture (158-160). Having thus provided the means of subsistence, he divided the people into classes according to their characteristics (160-165). But as these classes did not perform their several duties, and came into mutual conflict, Brahma prescribed their respective funetions with greater precision (166-171); and assigned the future celestial abodes which the members of each class might attain by their fulfilment (172-174). He then ordained the four orders of householder, religious

<sup>195</sup> It is not quite clear, however, what is intended by the word akāle, "out of season," in verse 87. See the emendation proposed above in the note on that verse.

student, etc. (175-190). After a few verses in praise of moral purity (190-193), the abodes and destinies of the eminently righteous are set forth (194-199). Just when we had arrived at a point in the narrative, from which we might have imagined that it had only to be carried on further to afford us a sufficient explanation of the state of things existing up to the present age, we are suddenly arrested (199-202) by being informed that the people distributed according to the system of castes and orders did not multiply, and are introduced to a new mindborn creation, which took place in the Treta age, to remedy this failure. We are next told (203) of what appears to be another creation of beings endowed with goodness and passion. And, finally, a yet further re-incorporation of previously existing souls is described as having taken place (205-209). It would thus seem that after all we are left without any account of the origin of the system of castes which prevailed when the Purina was compiled. The only suppositions on which this conclusion can be avoided are either (1) that the cessation in the increase of the generation alluded to in verse 200, which led to the new creation, was not universal, that the race than existing did not entirely die out, but that the old blood was re-invigorated by that of the newly created beings; or (2) that the other set of creatures, mentioned in verse 203, as characterized by goodness and passion, were the progenitors of the present race of men. On these points, however, the text throws no light.

The preceding account of the creation of mankind and of the vicissitudes and deterioration of society, is in some places obscure and confused, and its several parts do not appear to be consistent with each other. At the outset the writer describes the creation of four thousand pairs of human beings, of whom each separate set of one thousand is distinguished by widely different innate characters, the first class having the quality of goodness, the second that of passion, the third those of passion and darkness, and the fourth that of darkness. Nevertheless (as in the parallel passage of the Vishnu Purana) we cannot find in the narrative the least trace of those inherent differences of character having for a long time manifested themselves by producing dissimilarity either of moral conduct or of physical condition; for the perfection, which is described as existing in the Krita age, is spoken of as if it was universal; and not only is no distinction alluded to as prevailing at this period between

the component parts of society, but we are expressly told that no castes or orders then existed. The deterioration also, which ensued towards the end of the Krita age, is described as general, and not peculiar to any class. How is this complete uniformity, first of perfection, and afterwards of declension, which, for anything that appears to the contrary, is predicated of the descendants of the whole of the four thousand pairs, to be reconciled with the assertion that each thousand of those pairs was characterized by different innate qualities? The difficulty is not removed by saying that the writer supposed that these inherent varieties of character existed in a latent or dormant state in the different classes, and were afterwards developed in their descendants; for he distinctly declares (verse 54) in general terms that mankind were at that period sattea-bahulah, i.e. "possessed the quality of goodness in abundance;" and in the earlier part of the subsequent narrative no allusion is made to the different qualities at first ascribed to the four sets of a thousand pairs being separately developed in the members of the four classes respectively. In verse 74, indeed, it appears to be assumed that the division into castes had existed from the creation; for we there find an assertion that in "all the Manyantaras, according to the division of the four yugas," (including apparently the Krita) "there is declared to have existed a perfection effected by the observances of the castes and orders, and arising from the fulfilment of works;" but how is this to be reconciled with the express statement of verses 60 and 61, that "in the Krita age no works were performed which were either virtuous or sinful," and that "there then existed neither distinctions of easte or order, nor any mixture of castes?" In the Treta age the state of deterioration continued, but no reference is made of any separation of classes till we come to verse 138, where it is said that the beings who in the Krita age had existed as the perfect mind-born sons of Brahma, were now, as a consequence of their former actions, recalled into human existence, and in conformity with their previous characters as calm, fiery, laborious, or depressed, became Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, Südras, and men of violence. These creatures, after they had been furnished with the means of subsistence, were eventually divided into classes, according to their varieties of disposition, character, and occupation; and as at first they did not fulfil their proper duties, but encroached upon each others'

provinces, their functions were afterwards more stringently defined and the means of enforcing obedience were provided. Here it is intimated that different sets of beings were born as Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisvas, and Sudras, on account of the different qualities which they had manifested in a previous existence, and that in conformity with those same characteristics they were afterwards formally distributed into castes. This description is therefore so far consistent with itself. The difference of caste is made to depend upon the dispositions of the soul. But how are we to reconcile this postulation of different characters formerly exhibited with the description given in the previous part of the narrative, where we are informed that, in the earlier parts, at least, of the Krita age, all men were alike perfect, and that no actions were performed which were either virtuous or vicious? If such was the case at that period, how could the beings who then existed have manifested those differences of disposition and character which are asserted to have been the causes of their being subsequently reborn as Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Sūdras, and Vaisyas? It may be admitted that the differences of character, which are attributed in the Purana to the four primeval sets of a thousand pairs of human beings, correspond to those qualities which are described as having subsequently given rise to the division into eastes; but the assertion of such a state of uniform and universal perfection, as is said to have intervened between the creation of mankind and the realization of caste, seems incompatible with the existence of any such original distinctions of a moral character.

As regards this entire account when compared with the other two descriptions of the creation given in the previous part of this section, the same remarks are applicable as have been made in the last section, p. 65 f., on the corresponding passages from the Vishnu Puruna.

The chapter which I have just translated and examined, is followed immediately by the one of which I have already in a preceding page quoted the commencement, descriptive of the creation of Asuras, Gods, Fathers, etc., from the different bodies assumed and cast off successively by Brahmā.

I shall now give an extract from the following, or tenth chapter, in which the the legend of Satarūpā is related.

Sūta uvācha | 1. Evambhūteshu lokeshu Brahmanā loka-karttrinā 196 (
186 This form karttrinā (one which, as is well known, may be optionally employed in

yadā tāh na pravarttante prajāh kenāpi hetunā | 2. Tamo-mātrāvrito Brahmā tadā-prabhriti duhkhitah | tatah sa vidadhe buddhim arthaniśchaya-gaminim | 3. Athatmani samasrakshit tamo-matram nijatmikām | rajah-sattvam parājitya varttamānam sa dharmatah | 4. Tapyate tena duhkhena šokam chakre jagat patih | tamas tu vyanudat tasmād rajas tach cha samāvrinot | 5. Tat tamah pratinuttam vai mithunam samvyajāyata | adharmas charanāj jajne himsā sokād ajāyata | 6. Tatas tasmin samudbhûte mithune charanātmani | tatas cha bhagavān āsīt prītišchainam ašišriyat | 7. Scām tanum sa tato Brahmā tām apohad abhāsvarām | deidhā 'karot sa tam deham ardhena purusho 'bhavat | 8. Ardhena nārī sā tasya Satarūpā vyajāyata | prākṛitām bhūta-dhātrīm tām kāmād vai srishtavān vibhuh | 9. Sā divam prithivim chaiva mahimna cyapya dhishthita | Brahmanah sa tanuh purva divam avritya tishthati | 10. Ya te ardhat srijate narī S'atarāpā vyajāyata | sā decī niyatam taptvā tapah parama-duścharam | bharttāram diptayaśasam Purusham pratyapadyata | 11. Sa vai Sväyambhuvah purvam Purusha Manur uchyate | tasyaikasaptati-yugam Manvantaram ihochyate | 12. Labdhvā tu purushah patnīm Sutarūpām ayonijām | tayā sa ramate sārddham tasmāt sā Ratir uchyate | 13. Prathamah samprayogah sa kalpādau sumavarttata | Virājam asrijad Brahmā so 'bhavat Purusho Virāt | 14. Sa samrāt māsarāpāt tu vairājas tu Manuh smritah | sa cairājah prajā-sargah sa sarge purusho Manuh | 15. Fairājāt purushād rīrāch chhatarūpā vyajāyata | Priyavratottānapādan putrau putravatām varau

"1. When the worlds had thus been formed by Brahma their creator, but the creatures, for some reason did not engage in action, 199 (2) Brahma, enveloped in gloom, and thenceforward dejected, formed a resolution tending to ascertain the fact. 3. He then created in himself (a body) of his own, formed of pure gloom (tamas), having overpowered the passion (rajas) and goodness (sattva) which existed (in him) naturally.

4. The Lord of the world was afflicted with that suffering, and la-

the neuter, but not in the masculine) is here used for metrical reasons. Such irregularities are, as we have seen, designated by the Commentators as ārsha. It is unlikely that Brahman should be here used in a neuter sense.

<sup>197</sup> The true reading here may be presentedhante, in which case the sense will be "did not multiply." Compare the parallel passage in the Vishnu Purana, i. 7, 4, p. 64.

mented.108 He then dispelled the gloom, and covered over the passion. 5. The gloom, when scattered, was formed into a pair. 100 Unrightconsness arose from activity (?), and mischief sprang from sorrow. 6. That active (?) pair having been produced, he became glorious (?) and pleasure took possession of him. 7. Brahma after that east off that body of his, which was devoid of lustre, and divided his person into two parts; with the half he became a male (purusha) (8) and with the half a female: it was Satarupa who was so produced to him. Under the impulse of lust he created her a material supporter of beings. 9. By her magnitude she pervaded both heaven and earth. That former body of Brahma invests the sky. 10. This divine female Satarūpā, who was born to him from his half, as he was creating, by incessantly practising austere fervour of a highly arduous description, acquired for herself as a husband a Male (purusha) of glorious renown. He is called of old the Male, Manu Svayambhuva; and his period (mancantara) is declared to extend to seventy-one Yugas. 12. This Male, having obtained for his wife, Satarapa, not sprung from any womb, lived in dalliance with her (ramate); and from this she is called Rati (the female personification of sexual love). 13. This was the first cohabitation practised in the beginning of the Kalpa. Brahma created Virāj; he was the Male, Virāj. 14. He is the sovereign (samrāj), from his having the form of a month; and Manu is known as the son of Viraj. 200 This creation of living beings is called that of Viraj. In this creation Manu is the male. 15. Satarupa bore to the heroic Purusha, son of Virāj, two sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, the most eminent of these who have sons." This is followed by a further genealogy, into which I will not enter.

By comparing this account with the one extracted above, p. 64 f., from the Vishnu Purāna, i. 7, 1 ff., it will be seen that while it makes no allusion to the production of Rudra, as related in the Vishnu Purāna (which, as well as the birth of the mental sons of Brahmā, the Vāyu Purāna had described in the preceding chapter, verses 67-83), it is somewhat fuller in regard to the legend of Satarūpā; and although it

<sup>198</sup> With this account of Brahma's dejection and grief the accounts quoted above pp. 68 ff. from the Brahmanas may be compared.

<sup>199</sup> Compare the narrative of the Vishnu Puranu i. 7, 9 ff. quoted in p. 64 f. 200 Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes, above, p. 36.

does not allow that Brahmā cohabited with his daughter, and assigns to her another husband, Manu Svāyambhūva, it describes the creator as having been actuated by carnal desire in generating her. I shall give further illustrations of this story in the next section.

Sect. IX.—Legend of Brahmā and his daughter, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and of Satarūpā, according to the Matsya Purāṇa.

The story which forms the subject of the present section is noticed at some length in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 38-46, where one of the oldest passages in which it is related, is quoted from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, i. 7, 4, 1 ff., together with one of a comparatively late age from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, iii. 12, 28 ff. As however the legend, though repulsive in its character, is not without interest as illustrating the opinions which Indian mythologists have entertained regarding their deities, I shall quote two other texts in which it is narrated.

The first, from the Aitareya Brāhmana, iii. 33, has, no doubt (along with the passage of the Satapatha Brāhmana just referred to, and another from the same work, xiv. 4, 2, 1 ff., quoted above, in p. 24 ff.), furnished the ideas which are expanded in the later versions of the story. It is as follows:

Prajāpatir vai svām duhitaram abhyadhyāyat | Divam ity anye āhur Ushasam ity anye | tām rišyo bhūtvā rohitām bhūtām abhyait | tam devā apašyan | "akritam vai Prajāpatih karoti" iti | te tam aichhan yah enam ārishyati | etam anyonyasmin na avindan | teshām yā eva ghoratamās tanvah āsams tāh ekadhā samabharan | tāh sambhritāh esha devo'bhavat | tad asya etad bhūtavan-nāma | bhavati vai sa yo'sya etad evam nāma veda | tam devā abruvann "ayam vai Prejāpatir akritam akar imam vidhya" iti | sa "tathā" ity abravīt | "sa vai vo varam vriņai" iti | "vrinīshva" iti | sa etam eva varam avrinīta pašūnām ādhipatyam | tad asya etat pašuman-nāma | pašumān bhavati yo'sya etad evam nāma veda | tam abhyāyatya avidhyat | sa viddhah ūrddhvs udaprāpatad ityādi<sup>201</sup> |

<sup>201</sup> See the translation of this passage given by Dr. Hang in his Aitareya Brühmana

"Prajāpati lusted after his own daughter. Some call her the Sky, others Ushas. Becoming a buck, he approached her after she had become a doc. The gods saw him; (and said) Prajāpati does a deed which was never done (before). They sought some one who should take vengeance on him. Such a person they did not find among themselves. They then gathered together their most dreadful bodies. These when combined formed this god (Rudra). Hence (arises) his name connected with Bhūta (Bhūtapati). That man flourishes who thus knows this name of his. The gods said to him, 'This Prajāpati has done a deed which was never done before: pierce him.' He replied, 'so be it,' (adding), 'let me ask a boon of you.' They rejoined, 'ask.' He asked for this boon, viz., lordship over cattle. Hence arises his name connected with Paśu (Paśupati). He who thus knows his name, becomes the owner of cattle. He then attacked (Prajāpati) and pierced him. He, when pierced, soared upwards,' etc. etc.

The second passage I proposed to cite is from the Matsya Purāṇa, chapter iii. verses 32 ff.: Etad tattvātmakam kritvā jagad dvedhā ajījanat | 33. Sāvitrīm loka-siddhyartham hridi kritvā samāsthitaḥ | tataḥ sanjapatas tasya bhitvā deham akalmasham | 34. strī-rūpam arddham akarod arddham purusha-rūpavat | Satarūpā cha sā khyātā Sāvitrī cha nigadyate | 35. Sarasvaty atha Gāyatrī Brahmāṇī cha parantapa | tataḥ sa Brahmadevās tām ātmajām ity akalpayat | 36. Drishtvā tām vyathitas tāvat kāma-vāṇārdito vibhuḥ | "aho rūpam aho rūpam" ity uvācha tadā 'vyayaḥ | 37. Tato Vasishtha-pramukhā "bhaginīm" iti chukrusuḥ | Brahmā na kinchid dadrise tan-mukhālo-kanād rite | 38. "Aho rūpam aho rūpām" iti āha punaḥ punaḥ | tataḥ praṇāma-namrām tām punas tām abhyalokayat | 39. Atha pradakshiṇām chakre sā pitur varavarṇinī | putrehhyo lajjitasyāsya tad-rūpālokanechhayā | 40. Āvīrbhūlam tato vaktrum dakshiṇam pāṇdu-gaṇḍavat |

vol. ii. pp. 218 ff.; and the remarks on this translation by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, ix. 217 ff.; and also Professor Roth's explanation of the word bhūtacat in his Lexicon.

202 This seems to be imitated in the line of the Bhagarata Purana iii. 12, 30, quoted in vol. iv. of this work, p. 40: naitat purvaih kritam tead ye na karishyanti chapare | "This was never done by those before thee, nor will those after thee do it,"

<sup>2003</sup> Bhasati. In the Brühmanas this verb has frequently the sense of prospering, as opposed to parübhasati, "he perishes." See Böthlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s. v., and the passages there referred to.

vismaya-sphurad-oshtham cha päśchätyam udagāt tatah | 41. Chaturthum abhavat paśchād vāmam kāma-śarāturam | tato 'nyad abhavat tasya kāmāturatayā tathā | 42. Utpatantyās tadā "kūśs ālokena kutūhalāt | srishty-artham yat kritam tena tapah paramadāruņam | 43. Tat sarvam näšam agamat sva-sutopagamechhayā | tenāšu<sup>m</sup> vaktram abhavat panchamam tasya dhimatah | 44. Avirbhavaj jatābhišcha tad vaktranchāerinot prabhuh | tatas tan abravid Brahma putran atma-samudbhavan | 45. "Prajāh spijadhvam abhitah sa-devāsura-mānushāh" | evam uktās tatah saree sasrijur vividhah prajah | 46. Gateshu teshu srishtyartham pranāmāvanatām imām | upayeme sa visvātmā S'atarūpām aninditām | 47. Sambabhūva tayā sārddham atikāmāturo vibhuh | salajjām chakame devah kamalodara-mandire | 48. Yazad abda-satam divyam yatha 'nyah prakrito janah | tatah kalena mahata tasyah putro 'bhovad Manuh | 49. Svāyambhuva iti khyātah sa Virād iti naḥ śrutam | tad-rūpa-guṇa-sāmānyād adhipāruska uchyate | 50. Vairājā yatra te jātāḥ bahavaḥ samsitavratāḥ | Svāyambhucā mahābhāgāḥ sapta sapta tathā 'pare | 51. Svārochishādyāh sarce to Brahma-tulya-svarūpinah | Auttami-pramukhās tadvad yeshām team saptamo 'dhunā | (Adhyāya. 4.) Manur uvācha | 1. Aho kashtataram ehailad angajāgamanam vibhoh | Katham na dosham agamat karmanā tena Padmajaḥ | 2. Parasporañcha sambandhaḥ sagotrāņām abhūt katham | vaivāhikas tat-sutānām chhindi me samsayam vibho | Matsya uvācha | 3. Dieyeyam ādi-srinhţis tu rajo-guna-samudbhavā | atīndriyendriyā tadvad utīndriya-śarīrikā | 4. Dieya-tejomayī bhūpa divya-jnāna-samudbhavā | na chānyair abhitah śakyā jnātum vei māmsa-chakshushā | 5. Yathā bhujangāh sarpānām ākāśe sarva-pakshinam | cidanti mārgām divyānām divyā eva na mānavāh | 6. Kāryākāryena devāšcha šubhāšubha-phala-pradāḥ | yasmāt tasmād na rājendra tad-vicharo nrinam subhah | 7. Anyachcha sarva-devanam adhishthata chaturmukhah | gayatri Brahmanas tadvad anga-bhūtā nigadyate | 8. Amurtta-murttimad vapi mithunancha prachakshate | Viranchir yatra bhagavāns tatra devī Sarasvatī | 9. Bhāratī yatra yatraiva tatra tatra Prajāpatih | yathātapena rahitā ehhāyā vai (? na) driśyate kvachit | 10. Gayatrī Brahmanah pāršvam tathuiva na vimunchati | veda-rāših smrito Brahmā Sāvitrī tad-adhishthitā | 11. Tasmād na kašchid doshah syāt Sāvitrī-gamane vibhoh | tathāpi lajjāvanatah Prajāpatir abhūt purā | 12. Sva-sutopagamād Brāhmā šašāpa Kusumāyudham | yasmād mamāpi 264 Instead of tendin the Gaikowar MS. reads tenordhes.

bhavatā manah samkshobhitam śaraih | 13. Tasmāt tvad-deham achirād Rudro bhasmīkarishyati | tatah prasādayāmāsa Kāmadevas Chaturmukham | 14. "Na mām akāraṇam śaptum tvam ihārhasi mām ava | aham evam-vidhah srishtas tvayaiva chaturānana | 15. Indriya-kshobha-janakah sarveshām eva dehinām | strī-pumsor avichāreṇa mayā sarvatra sarvadā | 16. Kshobhyam manah prayatnena tvayaivaktam purā vibho | tasmād anaparādhena tvayā śaptas tathā vibho | 17. Kuru prasādam bhagavan sva-śarīrāptaye punah | Brahmā uvācha | 18. Vaicasvate 'ntare prāpte Yādavānzaya-sambhavah | Rāmo nāma yadā martyo mat-sattva-balam āśrītah | 19. Avatīryyāsura-dhvamsī Dvārakām adhivatsyati | taddātus tat-samašcha <sup>208</sup> tvam tadā putratvam eshyasi ityādi |

"32. Having thus formed the universe, consisting of the principles, he generated a twofold creation, (33) having, with a view to the completion of the world, placed and kept Savitri in his heart. Then as he was muttering prayers, he divided his spotless body (34) and gave to the half the form of a woman, and to the half that of a male. (This female) is called Satarūpā, Sāvitrī, (35) Sarasvatī, Gāyatrī, and Brahmani. Brahma then took her for his daughter. 36. Beholding her, the imperishable deity, distressed, tortured with the arrows of love, exclaimed, 'o what beauty! o what beauty!' 37. Then (his sons) headed by Vasishtha, cried aloud, '(our) sister.' Brahmā saw nothing else, looking only at her face; (38) and exclaimed again and again, 'o what beauty! o what beauty!' He then again gazed upon her, as she bend forward in obeisance. 39. The fair woman then made a circuit round her father. As on account of his sons he felt ashamed; from his desire of gazing on her beauty (40) there appeared (on his head) a southern face with pale checks; and there was afterwards manifested a western face with lips quivering with astonishment. 41. A fourth was subsequently formed, beautiful, disquieted by the arrows of love. Then another was produced from the disturbing influence of the same passion, (42) and from eagerness in gazing after her as she rose upwards in the sky. That austere fervour, extremely dreadful, which Brahmā had practised with a view to creation, (43) was entirely lost through his desire to approach his daughter (carnally). Through this was produced speedily the fifth face (or, according to one MS., the upper,

50% Such appears to be the reading of the Guikowar MS. The original reading of the Taylor MS. has been crased, and another substituted, tatas tat-somaye team cha.

the fifth face) of the wise deity, (44) which appeared with matted hair, and which he covered up. Brahma then said to the sons who had sprung from him, (45) 'create living beings everywhere, gods, asuras, and men.' They, being thus addressed, created beings of various kinds. 46. When they had gone away for the purpose of creating, he, who is the universe, took for his wife the unblamed Satarupa. 47. Sickened with love, he cohabited with her: like any ordinary being, he loved her,-though she was full of shame-embowered in the hollow of a lotus, (48) for a hundred years of the gods. A long time after, a son was born to her, Manu (49) called Sväyambhuva, who, as we have heard, is Virāj. From their community of form and qualities he is called Adhipārusha.200 50. From him were sprung those numerous Vairājas, steadfast in religious observances, those seven glorious sons of Svayambhū, and those other seven Manus, (51) beginning with Svarochisha and Auttami, in form equal to Brahma, of whom thou w art now the seventh. (4th chapter) 1. Manu says: 'Ah! this is most afflicting, this entrance of love into the god. How was it that the lotus-born did not incur guilt by that act? 2. And how did a matrimonial connection take place between persons of the same family who were sprung from him? Solve this doubt of mine, o Lord. The Fish replied: 3. This primeval creation was celestial, produced from the quality of passion (raias); it had senses removed beyond the cognizance of sense, and bodies of the same description, (4) was possessed of celestial energy, derived from celestial knowledge, and cannot be perfectly perceived by others with the eye of flesh. 5. Just as serpents know the path of serpents, and (beings living) in the sky know the path of all sorts of birds, so too the celestials alone, and not men, know the way of celestials. 6. And since it is the gods who award the recompence, favourable or unfavourable, according as good or bad deeds have been done,-it is not good for men to examine this (question). 7. Furthermore, the four-faced (Brahma) is the ruler of all the gods, and in like manner the Gavatri is delared to be a member of Brahma. 8. And, as

<sup>\*\*</sup> Compare the Purusha Sukta, above p. 8, in the fifth verse of which the words Virājo adhi pūrushah occur. If the last two words are combined they give the name in the text.

my This account is given by the deity represented as incarnate in a Fish, to Manu Vaivasvata.

they say, there is a pair consisting of the formless, and of that which has form. Wherever the divine Viranchi (Brahmā) is, there is also the goddess Sarasvatī. 9. Wherever Bhāratī (a name of Sarasvatī) is, there is also Prajapati. Just as shadow is nowhere seen without sunshine, (10) so Gayatrī never forsakes the side of Brahmā. He is called the collected Veda, and Savitri rests upon him; (11) there can therefore be no fault in his approaching her. Nevertheless, Brahmā, the lord of creatures, was bowed down with shame, (12) because he had approached his own daugther, and cursed Kusumāyudha 208 (Kāma), (in these words) 'As even my mind has been agitated by thy arrows, Rudra shall speedily reduce thy body to ashes.' Kamadeva then propitiated the four-faced deity, saying, (14) 'Thou oughtest not to curse me without cause : preserve me. It is by thee thyself that I have been created with such a character, (15) an agitator of the organs of sense of all embodied creatures. The minds both of men and women must always and everywhere (16) be energetically stirred up by me with out hesitation: this thou thyself hast formerly declared. It is therefore without any fault of mine that I have been thus cursed by thee. 17. Be gracious, lord, that I may recover my body.' Brahma answered: 18. 'When the Vaivasvata Manvantara shall have arrived, a mortal, named Rama, sprung from the Yadava race, deriving force from my essence, (19) and, becoming incarnate as a destroyer of Asuras, shall inhabit Dvārakā. Thou shalt then become a son of his substance and like to him," etc.

The narrator of this legend does not hesitate to depict in the strongest colours (though without the least approach to grossness) the helpless subjection of Brahma to the influence of sexual desire. This illicit indulgence was regarded by the authors of the Satapatha and Aitareya Brahmanas as in the highest degree scandalous, and they do not attempt to palliate its enormity by any mystical explanation, such as that which we find in the Matsya Purana. Whether this apology proceeded from the original narrator, or from a later writer of a more sensitive disposition, who perceived its inconsistency with any elevated idea of the superior powers, is difficult to say. It is quite possible that the same writer who gave his fancy scope in describing the unbecoming scene, of which the substance had been handed down in works regarded

<sup>288</sup> The word means " He whose weapons are flowers."

as authoritative, may also have thought it necessary to discover some device for counteracting the scandal. On the other hand, the original writer seems to cut himself off from the privilege of resorting to any mystical refinements to explain away the offence, by having in the first instance represented Brahma's indulgence as on a level with that of ordinary beings. And even after the apology has been concluded, we are still told that Brahma could not help feeling ashamed of what he had done. The writer of the explanation ought to have perceived that if his defence was of any value, the deity for whom he was apologizing had no ground for humiliation. But he did not venture to expunge the popular features of the story. The grounds on which the apology proceeds are partly of the same character as those which the writer of the Bhagavata Purana assumes in the passage (x. 33, 27 ff.) which is given in the fourth volume of this work, pp. 42 f., viz., that the gods are not to be judged on the same principles as men, -that "the celestials have laws of their own" (sunt superis sua jura). The Bhagavata Purana has, however, different measures for Brahma and for Krishna; for whilst the adultery of the latter is defended in the verses just referred to, no desire is shown to vindicate the former in the other passage, iii. 12, 28 ff., adduced in the same volume, page 40.

As regards the details of the story according to the different Purāṇas, I may observe that while the Vishṇu, the Vāyu (see above, pp. 65, and 106), and the Mārkandeya Purāṇas, xl. 13 f., represent Satarūpā as the wife of Manu Svāyambhuva, the Matsya Purāṇa, as we have just seen, declares her to have been the spouse of Brahmā himself, and the mother of Manu Svāyambhuva. This is repeated in the twenty-sixth verse of the fourth chapter:

Yā sā dehārddha-sambhūtā Gāyatrī brahma-vādinī | jananī yā Manor devī Satarūpā Satendriyā | 27. Ratir Manas Tapo Buddhir mahad-ādi-zamudbhavā <sup>50</sup> | tataḥ su Satarūpāyām zaptāpatyāny ajījanat | 28. Ye Marīchyādayaḥ putrāḥ mānasās tasya dhīmataḥ | teshām ayam abhūl lokaḥ sarva-jnānātmakaḥ purā | 29. Tato 'srijad Vāmadevam trišūlavara-dhārinam | Sanatkumārancha vibhum pūrveshām api pūrvajam | 30.

200 In this line the original readings are in several places crased in the Taylor MS.
1 have endeavoured to restore it with the help of the Gnikowar MS.

<sup>200</sup> Compare the account given in Manu's Institutes (above, p. 36), which does not coincide in all particulars with any of the Paranas here quoted.

Vāmadevaš tu bhagavān asrijad mukhato dvijān | rājanyān asrijad bāhvor Viţ-śūdrāv ūru-pādayoh | . . . . 35. Svāyambhuvo Manur dhīmāms tapas taptvā suduścharam | patnīm avāpa rūpādhyām Anantām nāma nāmatah | Priyavratottānapādau Manus tasyām ajījanat |

"She who was produced from the half of his body, Gayatrī the declarer of sacred science, she who was the mother of Manu, the goddess Satarūpā (i.e. having a hundred forms), Satendriyā (i.e. having a hundred senses), (27) (was also) Rati, Mind, Austere Fervour, Intellect, sprung from Mahat and the other principles. He then begot upon Satarūpā seven sons. 28, This world, composed of all knowledge, sprang from Marichi, and the others who were the mind-born sons of that wise Being. He next created Vamadeva (Mahadeva), the wielder of the excellent trident, and the lord Sanatkumara, born before the earliest. 30. Then the divine Vamadeva created Brahmans from his mouth, Rajanyas from his breast, the Vis and the Sadra from his thighs and feet." [After describing in the following verses some other creations of Vamadeva, the writer proceeds in verse 35:] "The wise Manu Svayambhuva, having practised austere fervour of the most arduous kind, obtained a beautiful wife named Ananta. On her he begot Priyavrata and Uttānapāda."

Having made Manu the son of Satarūpā, the writer was obliged to give him another female for a wife, as we see he has here done.

It will be observed that in this passage Vāmadeva—and not Brahmā, as in the other Purāṇas—is described as the creator of the four castes.

## Sect. X.—Quotations from the Rāmāyana on the Creation, and on the Origin of Castes.

The substance of the first of the following passages has already been stated above in a note on page 36. Part of it is also quoted in p. 54, and it is more fully cited in the fourth volume of this work, p. 29, but for facility of reference I repeat it here.

Rămâyana (Bombay edition) ii. 110, 1. Kruddham ājnāya Rāmam tu Vasishthah pratyuvācha ha | Jābālir api jānīte lokasyāsya gatāgatim | 2. Nivarttayitu-kūmas tu tvām etad vākyam abravīt | imām loka-samutpattim loka-nātha nibodha me | 3. Sarvam salilam evāsīt prithivī tatra nirmitā | tataḥ samabhavat Brahmā Svayambhūr daivataiḥ saha | 4. Sa varāhas tato bhūtvā projjahāra vasundharām | asrijach cha jagat sarvam saha putraiḥ kritātmabhiḥ | 5. Ākāšaprabhavo Brahmā šāšvato nitya avyayaḥ | tasmād Marīchiḥ sanjajne Marīcheḥ Kašyapaḥ sutaḥ | 6. Vivasvān Kašyapāj jajne Manur Vaivasvataḥ svayam | sa tu prajāpatiḥ pūrvam Ikshvākus tu Manoḥ sutaḥ | 7. Yasyeyam prathamam dattā samriddhā Manunā mahī | tam Ikshvākum Ayodhyāyām rājānam viddhi pūrvakam |

"1. Perceiving Rāma to be incensed "11 Vasishţha replied: 'Jābāli also knows the destruction and renovation of this world. 2. But he spoke as he did from a desire to induce you to return. Learn from me, lord of the earth, this (account of) the origin of the world. 3. The universe was nothing but water. In it the earth was fashioned. Then Brahmā Svayambhū came into existence, with the deities. He next, becoming a boar, raised up the earth, and created the entire world, with the saints his sons. 5. Brahmā, the eternal, unchanging, and undecaying, was produced from the æther (ākāśa). From him sprang Marīchi, of whom Kaṣṣapa was the son. 6. From Kaṣṣapa sprang Vivasvat: and from him was descended Manu, who was formerly the lord of creatures (prajāpatī). Ikshvāku\*12 was the son of Manu (7) and to him this prosperous earth was formerly given by his father. Know that this Ikshvāku was the former king in Ayodhyā."

The account which I next quote does not agree with the last in its details, as, besides representing the Prajapatis or sons of Brahmā to be seventeen in number, it places Marīchi, Kaśyapa, and Vivasvat in the same rank as contemporaries, while the former narrative declares them to have been respectively father, son, and grandson.

Rāmāyana iii. 14, 5. Rāmasya vachanam śrutvā kulam ātmānam eva cha | āchachakshe dvijas tasmai sarva-bhūta-samudbhavam | 6. Pūrvakūle mahābāho ye prajāpatayo 'bhavan | tān me nigadatah sarvān āditah śrinu Rāghava | 7. Kardamah prathamas teshām Vikritas tad-anantaram | S'eshaś cha Samśrayaś chaiva Bahuputraś cha viryavān | 8.

an On account of a materialistic and immoral argument which had been addressed to him by Jabali to induce him to disregard his deceased father's arrangements regarding the succession to the throne. See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xix. pp. 303 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>313</sup> The name Ikshvaku occurs in R. V. 1. 60, 4. See Professor Max Müller's article in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, pp. 451 and 462.

Sthanur Marichir Atris cha Kratus chaica mahabalah | Pulastyas changirās chaiva Prachetāh Pulahas tathā | 9. Daksho Vivasvān aparo 'rishtanemiś cha Raghava | Kaśyapaś cha mahatejas tesham asich cha paśchimah | 10. Prajāpates tu Dakshasya babhūvur iti višrutāh | shashţir duhitaro Rāma yaśascinyo mahāyasāh | 11. Kasyapah pratijagrāha tāsām ashtau sumadhyamāh | Aditim cha Ditim chaica Danum api cha Kālakām | 12. Tāmrām Krodhavašām chaiva Manum 218 chāpy Analām api | tās tu kanyās tatah prītah Kasyapah punar abravīt | 13. Putrāms trailokya-bhartrin vai janayishyatha mat-saman | Aditis tan-manah Rāma Ditišcha Danur eva chu | 14. Kūlakā cha mahābāho šeshās tv amanaso 214 7 bhavan | Adityām jajnire devās trayastrimsad arindama | 15. Adityā Vasaco Rudrā Asvinau cha parantapa | . . . . 29. Manur manushyan janayat Kasyapasya mahatmanah | brahmanan kshattriyan vaišyān šūdrāńs cha manujarshabha | 30. Mukhato brāhmaņā jātāh urasah kehattriyas tatha | urubhyam jajnire caisyah padbhyam sudra iti śrutih | 31. Sarvān punya-phalān vrikshān Analā 'pi vyajāyata |

"5. Having heard the words of Rāma, the bird (Jaţāyus) made known to him his own race, and himself, and the origin of all beings. 6. Listen while I declare to you from the commencement all the Prajāpatis (lords of creatures) who came into existence in the earliest time. 7. Kardama was the first, then Vikrita, Sesha, Samśraya, the energetic Bahuputra, (8) Sthānu, Marīchi, Atri, the strong Kratu, Pulastya, Angiras, Prachetas, Pulaha, (9) Daksha, then Vivasvat, Arishţanemi, and the glorious Kaśyapa, who was the last. 10. The Prajāpati Daksha is famed to have had sixty daughters. 11. Of these Kaśyapa took in marriage eight elegant maidens, Aditi, Diti, Danū, Kālakā, (12) Tāmrā, Krodhavaśā, Manu, mand Analā. Kaśyapa, pleased, then said

<sup>213</sup> Balam Atibalam api. -- Gott. 214 Manaratha-hināḥ. -- Comm.

I should have doubted whether Mann could have been the right reading here, but that it occurs again in verse 29, where it is in like manner followed in verse 31 by Analä, so that it would certainly seem that the name Manu is intended to stand for a female, the daughter of Daksha. The Ganda recension, followed by Signor Gorresio (iii. 20, 12), adopts an entirely different reading at the end of the line, viz. Batām Atibalām api, "Balā and Atibalā," instead of Manu and Analā. I see that Professor Roth s.v. adduces the authority of the Amara Kosha and of the Commentator on Pāṇini for stating that the word sometimes means "the wife of Manu." In the following text of the Mahābhārata i. 2553, also, Manu appears to be the name of a female: Anavadyām Manum Vanādām Asurām Mārganapriyām | Anāpām Subhagām Bhāsīm iti Prādhā eyajāyata | "Prādhā (daughter of Dakshu) bore Anavadyā, Manu, Vans'a, Asurā, Mārganapriyā, Anūpā, Subhagā, and Bhāsī.

to these maids, (13) 'ye shall bring forth sons like to me, preservers of the three worlds.' Aditi, Diti, Danū, (14) and Kālakā assented; but the others did not agree. Thirty-three gods were borne by Aditi, the Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, and the two Aśvins." [The following verses 15–28 detail the offspring of Diti, Danū, Kālakā, Tāmrā, Krodhavašā, as well as of Kraunchī, Bhāsī, Syenī, Dhritarāshtrī, and Sukī the daughters of Kālakā, and of the daughters of Krodhavašā. (Compare the Mahābharata, i. 2620–2635; and Wilson's Vishņu Purāṇā, vol. ii. pp. 72 f.) After this we come upon Manu and the creation of mankind.] "29. Manu, (wife) of Kašyapa, 16 produced men, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras. 30. 'Brāhmans were born from the mouth, Kshattriyas from the breast, Vāisyas from the thighs, and Sūdras from the feet,' so says the Veda. 31. Analā gave birth to all trees with pure fruits."

It is singular to observe that in this passage, after having represented men of all castes as sprung from Manu, the writer next adds a verse to state, on the authority of the Veda, that the different castes were produced from the different parts of the body out of which they issued. Unless Manu's body be here meant, there is a contradiction between the two statements. If Manu's body is meant, the assertion conflicts with the common account. And if the Manu here mentioned is, as appears from the context, a woman, we should naturally conclude that her offspring was born in the ordinary way; especially as she is said to have been one of the wives of Kaśyapa.

The next passage from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, 74, 8 f., describes the condition of men in the Kṛita age, and the subsequent introduction of the caste system in the Tretā. The description purports to have been occasioned by an incident which had occurred just before. A Brāhman had come to the door of Rāma's palace in Ayodhyā, carrying the body of his dead son, 217 and bewailing his loss, the blame

<sup>236</sup> The text reads Kūsyapa, "a descendant of Kūsyapa," who, according to Rām. ii. 110, 6, ought to be Vivasvat. But as it is stated in the preceding part of this passage iii. 14, 11 f. that Manu was one of Kūsyapa's eight wives, we must here read Kūsyapa. The Gauda recension reads (iii. 20, 30) Manur manushyāmo cha tathā januyāmāsa Rāghava, instead of the corresponding line in the Bombay edition.

<sup>117</sup> The boy is said, in 73, 5, to have been apropta-yanvanam balam pancha-carsha-suhasrakam | "a boy of five thousand years who had not attained to puberty!" The Commentator says that varsha here means not a year, but a day (carsha-sabdo 'tra

of which (as he was himself unconscious of any fault) he attributed to some misconduct on the part of the king. Rāma in consequence couvoked his councillors, when the divine sage Nārada spoke as follows:

8. S'rinu rujan yathā 'kāle prāpto bālasya sankshayah | śrutvā karttavyatām rājan kurushva Raghunandana | 9. purā krita-yugs rājan brāhmaņā vai tapasvinah | 10. Abrāhmaņas tadā rājan na tapasvī kathanchana | tasmin yuge prajvalite brahmabhūte to anavrite | 11. Amrityavas tadā sarve jajnire dīrgha-daršinah | tatas tretā-yugam nāma mānavānām vapushmatām | 12. Kshattriyā yatra jūyants pūrceņa tapasā 'nvităh | vîryyena tapasă chaiva te 'dhikāh pūrva-janmani | manava ye mahātmānas tatra tretā-yuge yuge | 13. Brahma kshattram cha tat sarvam yat purvam avaram cha yat | yugayor ubhayor axit sama-ciryyasamanvitam | 14. Apasyantas tu te sarve višesham adhikam tatah | sthapanam chakrire tatra chaturcarnyasya sammatam | 15. Tasmin yuge projealite dharmabhute hy anavrite | adharmah padam ekam tu patayat prithivitale | . . . . 19. Patite to anyite tarming adharmena mahitale | śubkany evacharal lokah satya-dharma-parayanah | 20. Treta-yuge cha varttante brûhmanûh kshattriyûs cha ye | tapo 'tapyanta te sarce susrushām apare janāh | 21. Sva-dharmah paramas teshām vaišya-šūdram tadā "gamat | pūjām cha sarva-varnānām sūdrās chakrur višeskatah | . . . . 23. Tatah padam adharmasya dvitiyam avatarayat | tato deapara-sankhyā sā yugasya samajāyata | 24. Tasmin deaparā-sankhys tu varttamäne yuga-kshaye | adhurmas chanritam chaica vacridhe purusharshabha | 25. Asmin dvapara-sankhyāte tapo vaišyān samāvišat | tribhyo yuqebhyas trin varnan kramad vai tapa avišat | 26. Tribhyo yugebhyas trin varnan dharmascha parinishthitab | na sudro labhate dharmam yuqatas tu nararshabha | 27. Hina-varno nripa-śreshtha tapyate sumahat tapah | bhavishyachchhūdrayonyām hi tapaś-charya kalau yuge | 28. adharmah paramo rājan dvāpare śūdra-janmanah | sa vai vishaya-paryante tava rajan mahatapah | 29. Adya tapyati durbuddhis tena bāla-badho hy ayam |

Narada speaks: 8. "Hear, o king, how the boy's untimely death occurred: and having heard the truth regarding what ought to be

dinaparah),—just as it does in the ritual prescription that a man should perform a sacrifice lasting a thousand years ("saharra-sameatsaram satrum upāsīta" iti vat),—and that thus some interpreters made out the boy's age to be sixteen, and others under fourteen. But this would be a most unusual mode of reckoning age.

done, do it. 9. Formerly, in the Krita age, Brahmans alone practised austere fervour (lapas). 10. None who was not a Brahman did so in that enlightened age, instinct with divine knowledge (or, with Brahma), unclouded (by darkness). 11. At that period all were born immortal, and far-sighted. Then (came) the Treta age, the era of embodied men. (12) in which the Kshattriyas were born, distinguished still by their former austero fervour; although those men who were great in the Treta age had been greater, both in energy and austere fervour, in the former birth. 13. All the Brahmans and Kshattriyas, both the former and the later, were of equal energy in both Yugas.113. But not perceiving any more distinction (between the then existing men) they all 219 next established the approved system of the four castes. 15. Yet in that enlightened age, instinct with righteousness, unclouded (by darkness), unrighteousness planted one foot upon the earth." [After some other remarks (verses 16-18), which are in parts obscure, the writer proceeds: ] 19. "But, although this falsehood had been planted upon the earth by unrighteousness, the people, devoted to true righteousness, practised salutary observances. 20. Those Brahmans and Kshattriyas who lived in the Treta practised austere fervour, and the rest of mankind obedience. 21. (The principle that) their own duty was the chief thing pervaded the Vaisyas and Sudras among them: and the Sudras especially paid honour to all the (other) classes. . . . . 23. Next the second foot of unrighteousness was planted on the earth, and the number of the Dyapara (the third yuga) was produced. 24. When this deterioration of the age numbered as the Dvapara, had come into existence,

viv Manu and other legislators of that age, according to the Commentator (Manuadayah sarre tätkälikäh dharma-prevartianädhikritäh). He adds that in the Krita age all the castes were spontaneously devoted to their several duties, although no fixed system had been prescribed (krite in vinaiva sihäpanam svayam eva sarve varnäh sva-

spa-dharma-ratah).

sus The Commentator says, this means that in the Krita age the Brühmans were superior, and the Kshattriyas inferior (as the latter had not then the prerogative of practising topos), but that in the Tretā both classes were equal (ubhayor yuqayor madhya krīta-yuge brahma pārvam tapo-vīryābhyām utkrishtam kshattrum chāvaram cha tābhyām tapo-vīryābhyām nyūnam āsīt | tat sarvam brahma-kshattru-rūpam ubhayam tretāyām sama-vīrya-samanvitam āsīt | krīte kshattriyānām tapasy anadhi-kārāt tadyugīyebhyo brāhmanebhyas teshām nyūnatā | tretāyām tu ubhayo rapi tapo-'dhikārād ubhāv api tapo-vīryābhyām samau | But in the previous verse (12) it is said that the Kshattriyas were born in the Tretā distinguished by their former tapas. But perhaps they were formerly Brahmans, according to verses 9, 10, and 12.

unrighteousness and falsehood increased. 25. In this age, numbered as the Dvāpara, austere fervour entered into the Vaiśyas. Thus in the course of three ages it entered into three castes; (26) and in the three ages righteousness (dharma) was established in three castes. But the Sūdra does not attain to righteousness through the (lapse of these three) ages. 27. A man of low caste performs a great act of austere fervour. Such observance will belong to the future race of Sūdras in the Kali age, (28) but is unrighteous in the extreme if practised by that caste in the Dvāpara. On the outskirts of thy territory such a foolish person, of intense fervour, is practising austerity. Hence this slaughter of the boy."

Here then was a clue to the mystery of the young Brāhman's death. A presumptuous Sūdra, paying no regard to the fact that in the age in which he lived the prerogative of practising self-mortification had not yet descended to the humble class to which he belonged, had been guilty of seeking to secure a store of religious merit by its exercise. Rāma mounts his ear Pushpaka, makes search in different regions, and at length comes upon a person who was engaged in the manner alleged. The Sūdra, on being questioned, avows his caste, and his desire to conquer for himself the rank of a god by the self-mortification he was undergoing. Rāma instantly cuts off the offender's head. The gods appland the deed, and a shower of flowers descends from the sky upon the vindicator of righteousness. Having been invited to solicit a boon from the gods, he asks that the Brāhman boy may be resuscitated, and is informed that he was restored to life at the same moment when the Sūdra was slain. (Sections 75 and 76.)<sup>221</sup>

The following curious account of the creation of mankind, among whom it states that no distinction of class (or colour) originally existed, is given in the Uttara Kānda, xxx. 19 ff., where Brahmā says to Indra:

Amarendra mayā buddhyā prajāḥ srishtās tathā prabho | eka-varnāḥ sama-bhāshā eka-rūpāś cha sarvaśaḥ | 20. Tāsām nāsti višesho hi daršane lakshane 'pi vā | tato 'ham ekāgramanās tāḥ prajāḥ samachintayam | 21. So 'ham tāsām višeshārtham striyam ekām vinirmame | yad yat prajānām pratyangam višishtam tat tad uddhritam | 22. Tato mayā

<sup>230</sup> The Treta, according to the Commentator.

<sup>281</sup> See the Rev. Professor Banerjea's Dialogues on the Hindu philosophy, pp. 44 ff., where attention had previously been drawn to the story.

rūpa-gunair ahalyā strī vinirmitā | halam nameha vairūpyam halyam tat-prabhavam bhavet | 23. Yasyā na vidyate halyam tenāhalyeti viśrutā | Ahalyety eva cha mayā tasyā nāma prakīrttitam | 24. Nirmitāyām cha devendra tasyām nāryām surarshabha | bhavishyatīti kasyaishā mama chintă tato 'bhacat | 25. Team tu Sakra tadă nărim janishe manasa prabho | sthānādhikatayā patnī mamaisheti purandara | 26. Sa mayā nyāsa-bhūtā tu Gautamasya mahātmanah | nyastā bahūni varshāṇi tena niryātitā cha ha | 27. Tatas tasya parijnāya mahāsthairyam mahāmuneh | jnatva tapasi siddhim cha patny-artham sparsita tada | 28. Sa tayā saha dharmātmā ramate sma mahāmunih | āsan nirāšā devās tu Gautame dattayā tayā | 29. Team kruddhas to iha kāmātmā galvā tasyāśramam muneh | drishtavāms cha tadā tām etrīm diptām agniśikhām ica | 30. Sā teayā dharshitā S'akra kāmārttena samanyunā ; drishtas tvam cha tadā tena āśrame paramarshinā | 31. Tatah kruddhena tenāsi šaptah paramatejasā | gato'ei yena devendra dašā-bhāga-viparrayam |

"19. O chief of the immortals (Indra) all creatures were formed by my will of one class (or colour), with the same speech, and uniform in every respect. 20. There was no distinction between them in appearance, or in characteristic marks. I then intently reflected on these creatures. 21. To distinguish between them I fashioned one woman. Whatever was most excellent in the several members of different creatures was taken from them, (22) and with this (aggregate) I formed a female, faultless in beauty and in all her qualities. Hala means 'ugliness,' and halya, ' what is produced from ugliness.' 23. The woman in whom there is no halya, is called Ahalya. And this was her name to which I gave currency. 24. When this female had been fashioned, I anxiously considered to whom she should belong. 25. Thou, Indra, didst, from the eminence of thy rank, determine in thy mind, 'She must be my spouse.' 26. I, however, gave her in trust to the great Gautama; and after having retained her in charge for many years, he restored her. 27. Knowing then the great steadfastness of that distinguished Muni, and the perfection of his austere fervour, I, in due form, gave her to him for his wife. 28. The holy sage lived with her in the enjoyment of connubial love. But the gods were filled with despair when she had been given away to Gautama. 29, And thou, Indra, angry, as well as inflamed with lust, wentest to the Muni's hermitage,

and didst behold that female brilliant as the flame of fire. 30. She was then corrupted by thee who wert tormented by lust, as well as heated by anger. But thou wert then seen by the eminent rishi in the hermitage, (31) and cursed by that glorious being in his indignation. Thou didst in consequence fall into a reverse of condition and fortune," etc., etc.

SECT. XI .- Extracts from the Mahabharata on the same subjects.

The first passage which I shall adduce is from the Adi Parvan, or first book, verses 2517 ff.:

Vaisampäyana uvächa | hanta te kathayishyämi namaskritya Svayambhuve | surädīnām aham samyak lokānām prabhavāpyayam | Brahmano mānasāḥ putrāḥ viditāḥ shan-maharshayaḥ | Marīchir Atry-angirasau Pulastyaḥ Pulahaḥ Kratuḥ | Marīcheḥ Kaśyapaḥ putraḥ Kaśyapāt tu prajā imāh | prajajnire mahābhāgā Daksha-kanyās trayodaśa | 2520. Aditir Ditir Danuḥ Kālā Danāyuḥ Simhikā tathā | Krodhā Pradhā eha Visvā cha Vinatā Kapilā Muniḥ | Kadrūś cha manujavyāghra Daksha-kanyaiva Bhūrata | etāsām vīrya-sampannam putra-pautram anantakam |

"Vaisampayana said: I shall, after making obeisance to Svayambhū, relate to thee exactly the production and destruction of the gods and other beings. Six 223 great rishis are known as the mind-born sons

122 In regard to this story of Indra and Ahalyū, as well as to that of Brahmā and his daughter, above referred to, see the explanation given by Kamārila Bhatta, as quoted by Professor Max Müller in his Hist, of Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 529 f. The name of Ahalyū is there allegorically interpreted of the night, to which this name is said to have been given because it is absorbed in the day (ahani līyamānatayā). Indra is the san.

123 Another passage (S'anti-p. 7569 ff.) raises the number of Brahmā's sons to seven by adding Vasishtha: Kkah Seayambhūr bhagavān ādyo Brahmā sanātanah | Brahmanah sapta vai putrā mahātovānah Seayambhuvah | Marīchir Atry-Angirasan Pulastyah Pulahah Kratuh | Vasishthascha mahābhāgāh sadrtio vai Seayambhuvā | sapta Brahmā Svayambhū; who had seven great sons, Marīchi, Atri, Angīras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasishtha, who was like Svayambhū. These are the seven Brahmās who have been ascertained in the Puranic records." In another part of the same S'antiparvan, verses 12686 ff., however, the Prujāpatis are increased to twenty-one: Brahmā Sthānur Manur Daksho Bhrigur Dharmas tathā Yamah | Marīchir Angirā 'trischa Pulastyah Pulahah Kratuh | Vasishthah Parameshthī cha Vicasvān Soma eva cha | Kardamai chāpi yah prektah Krodho Vikrīta eva cha | ekavimāstir utpannās te projāpatayah smṛitāh | "There are reputed to have been twenty-one Prujāpatis produced, viz. Brahmā, Sthānu, Manu, Daksha, Bhrīgu, Dharma, Yama, Martchi,

of Brahmā, viz., Marīchi, Atri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, and Kratu. Kaśyapa was the son of Marīchi; and from Kaśyapa sprang these creatures. There were born to Daksha thirteen daughters of eminent rank, (2520) Aditi, Diti, Danu, Kālā, Danāyu, Simhikā, Krodhā, Pradhā, Viśvā, Vinatā, Kapilā, and Muni. Kadrū also was of the number. These daughters had valorous sons and grandsons innumerable."

Daksha, however, had other daughters, as we learn further on in verses 2574 ff., where the manner of his own birth also is related:

Dakshas to ajāyatāngushthād dakshinād bhagavān rishih | Brahmanah prithicipāla šāntātmā sumahātapāh | vāmād ajāyatāngushthād bhāryā tasya mahatmanah | tasyam panchakatam kanyah sa erajanayad munih | . . . . 2577. Dadau cha daśa Dharmāya saptavimsatim Indace | divyena vidhina rajan Kasyapaya trayodasa | . . . . . 2581. Paitamahah Manur devas tāsya putrah prajāpatih | tasyāshtau Vasavah putrās teshām vakshyami vistaram | . . . . . 2595. Stanam tu dakshinam bhitva Brahmago nara-vigrahah | nissrito bhagavān Dharmah sarva-loka-sukhāvahah | trayas tasya varāh putrāh sarva-bhūta-manoharāh | S'amah Kūmas cha Harsha's cha tejasa loka-dharinah | . . . . 2610. Arushi to Manoh kanyā tasya patnī manīshinah | . . . . . 2614, Dvau putrau Brahmanas tv anyau yayos tishthati lakshanam | loke Dhātā Vidhātā cha yau sthitau Manunā saha | tayor eva svasā devī Lakshmī padma-grihā śubhā | tasyās tu mānasāh putrās turagāh vyoma-chārinah | . . . . . 2617. Prajānām annakāmānām anyonya-paribhakshanāt | Adharmas tatra sanjātah sarvabhūta-vināšakah | tasyāpi Nirritir bhūryā nairritā yena Rākshasāh | ghorās tasyās trayah putrāh pāpa-karma-ratāh sadā | Bhayo Mahābhayas chaica Mrityur bhûtantakas tathā | na tasya bhāryā putro vā kaśchid asty antako hi sah |

Angiras, Atri, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasishtha, Parameshthin, Vivasvat, Soma, the person called Kardama, Krodha, and Vikrīta." (Here, however, only twenty names are specified including Brahmā himself.) Compare this list with those quoted above, p. 116, from the Rāmāyana, iii. 14, 7 ff., from Manu in p. 36, and from the Vishnu P. in p. 65.

255 That Muni is a name, and not an epithet, is shown (1) by the fact that we have otherwise only twelve names; and (2) by her descendants, both gods and gandharvas, being afterwards enumerated in verses 2550 ff. (ity ste deva-gandharvā Mauneyāḥ parikīrttitāḥ). Kapilā, another of the thirteen daughters of Daksha is said to have been the mother of Ambrosia, Brāhmans, kine, Gandharvas and Apsarasas (amritam brāhmanā gāvo gandharvāpsarasas tathā | apatysm kapilāyās tu purāne parikīrttitam | ).

124

"2574. Daksha, the glorious rishi, tranquil in spirit, and great in austere fervour, sprang from the right thumb of Brahmā.225 From the left thumb sprang that great Muni's wife, on whom he begot fifty 250 daughters. Of these he gave ten to Dharma, twenty-seven to Indu (Soma),277 and according to the celestial system, thirteen to Kasyapa." I proceed with some other details given in the verses I have extracted: 2581. "Pitāmaha's descendant, Manu, the god and the lord of creatures, was his (it does not clearly appear whose) son. The eight Vasus, whom I shall detail, were his sons. . . . . . 2595. Dividing the right breast of Brahmā, the glorious Dharma (Righteousness), issued in a human form, bringing happiness to all people. He had three eminent sons, Sama, Kāma, and Harsha (Tranquillity, Love, and Joy), who are the delight of all creatures, and by their might support the world. . . . . . 2610. Arushī, the daughter of Manu, was the wife of that sage (Chyavana, son of Bhrigu). . . . . . 2614. There are two other sons of Brahmā, whose mark remains in the world, Dhatri, 228 and Vidhatri, who remained with Manu. Their sister was the beautiful goddess Lakshmi, == whose home is in the lotus. Her mind-born sons are the steeds who move in the sky. . . . . . 2617. When the creatures who were desirous of food, had devoured one another, Adharma (Unrighteousness) was produced, the destroyer of all beings. His wife was Nirriti, and hence the Rakshasas are called Nairritas, or the offspring of Nirriti. She had three dreadful sons, continually addicted to evil deeds, Bhaya Mahabhaya (Fear and Terror) and Mrityu (Death) the ender of beings. He has neither wife, nor any son, for he is the ender."

The next passage gives a different account of the origin of Daksha; and describes the descent of mankind from Manu:

Adip. 3128. Tejobhir uditāh sarve maharshi-sama-lejasah | daśa Pra-

ris See above, p. 72 f. The Matsya P. also states that Daksha sprang from Brahma's right thumb, Dharma from his nipple, Kama from his heart, etc.

The passage of the Ramayana, quoted above, p. 116, affirms that they were sixty in number. Compare Wilson's Vishnu P. vol. i. pp. 109 ff., and vol. ii. pp. 19 ff.

The Taitt. Sanhitä, ii. 3, 5, 1, says Prajapati had thirty-three daughters, whom he gave to King Soma (Prajopates trayastrimiad duhitara asan | tah Somoya rajue 'dadat).

<sup>23</sup> Dhatri had been previously mentioned, in verse 2523, as one of the sons of Aditi. See also Wilson's Vishnu P. ii. 152.

<sup>225</sup> See Wilson's Vishan P. i. pp. 109, 118 ff., 144 ff. and 152. me The Vishgu P. (Wilson, i. 112) says he had five children.

chetasah putrah santah punya-janah smritah | mukhajenagnina yais te pūrcam dagdhā mahaujasah | tebhyah Prāchetaso jajne Daksho Dakshād imāh prajāh | sambhūtāh purusha-vyāghra sa hi loka-pitāmahah | Virinya saha sangamya Dakshah Prachetaso munih | atma-tulyan ajanayat sahasram samsita-vratan | sahasra-sankhyan sambhatan Dakshaputrāms cha Nāradaķ | moksham adhyāpayāmāsa sānkhya-juānam anuttamam | tatah panchasatam kanyah putrikah abhisandadhe | Prajapatih prajāh Dakshah sisrikshur Jonamejaya | dadau cha daśa Dharmāya Kaśyapaya trayodaśa | kalasya nayane yuktah saptacińśatim Indace | 3135. Trayodaśanam patninam ya tu Dakshayani vara | Marichah Kasyapas tasyām Ādityān samajījanat | Indrādīn vīryya-sampannān Vivasvantam athūpi cha | Vivasvatah suto jajne Yamo Vaivasvatah prabhuh | Martandasya Manur dhiman ajayata sutah prabhuh | Yamas chāpi suto jajno khyātas tasyānujah prabhuh | dharmātmā sa Manur dhīmān yatra vamšah pratishthitah | Manor vamšo mānavānām tato 'yam prathito bhavat | brahma-kshatrādayas tasmād Manor jātās tu mānacāh | tato 'bhavad mahārāja brahma kshattrena sangatam | 3140. Brāhmanā manavas tesham sangam vedam adharayan | Venam Dhrishnum Narishyantam Nabhagekshvakum eca cha | Karusham atha Saryatim tatha chaicashtamīm Ilām | Prishadhram navamam prāhuh kshattra-dharmaparāyanam | Nābhāgārishta-dašamān Manoh putrān prachakshate | panchāśat in Manoh putrās tathaicanye 'bhavan kshitau | anyonya-bhedat te sarvo vinesur iti nah srutam | Pururavas tato vidvan Ilayam samapadyata | sû eni tasyābhavad mātā pitā chaiveti nah śrutam |

"3128. Born all with splendour, like that of great rishis, the ten sons of Prachetas are reputed to have been virtuous and holy; and by them the glorious beings<sup>331</sup> were formerly burnt up by fire springing from their mouths. From them was born Daksha Prachetasa; <sup>339</sup> and from Daksha, the Parent of the world (were produced), these creatures. Cohabiting with Virini, the Muni Daksha begot a thousand sons like himself, famous

<sup>&</sup>quot;Trees and plants," according to the Commentator (makaprabhaea vrikshau-

shadhayūh). Compare Wilson's Vishnu P. ii. p. 1.

The same account of Daksha's birth is given in the S-antip. 7573: Dasanam tanayas to eko Daksho nama prajapatih | tanya dee namani loke Dakshah Ka iti chechyate | "These ten Prachetases had one son called Daksha, the lord of creatures. He is commonly called by two names, Daksha and Ka." (Compare vol. iv. of this work, p. 13, note 30, and p. 24; and the S'atapatha Brahmana, vii. 4, 1, 19, and ii. 4, 4, 1, there quoted.) The following verse 7574 tells us that Kasyapa also had two names, the other being Arishtanemi. See Ram. iii. 14, 9, quoted above.

for their religious observances, to whom Nārada taught the doctrine of final liberation, the unequalled knowledge of the Sankhya. Desirous of creating offspring, the Prajapati Daksha next formed fifty daughters, of whom he gave ten to Dharma, thirteen to Kasyapa, and twenty-seven, devoted to the regulation of time, 200 to Indu (Soma). . . . . 3135. On Dākshāyanī,224 the most excellent of his thirteen wives, Kašyapa, the son of Marichi, begot the Adityas, headed by Indra and distinguished by their energy, and also Vivasvat.235 To Vivasvat was born a son, the mighty Yama Vaivasvata. To Martanda (i.e. Vivasvat, the Sun) was born the wise and mighty Manu, and also the renowned Yama, his (Manu's) younger brother. Righteous was this wise Manu, on whom a race was founded. Hence this (family) of men became known as the race of Manu. Brahmans, Kshattriyas, and other men sprang from this Manu. From him, o king, came the Brahman conjoined with the Kshattriya. 3140. Among them the Brahmans, children of Manu, held the Veda with the Vedangas. The children of Manu are said to have been Vena, Dhrishnu, Narishyanta, Nabhaga, Ikshvaku, Karusha, Saryati, Ha the eight, Prishadra the ninth, who was addicted to the duties of a Kshattriya, and Nabhagarishta the tenth. Manu had also fifty other sons; but they all, as we have heard, perished in consequence of mutual dissensions. Subsequently the wise Pururavas was born of Ila, who, we heard, was both his mother and his father."

The tradition, followed in this passage, which assigns to all the castes one common ancestor, removed by several stages from the creator, is, of course, in conflict with the account which assigns to them a fourfold descent from the body of Brahma himself.

The Santiparvan, verses 2749 ff., contains an account of the origin of castes which has evidently proceeded from an extreme assertor of the dignity of the Brahmanical order. The description given of the prerogatives of the priestly class is precisely in the style, and partly in almost the identical words, of the most extravagant declarations of

<sup>233</sup> This phrase kālasya nayans yuktāh had previously occurred in verse 2580, where it is followed by the words sarvā nakāhatra-yoginyo loka-yātrā-vidhānatah | "all identified with the lunar asterisms, and appointed to regulate the life of men." See also Vishņu P. i. 15, 56, and Professor Wilson's translation ii. p. 10, note 1, and p. 28, note 1.

<sup>234</sup> i.e. Aditi. See verses 2520, 2522, and 2600 of this same book.

The account in the Rāmāyana, ii. 110, 5 ff., agrees with this in making Kasyapa son of Marichi, and father of Vivasvat.

Manu (i. 99 f.) on the same subject. In other places, however, the Mahābhārata contains explanations of a very different character regarding the origin of the distinctions, social and professional, which prevailed at the period of its composition. A comparison of these various passages will afford an illustration of the fact already intimated in p. 6,200 that this gigantic poem is made up of heterogeneous elements, the products of different ages, and representing widely different dogmatical tendencies, the later portions having been introduced by successive editors of the work to support their own particular views, without any regard to their inconsistency with its earlier contents. In fact, a work so vast, the unaided compilation of which would have taxed all the powers of a Didymus Chalkenterus, could scarcely have been created in any other way than that of gradual accretion. And some supposition of this kind is certainly necessary in order to explain such discrepancies as will be found between the passages I have to quote, of which the three first are the productions of believers (real or pretended) in the existence of a natural distinction between their own Brahmanical order and the other classes of the community, while the two by which these three are followed have emanated from fair and moderate writers who had rational views of the essential unity of mankind, and of the superiority of moral and religious character to any factitious divisions of a social description.

In the first passage, Bhīshma, the great uncle of the Pāndus, when describing to Yudhishthira the duties of kings, introduces one of those ancient stories which are so frequently appealed to in the Mahābhārata. Without a minute study of the poem it would be difficult to say whether these are ever based on old traditions, or are anything more than mere vehicles invented to convey the individual views of the writers who narrate them. Bhīshma says, Sāntiparvan, 2749:

Ya eva tu sato rakshed asataś cha nivarttayet | sa eva rūjnā karttavyo rūjan rūja-purohitah | 2750. Atropy udāharantīmam itihāsam purātanam | Purūravasa Ailasya samvādam Mātariśvanah | Purūravā uvācha | Kutah svid brāhmano jāta varņāś chāpi kutas trayah | kasmāchcha bhavati śreshthas tan me vyākhyātum arhasi | Mātariśvovācha | Brahmano mukhatah xrishto brāhmano rāja-sattama | bāhubhyām kshattriyah srishta ūrubhyām vaišya eva cha | varnānām parichāryyārtham trayānām Bha-

<sup>256</sup> See also the fourth volume of this work, pp. 141 ff. and 152.

ratarshabha | varnaś chaturthah sambhūtah padbhyām śūdro vinirmitah | brāhmano jāyamāno hi prithivyām annjāyate<sup>257</sup> | īśvarah sarca-bhūtānām dharma-koshasya guptaye | 2755. Atah prithivyā yantāram kshattriyam danda-dhārano | dvitīyam Dandam akarot prajānām anutriptaye | vaiśyas tu dhana-dhānyena trīn varnān bibhriyād imān | śūdro ky etān parichared iti Brahmānuśāsanam | Aila nvācha | dvijasya kshattrabandhor vā kasyeyam prithivī bhavet | dharmatah saha vittena samyag Vāyo prachakshva me | Vāyur uvācha | viprasya sarvam evaitad yat kinchij jagattgatam | jyeshthenābhijanensha tad dharma-kušalā viduh | svam eva brāhmano bhunkte svam vasts svam dadāti cha | gurur hi sarva-varnānām jyeshthah śreshthaś cha vai dvijah | 2760. Paty-abhūve yathaiva strī devaram kurute patim | csha to prathamah kalpah āpady anyo bhaved atuh |

"2749. The king should appoint to be his royal priest a man who will protect the good, and restrain the wicked. 2750. On this subject they relate this following ancient story of a conversation between Purūravas the son of Ilā, and Mātariśvan (Vāyu, the Windgod). Purūravas said: You must explain to me whence the Brāhman, and whence the (other) three castes were produced, and whence the superiority (of the first) arises. Mātariśvan answered: The Brāhman was created from Brahmā's mouth, the Kshattriya from his arms, the Vaiśya from his thighs, while for the purpose of serving these three

257 Manu, i. 99, has adhi jöyate.

<sup>228</sup> Raja-purchitah. The king's priest (raja-purchitah) is here represented as one who should be a confidential and virtuous minister of state. Such is not, however, the character always assigned to this class of persons. In Manu xii. 46, quoted above (p. 41f.), the purchita is placed in a lower class than other Brahmans. And in the following verse (4527) of the Anus'asanaparvan, taken from a story in which the Itishis utter maledictions against anyone who should have stolen certain lotus roots, part of the curse spoken by Visvamitra is as follows: varshācharo'sta bhritako rājnas chāsta purehitah | ayajyasya bhavatv riteig visa-stainyain karoti yah | "Let the man who steals lotus roots be a hireling trafficker in rain incantations (?) and the domestic priest of a king, and the priest of one for whom no Brahman should officiate." Again, in verse 4579, the same person says : karetu bhritako'var shain rajuai chastu purchitah | riteta astu hy syūjyasya yas te harati pushkaram | "Let him who steals thy lotus perform as a hireling incantations to cause drought, and be a king's domestic priest, and the priest of one for whom no Brahman should officiate." I have had partly to guess at the sense of the words varshacharah and avarsham. The Commentator does not explain the former; and interprets the latter (for which the Edinburgh MS, reads acarshah) by erishti-nibandham, " causing drought." He adds, papishthah een avarshah, "those who cause drought are most wicked."

castes was produced the fourth class, the Sudra, fashioned from his feet. The Brahman, as soon as born, becomes the lord of all beings upon the earth, for the purpose of protecting the treasure of righteousness. 2755. Then (the creator) constituted the Kshattriya the controuler of the earth, a second Yama to bear the rod, for the satisfaction of the people. And it was Brahma's ordinance that the Vaisya should sustain these three classes with money and grain, and that the Sudra should serve them. The son of Ila then enquired: Tell me, Vayu, to whom the earth, with its wealth, rightfully belongs, to the Brahman or the Kshattriya? Vayu replied: All this, whatever exists in the world, is the Brahman's property 200 by right of primogeniture: this is known to those who are skilled in the laws of duty. It is his own which the Brahman cats, puts on, and bestows. He is the chief of all the castes, the first-born and the most excellent. Just as a woman when she has lost her (first) husband, takes her brother in law for a second; so the Brahman is thy first resource in calamity; afterwards another may arise."

A great deal is shortly afterwards added about the advantages of concord between Brahmans and Kshattriyas. Such verses as the following (2802): "From the dissensions of Brahmans and Kshattriyas the people incur intolerable suffering" (mitho bhedād brāhmana-kshattriyānām prajā duḥkham dussaham chāciśanti) afford tolerably clear evidence that the interests of these two classes must frequently have clashed.

In the same strain as the preceding passage is the following:

Vanaparvan, 13436. Nādhyāpanād yājanād vā anyasmād vā pratigrahāt | dosko bhavati viprānām įvalitāgni-samā dvijāh | durvedā vā muvedā vā prākritāh samskritās tathā | brāhmanā nāvamantavyā bhasmachannā ivāgnayah | yathā śmaśāne dīptaujāh pāvako naiva dushyati | evam vidvān avidvān vā brāhmano daicatam mahat | prākāraiš cha puradeāraih prākādaiš cha prithag-vidhaih | nagarāni na śobhunte hīnāni brāhmanottamaih | vedāḍhyā vritta-sampannā jnānavantas tapasvinah | yatra tishṭhanti vai viprās tan-nāma nagaram nripa | vraje vā py athavā

Kullūka, the Commentator on Manu (i. 100), is obliged to admit that this is only spoken in a panegyrical or hyperbolical way, and that property is here used in a figurative sense, since theft is afterwards predicated by Manu of Brühmans as well as others ("seam" iti stutyā nehyate | seum ira seam na tu seam era | brūhmansayōpi Manunā steyasya vakshyamānatvāt).

ranye yatra santi bahu-śrutāḥ | tat tad nagaram ity āhuḥ pārtha tīrtham cha tad bhavet |

"No blame accrues to Brāhmans from teaching or sacrificing, or from receiving money in any other way: Brāhmans are like flaming fire. Whether ill or well versed in the Veda, whether untrained or accomplished, Brāhmans must never be despised, like fires covered by ashes. Just as fire does not lose its purity by blazing even in a cemetery, so too, whether learned or unlearned, a Brāhman is a great deity. Cities are not rendered magnificent by ramparts, gates, or palaces of various kinds, if they are destitute of excellent Brāhmans. 13440. The place where Brāhmans, rich in the Veda, perfect in their conduct, and austerely fervid, reside, is (really) a city (nagara). Wherever there are men abounding in Vedic lore, whether it be a cattle-pen, or a forest, that is called a city, and that will be a sacred locality."

The following verses from the Anuśāsanap. 2160 ff. are even more extreme in their character, and are, in fact, perfectly sublime in their insolence:

Brāhmaṇānām paribhatād asurāḥ salile śayāḥ | brāhmaṇānām prasādāch cha devāḥ scarga-nivāsinaḥ | aśakyam srashṭum ākāśam achālyo himavān giriḥ | adhāryyā setunā Gangā durjayā brāhmaṇā bhuvi | na brāhmaṇa-virodhena sakyā śāstum vasundharā | brāhmaṇā hi mahātmāno devānām api devatāḥ | tān pājayasta satatam dānena paricharyyayā | yadīchhasi mahīm bhoktum imām sāgara-mekhalām |

"Through the prowess of the Brāhmans the Asuras were prostrated on the waters; by the favour of the Brāhmans the gods inhabit heaven. The other cannot be created; the mountain Himavat cannot be shaken; the Gangā cannot be stemmed by a dam; the Brāhmans cannot be conquered by any one upon earth. The world cannot be ruled in opposition to the Brāhmans; for the mighty Brāhmans are the deities even of the gods. If thou desire to possess the sea-girt earth, honour them continually with gifts and with service."

The next passage seems to be self-contradictory, as it appears to set out with the supposition that the distinction of castes arose after the creation; while it goes on to assert the separate origin of the four classes:

Santiparvan, 10861. Janaka weācha | varno višesha-varnānām maharshe kena jāyate | etad iehhāmy aham jnātum tad brūhi vadatām vara | yad etaj jāyate 'patyam sa evāyam iti šrutih | kutham brūhmanato jāto

višeshe grahanam gatah | Parašara uvācha | Eram etad maharaja yena Jatah sa eca sah | tapasas to apakarshena jatigrahanatam gatah | sukahettrāchcha suvijāch cha punyo bhavati sambhavah | ato 'nyatarato hīnād avaro nāma jāyate | 10865. Vaktrād bhujābhyām ūrubhyām padbhyām chaivatha jajnire | srijatah Prajapater lokan iti dharmavido viduh | mukhajā brāhmanās tāta bāhujāh kshattriyāh smritāh | ūrujāh dhanino rājan pādajāh parichārakāh | chaturnām eva varnānām āgamah purusharshabha | ato 'nye vyatirikta ye te vai sankarajah smritah | . . . . . 10870. Janaka uvācha | Brohmanaikena jātānām nānātvam gotratah katham | bahuniha hi loke vai gotrūni muni sattama | yatra tatra katham jātāh scayonim (? suyonim) munayo gatāh | śuddha-yonau samutpanna viyonau cha tathā' pare | Parāšara uvācha | rājan naitad bhaved grāhyam apakrishtena janmanā | matātmanām samutpattis tapasā bhūvitatmanām | utpādya putrān munayo nripate yatra tatra ha | scenaiva tapasā teshām rishiteam pradadhuh punah | . . . . 10876. Etc seam prakritim prapta Vaideha tapasośrayat | pratishthita veda-vido damena tapasaiva hi |

"Janaka asks: 10861. How, o great rishi, does the caste of the separate classes arise? Tell me, as I desire to know. According to the Veda, the offspring which is born (to any one) is the very man himself. How does offspring born of a Brahman fall into distinct classes? Paräsara replied: It is just as you say, o great king. A son is the very same as he by whom he was begotten; but from decline of austere fervour, (men) have become included under different classes. And from good soil and good seed a pure production arises, whilst from those which are different and faulty springs an inferior production. Those acquainted with duty know that men were born from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Prajapati when he was creating the worlds. The Brahmans sprang from his mouth, the Kshattriyas from his arms, the merchants from his thighs, and the servants from his feet. The scriptural tradition speaks only of four classes. The men not included in these are declared to have sprung from a mixture (of the four). . . . . 10870. Janaka asked: How is there a difference in race between men sprung from one and the same Brahma? for there are now many races in the world. How have Munis born anywhere (indiscriminately) entered into a good family; some of them having sprung from a pure source and others from an inferior stock? Parissara replied: It would not be credible that noble-minded men, whose souls

had been perfected by austere fervour, should have been the offspring of a degraded birth. Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour." The speaker then names a number of sages (10876) "famed for their acquaintance with the Veda, and for their self-command and austere fervour," as "having all attained to their respective conditions by practising the latter observance."

In the latter verses the speaker appears to admit, at the very moment that he denies, the degraded origin of some of the renowned saints of Indian antiquity. What else is the meaning of the verse, "Munis who had begotten sons in an indiscriminate way conferred on them the position of rishis by their own austere fervour?" No doubt it is intended to represent those as exceptional times: but while we refuse to admit this assumption, we may find some reason to suppose that the irregularities, as they were afterwards considered to be, which this assumption was intended to explain away, were really samples of the state of things which commonly prevailed in earlier ages.

The next extract declares that there is a natural distinction between the Brāhmans and the other castes; and appears to intimate that the barrier so constituted can only be overpassed when the soul re-appears in another body in another birth:

Mahadeva says: 6570. "Brahmanhood, o fuir goddess, is difficult to

be attained. A man, whether he be a Brahman, Kshattriya, Vaisya, or Sudra, is such by nature; this is my opinion. By evil deeds a twiceborn man falls from his position. Then let a twice-born man who has attained to the highest caste, keep it. The Kshattriya, or Vaisya, who lives in the condition of a Brahman, by practising the duties of one, attains to Brahmanhood. But he who abandons the state of a Brahman and practises the duty of a Kshattriya, falls from Brahmanhood and is born in a Kehattriya womb. And the foolish Brahman, who, having attained that Brahmanhood which is so hard to get, follows the profession of a Vaisya, under the influence of cupidity and delusion, falls into the condition of a Vaisya. (In like manner) a Vaisya may sink into the state of a Sūdra. A Brāhman who falls away from his own duty becomes afterwards a Sudra. . . . . 6590. But by practising the following good works, o goddess, a Südra becomes a Brahman, and a Vaisya becomes a Kshattriya: Let him actively perform all the functions of a Sudra according to propriety and rule, i.e. obedience and service to the highest caste," etc.

The next passage is the first of those which I have already noted, as in spirit and tenor very different from the preceding. The conversation which it records arose as follows: Yudhishthira found his brother Bhimasena caught in the coils of a serpent, which, it turned out, was no other than the famous king Nahusha, who by his sacrifices, austerities, etc., had formerly raised himself to the sovereignty of the three worlds; but had been reduced to the condition in which he was now seen, as a punishment for his pride and contempt of the Brāhmans. He promises to let Bhīmaseva go, if Yudhishthira will answer certain questions. Yudhishthira agrees, and remarks that the serpent was acquainted with whatever a Brāhman ought to know. Whereupon the Serpent proceeds:

Vana-patva, verses 12469 ff: Sarpa wvācha | brāhmaṇāh ko bhaved rājan vedyam kim cha Yudhiohthira | 12470. Bravīhy atimatim teām hi vākyair anumimīmahe | Yudhishthira uvācha | satyam dānam kshamā šīlam ānrišamsyam tapo ghriṇā | drišyante yatra nāgendra sa brāhmaṇah iti smritih | vedyam sarpa param Brahma nirduhkham asukham cha yat | yatra gatvā na šochanti bhavatah kim vivakshitam | Sarpa uvācha | chāturvarnyam prumāṇam cha satyam cha brahma chaiva hi | Sūdreshe api cha satyam cha dānam akrodha eva cha | ānrišamsyam ahimsā cha ghriṇā chaiva Yudhishthira | vedyām yach chātra nirduḥkham asukham cha na-

rādhipa | tābhyām hīnam padam chānyad na tad astīti lakshays | Yudhishthira uvācha | 12475. Sūdre tu yad bhavel lakshma dvije tach cha na vidyate | na vai kūdro bhavech chhūdro brāhmano na cha brūhmanah | yatraital lakshyate sarpa crittam sa brāhmanah smritah | yatraitad na bhavet sarpa tam śūdram iti nirddiśet | yat punar bhavatā proktam na vedyam vidyatīti cha | tābhyām kīnam ato 'nyatra padam nāstīti ched api | evam stad matam sarpa tabhyam hinam na vidyate | yatha śitoshnayor madhye bhaved noshnam na śitata | evam vai sukha-duhkhābhyām hīnam nāsti padam kvachit | eshā mama matih sarpa yathā vâ manyate bhavan | Sarpa uvācha | 12480. Yadi te crittato rajan brahmanah prasamikshitah | vritha jatis tada "yushman kritir yavad na vidyate | Yudhishthira uvācha | jātir atra mahāsarpa manushyatve mahamate | sankarāt sarva-varnānām dushparīkshyeti me matih | sarve sarvāsv apatyani janayanti sadā narāh | van maithunam atho janma maranam cha samam nrinam | idam arsham pramanam cha "ye yajamahe" ity api | tasmach chhilam pradhaneshtam vidur ye tattvadarkinah | " prañ nabhi-varddhanat pumno jata-karma vidhiyate" | "tadā 'sya mātā sāvitrī pitā tv āchāryya uchyate" | 12485. "Tāvach chhūdra-samo hy esha yāvad vede na jāyate" | tasminn evam mati-dvaidhe Manuh Sväyambhuvo 'braeīt | krita-krityāh punar varnā yadi vrittam na vidyate | sankaras tatra nügendra balavan prasamīkshitah | yatredānīm mahāsarpa samskritam vrittam ishyate | tam brūhmanam aham pūrvam uktavan bhujagottama

"12469. The Serpent said: Who may be a Brühman, and what is the thing to be known, o Yudhishthira;—tell me, since by thy words I infer thee to be a person of extreme intelligence. Yudhishthira replied: 12470. The Smriti declares, o chief of Serpents, that he is a Brühman, in whom truth, liberality, patience, virtue, innocence, austere fervour, and compassion are seen. And the thing to be known is the supreme Brühma, free from pain, as well as from pleasure,—to whom, when men have attained, they no longer sorrow. What is your opinion? The Serpent replied: The Veda (brühma) is beneficial to all the four castes and is authoritative and true. And so we find in

300 Such is the sense assigned by the Commentator to this line, the drift of which is not very clear. The comment runs thus: Sarpas tu brāhmaņa padena jöti-mātram, vivakshitvā iūdre tal lakshaņam vyabhichārayati "chāturvarnyam" iti sārddhena | chaturņām varnānam hitam | satyam pramānam cha dharma-vyapasthāpakem brahma vedaḥ | iūdrāchāra-mriter api veda-mūlakatvāt sarvo py āchārādiḥ iruti-mūlakat

Sūdras also truth, liberality, calmness, innocence, harmlessness, and compassion. And as for the thing to be known, which is free from pain and pleasure, I perceive that there is no other thing free from these two influences. Yudhishthira rejoined: 12475. The qualities characteristic of a Sudra do not exist in a Brahman (nor vice versa). (Were it otherwise) the Sudra would not be a Sudra, nor the Brahman a Brahman. 1811 The person in whom this regulated practice is perceived is declared to be a Brahman; and the man, in whom it is absent, should be designated as a Sudra. And as to what you say further, that there is nothing other than this (Brahma) to be known, which is free from the susceptibilities in question; this is also (my own) opinion, that there is nothing free from them. Just as between cold and heat there can be neither heat nor cold, so there is nothing free from the feeling of pleasure and pain. Such is my view; or how do you consider? The Serpent remarked: 12480. If a man is regarded by you as being a Brahman only in consequence of his conduct, then birth is vain until action is shown. Yudhishthira replied: O most sapient Serpent, birth is difficult to be discriminated in the present condition

ity arthah | evam cha satyādikam yadi iūdre 'py asti tarhi so 'pi brāhmana eva syād iti āha "sūdreshv api" iti | "The serpent, however, understanding by the term Brāhman mere birth, shows in a sloka and a half that Yudhishthira's definition fails by being applicable also to a Sūdra. Chāturearyya means 'beneficial to the four castes.' (Such is the Veda), which is also 'true' and 'authoritative,' as establishing what is duty. Inasmuch as the Smṛtit which prescribes a Sūdra's conduct is itself founded on the Veda; all conduct, etc., is based on the Veda. And so if (the characters of) truth, etc., are found also in a Sūdra, he too must be a Brāhman—such is his argument in the words 'In Sūdras also.'" According to this explanation the connection between the first line and the second and third may be as follows: The Veda is beneficial to all the castes, and therefore S'ūdras also, having the advantage of its guidance, although at second hand, may practise all the virtues you enumerate; but would you therefore call them Brāhmans?

This verse is not very lucid; but the sense may be that which I have assigned. The Commentator says: Itaras tu brāhmaṇa-padena brahma-vidam vivakshiteō s'ūdrāder api brāhmaṇateam abhyupagamya partharati "Sūdre te" iti | Sūdra-lakshya-kōmādikam na brāhmaṇa 'sti na brāhmaṇa-lakshya-kōmādikam sūdre 'sti ity arthab | šūdro 'pi šamādy-upeto brāhmaṇa| brāhmaṇa-lakshya-kāmādy-upetah šūdra evs ity arthab | "The other (Yudhishthira), however, understanding by the word Brāhmaṇa one who knows the Veda (or, Brahma), and conceding the fact of a Sūdra's Brāhmanhood, obviates by the words 'but in a Sūdra,' etc. (the objection thence drawn). The qualities, lust, etc., distinctive of a Sūdra,' do not exist in a Brāhman, nor do the qualities tranquillity, etc., characteristic of a Brāhman exist in a Sūdra. A Sūdra distinguished by the latter is a Brāhman; while a Brāhman characterized by lust, etc., is a Sūdra."

of humanity, on account of the confusion of all castes.213 All (sorts of)

:43 In the tenth vol. of his Indische Studien, p. 83, Professor Weber adduces some curious evidence of the little confidence entertained in ancient times by the Indians in the chastity of their women. He refers to the following passages: (1) Nidāna Sutra, iii. 8. Uchchavacha-charanah striyo bhavanti | saha deva-sakshye cha manushya-sakshye cha yesham putro vakshye tesham putro bhacishyami | yamicha putran vakshye te me putrah bhavishyanti | "Women are irregular in their conduct. Of whatsoever men, I, taking gods and men to witness, shall declare myself to be the son, I shall be their son; and they whom I shall name as my sons shall be so." (2) S'atapatha Brūhmaya, iii. 2, 1, 40. Atha yad " bröhmanah" ilyāha | anaddhā iva vai asya atah pura janam bhavati | idam by ahuh "rakshamsi yoshitam anusachante tad uta rakshamsy wa reta adadhati iti | atha atra addha joyate yo brahmano yo yajnaj joyate | tomad api rajanyan va vais'yan va "brahmanah" ity eva briryat | brahmano ki jäyate yo yojnäj jäyate | tasmad ahuh "na sarana-kritam hanyad enasvi ha era sarana-krita" iti | "Now as regards what he says '(this) Brühman (has been consccrated) : ' before this his birth is uncertain. For they say this that ' Rakshases follow after women, and therefore that it is Rakshases who inject seed into them." (Compare what it said of the Gandharves in Atharva V. iv. 37, 116, and Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, p. 301.) So then he is certainly born who is born from sacred science (brahma) and from sacrifice. Wherefore also let him address a Rajanya or a Vaisya as 'Brahman,' for he is born from sacred science (brahma, and consequently a Brahman) who is born from sacridce. Hence they say 'let no one slay an offerer of a libation, for he incurs (the) sin (of Brahmanicide?) by so doing." (3) (In the next passage of the S'. P. Br. ii. 5, 2, 20, Professor Weber remarks that it is assumed that the wife of the person offering the Varana praghase must have one or more persmours: Atha pratipras hota pratiparaiti sa patnim udoneshyan prichhati kena (jõrena Comm.) charasi' iti | Varunyam vai etat strī karati yad anyasya saty onyena charati | atho " na id me 'ntah-ialpu juhuvad" iti ta-mat prichhati | niruktan vai enah kaniyo bhovati | satyam hi bhovati | tasmad va iva prichhati | sa yad na pratijūnīta juātibhyo ha osyai tad ohitam syūt | "The pratiprasthūtri (one of the priests) returns. Being about to bring forward the wife, he asks her, ' with what (paramour) dost thou keep company?' For it is an offence incurring punishment from Varuna that being the wife of one man she keeps company with another. He enquires 'in order that she may not sacrifice with me while she feels an inward pang.' For a sin when declared becomes less; for it is not attended with falsehood. Therefore he enquires. If she does not confess, it will be ill for her relations." (This passage is explained in Katyayana's S'rauta Sūtras, v. 5, 6-11.) (4) S'. P. Br. i. 3, 2, 21. Ted u ha wocha Yojnavalkyo " yathadishtam potnyah astu | kas tad odriyeta yat paropumen va pathi syat" | "Yajnavalkya said this (in opposition to the doctrine of some other teachers): 'let the prescribed rule be followed regarding a wife. Who would mind his wife consorting with other men?"" The last clause has reference to the consequence which the other teachers said would follow from adopting the course they disapproved, viz., that the wife of the man who did so would become an adulteress. (5) Taitt, S. v. 6, 8, 3. Na agnim chitva ramam upeyad "ayoneu reto dhasyami" iti | na dvitiyam chited 'nyaxya striyam upeyat | na tritiyam chitea kanchana upeyat | reto voi stad nidhatte yad agniñi chimete | yod upeyad retaed vyridhyeta | "Let uot a man, after preparing the alter for the sacred fire, approach a woman (a S'ūdra-woman, neemding to the Commentator), (considering) that in doing so, he would be discharging seed into an improper place. Let no man, after a second time preparing the firemen are continually begetting children on all (sorts of) women. The speech, the mode of propagation, the birth, the death of all mankind are alike. The text which follows is Vedic and authoritative: "We who (are called upon) we recite the text." Hence those men who have an insight into truth know that virtuous character is the thing chiefly to be desired. 'The natal rites of a male are enjoined to be performed before the section of the umbilical cord (Manu, ii. 29). Then Savitrī (the Gayatrī, Manu ii. 77) becomes his mother and his

altar, approach another man's wife. Let no man, after a third time preparing the fire-altar, approach any woman: for in preparing the fire-altar he is discharging seed. Should be approach (a woman in these forbidden cases) be will miscarry with his seed." This prohibition of adultery in a certain case, seems to prove that it was no uncommon occurrence, and is calculated, as Professor Weber remarks, to throw great

doubt on the purity of blood in the old Indian families.

To explain the last elliptical expression I will quote part of the Commentator's remarks on the beginning of Yudhishthira's reply: Vagadinam ira maithunasyapi sadharanyaj jatir durjnega | totha cha érutih "na chaitad eldmo brahmanah smo vayam abrāhmanā vā \*\* iti brāhmanya-samiayam upanyasyati | nanu jūty-anišchaye katham "brahmayo 'ham" ityady abhimana-purassaram yagadou pracartteta ity asankyaha "idam arekom" iti | atra " ye yajamahe" ity anena cha ye vayam smo brahmanah anye va te vayam yajamahe iti brahmanye navadharanam dariitam | mantra-lingam api "ya etäsmi sa san yoje" iti | . . . . Tasmad achara eca brahmanya-niichayahetur ceda-prümänyöd ity upasamharati | " As the mode of propagation is common to all the castes, just as speech, etc. are, birth is difficult to be determined. And accordingly, by the words: "We know not this, whether we are Brühmans or no Brühmans,' the Veda signifies a doubt as to Brühmanhood. Then, having raised the difficulty 'how, if birth is undetermined, can a man engage in sacrifice, etc., with the previous consciousness that be is a Brahman, etc.?' the author answers in the words 'this text is Vedic, etc.' It is both shown by the words 'we who . . . . recite," (which mean) 'we, whoever we are, - Brahmans or others, -we recite,' that the fact of Brahmanhood is unascertained; and this is also a characteristic of the formula, 'whosoever I am, being he who I am, I recite.' " The comment concludes: " Hence he briefly infers from the authoritative character of the Veda, that conduct is the cause of certainty in regard to Brahmanhood." Prof. Aufrecht has pointed out to me that the words we unidmake occur in S'. P. Br. i. 5, 2, 16, and in Taitt. S. i. 16, 11, 1. The Commentator on the last-named passage refers in explanation of them to As'valüyana's S'rauta Sütras, i. 5, 4 f., where it is said that these two words constitute the formula called agus, which comes in at the beginning of all the gajyas which are unaccompanied by any annyaja. The Commentator interprets the two words thus: sarre "ye" rayam holdro 'dhearyung "yaja" iti preshitës te rayam " yajāmahe" yājyām pathāmah | " All we botri priests who are called upon by the adhvaryn by the word recite,' we recite, i.e. repeat the yajya." (See Haug's Ait. Br. ii. p. 133, and note 11.) Prof. Aufrecht thinks the words in the Commentator's note ya erdami sa san yaje may be a free adaptation of Atharva V. vi. 123, 3, 4. It does not appear from what source the words no chaited videnah etc. are derived.

religious teacher his father (Manu, ii. 170, 225). 12485. Until he is born in the Veda, he is on a level with a Sudra' (Manu, ii. 172);-so, in this diversity of opinions did Manu Svayambhuva declare. The castes (though they have done nothing) will have done all they need do, 344 if no fixed rules of conduct are observed. In such a case there is considered to be a gross confusion of castes. I have already declared that he is a Brahman in whom purity of conduct is recognized."

The next passage from the Santiparvan, verses 6930 ff., is even more explicit than the last in denying any natural distinction between the people of the different castes:

Bhrigur uvācha | Asrijad brāhmanān evam pūrvam Brahmā prajāpatīn | ātma-tejo'bhinirvrittan bhaskarāgni-sama-prabhan | tatah satyam cha dharmain cha tapo brahma cha śūśvatam | āchāram chaiva śaucham cha svargāya vidadhe prabhuh | deva-dānava-gandharvā daityāsura-mahoragāh | yaksha-rūkshasa-nāgāś cha piśāchā manujās tathā | brūhmaṇāh kshattriyā vaišyāh śūdrāś cha dvija-sattama | ye chānye bhūta-sanghānām varnās tāms chāpi nirmams | brāhmaņānām sito varnah kshattriyānam cha lohitah | vaisyanam pitako varnah sadranam asitas tatha | 6935. Bharadvāja uvācha | Chāturvarnyanya varņena yadi varņo vibhidyate | sarveshām khalu varnānām drišyate varna-sankarah | kāmah krodho bhayam lobhah śokaś chinta kshudha śramah | sarvesham nah265 prabharati kasmād varno vibhidyate | sveda-mūtra-purīshāni śleshmā pittam sa-śonitam | tanuh ksharati sarveshām kasmād varno vibhajyate | jangamānām asamkhyeyüh sthavaranam cha jatayah | tesham vividha-varnanam kuto varna-vinišchoyah | Bhrigur uvācha | Na višesko'sti varnānām sarvam brāhmam idam jugat | Brahmanā pārva vrishtam hi karmabhir varnatām gatam | 6940. Kāma-bhoga-priyās tīkshnāh krodhanāh priya-sāhasāh |

345 The Calcutta edition reads no, "not," which cannot be right. The MS. in the

Library of the Edinburgh University has nah, " of us,"

<sup>244</sup> The Commentator thus explains the word krita-kritya : Krita-krityah sudratulyah | tatha cho smritih " na s'udre potakam kinchid na cha samskaram arhati" iti tesham samskaranarhatea-nishpapateabhidanat krita-krityateam dari'ayati | tadeat traivarnikā opi syser ity arthah | " Krita krityāh (lit. having done what was to be done) means, like S'ūdras; so the Smriti (when it says), 'No sin exists in a S'ūdra, nor is he fit for purificatory rites,' shows, by declaring the unfitness of this class for such rites, and its freedom from sin, that it has the character of krita-krityateutea, i.e. of having done all it had to do. And such (in the event supposed) would be the case with men of the three (upper) classes also."

tyakta-wadharma raktangas te dvijah kshattratam gatah | gobhyo crittim samāsthāya pītāh krishy-upajīvinah | sva-dharmān nānutishthanti te dvija vaišyatām gatāķ | himsānrita-priya lubdhāķ sarva-karmopajīvinah | krishnah śaucha-paribhrashtas to dvijah śudratam gatah | ity etaih karmabhir vyastā dvijā varnāntaram gātāh | dharmo yajna-kriyā teshām nityam na pratishidhyate | ity ete chaturo varna yesham brahmi sarasvatī | vihitā Brahmanā pūrvam lobhāt tv ajnānalām gātāh | 6945. Brāhmaṇā brahma-tantra-sthās\*\*\* tapas teshām na nasyati | brahma dhārayatām nityam vratāni niyamāms tathā | brahma chaica param srishtam ye na jananti te'dvijah | tesham bahuvidhas tv anyas tatra tatra hi jatayah | piśacha rakshasah preta vividha mlechha-jatayah | pranashtajnana-vijnanah svachhandachara-cheshtitah | praja brahmana-samskarah sva-karma-krita-nischayāh | rishibhih svena tapasā srijyante chāpare paraih | adi-deva-samudbhûta brahma-mûla 'kshaya 'tyaya | sa srishtir mānasī nāma dharma-tantra-parāyanā | 6950. Bharadvāja uvācha | Brāhmanah kena bhavati kehattriyo vā dvijottama | vaišyah šūdraš cha viprarshe tad brūhi vadatām vara | Bhrigur uvācha | Jata-karmādibhir yas tu samskaraih samskritah suchih | vedadhyayana-sampannah shatsu karmasv avasthitah | śauchāchāra-sthitah samyag vighasāšī guru-priyah | nitya-cratī satyaparah sa cai brūhmana uchyate | satyam danam athūdroha anriśamsyam tropa ghrina | tapaś cha driśyate yatra sa brahmana iti smritah | kshattra-jam secato karma vedadhyayana-sangatah | danadana-ratir yas tu sa vai kshattriya uchyate | 6955. Višaty ūšu pašubhyaš cha krishy-adana-ratih suchih | vedadhyayana-sampannah sa vaisyah iti sanjnitāḥ | sarva-bhakshya-ratir nityam sarva-karma-karo 'śuchih | tyakta-cedus to anacharah sa vai śudrah ili smritah | śudre chaitad bhavel lakshyam dvije tach cha na vidyate | va vai śūdro bhavech chhūdro brāhmaņo brāhmaņo na eha

"Bhrigu replied: 6930. Brahmā thus formerly created the Prajāpatis, Brahmanic, penetrated by his own energy, and in splendour equalling the sun and fire. The lord then formed truth, righteousness, austere fervour, and the eternal veda (or sacred science), virtuous practice, and purity for (the attainment of) heaven. He also formed the gods, Dānavas, Gandharvas, Daityas, Asuras, Mahoragas, Yakshas,

<sup>246</sup> Brahma tantram = vedoktanushfhanam | Comm.

<sup>267</sup> Brühmanön, "Brühmans," is the word employed. It may mean here "sons of Brahmü."

Rākshasas, Nāgas, Pišāchas, and men, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaišyas, and Sūdras, as well as all other classes (varnāḥ) of beings. The colour (varna) of the Brāhmans was white; that of the Kshattriyas red; that of the Vaišyas yellow, and that of the Sūdras black.' 6935. Bharadvāja here rejoins: 'If the caste (varna) of the four classes is distinguished by their colour (varna), then a confusion of all the castes is observable. Desire, anger, fear, cupidity, grief, apprehension, hunger, fatigue, prevail over us all: by what, then, is caste discriminated? Sweat, urine, excrement, phlegm, bile, and blood (are common to all); the bodies of all decay: by what then is caste discriminated? There are innumerable kinds of things moving and stationary: how is the class (varna) of these various objects to be determined?' Bhṛigu replies: 'There is no difference of castes: this world, having been at first created by Brahmā entirely Brahmanie, 200

248 It is somewhat strange, as Professor Weber remarks in a note to p. 216 of his German translation of the Vajra Süchi, that in the passage of the Käthaka Brähmung xi. 6, which he there quotes, a white colour is ascribed to the Vais'ya and a dark hae to the Rājanya. The words are these: Yach chhuklānām (brihīnām) ädityebhye nirvapati tasmāch chhukla iva vaisyo jūyate ļ yat krisknānām vārunām tasmād dhūmun iva rājanyah ļ "Since the Vais'ya offers an oblation of white (rice) to the Ādityus, he is born as it were white; and as the Vāruna oblation is of black (rice) the Rājanya is as it were dusky."

Compare with this the words attributed in S'antiparvan, verses 2819 ff., to King Muchukunda, who had been reproached by the god Kuvera with trusting for victory to the aid of his domestic priest instead of to his own provess: Muchukundas tatah kruddhah pratyueācha Dhaneivaram | nyūya-pūrpam asamrabdham asambhrāntam idam vachah | brahma kshattram idam srishfam eka-yoni svayambhuvā | prithag-balavidhānam tanna lokum paripālayet | tapo-mantra-balam nityam brāhmantshu pratish-thitam | astra-bāhu-balam nityam kshattriyeshu pratishfhitam | tābhyām sambhūya karttavyam prajānām paripālanam | "Muchukunda then, incensed, addressed to the Lord of riches these reasonable words, which did not partake of his anger or excitement: 'Brāhmans and Kshattriyas were created by Bruhmā from the same womb (or source) with different forces appointed to them: this cannot (neither of these separate forces can?) protect the world. The force of anstere fervour and of sacred texts abides constantly in the Brahmans; and that of weapons and their own arms in the Kshattriyas. By these two forces combined the people must be protected."

Brāhmam is the word employed. That it is to be understood in the sense of "Brāhmamical" appears from the following lines in which the word deijāk must be taken in the special signification of Brāhmans and not of "twice-born men" (who may be either Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, or Vais'yas) in general. The Brāhman is considered to have been formed of the essence of Brahma, and to represent the original type of perfect humanity as it existed at the creation. The Commentator takes the word brāhmam as = brāhmans-jātimat, "having the caste of Brāhmans;" and he explains the different colours mentioned in the next verses as follows: red (rakta)

became (afterwards) separated into eastes in consequence of works. 6940. Those Brahmans (lit. twice-born men), who were fond of sensual pleasure, flery, irascible, prone to violence, who had forsaken their duty, and were red-limbed, fell into the condition of Kshattriyas. Those Brahmans, who derived their livelihood from kine, who were vellow, who subsisted by agriculture, and who neglected to practise their duties, entered into the state of Vaisyas. Those Brahmans, who were addicted to mischief and falsehood, who were covetous, who lived by all kinds of work, who were black and had fallen from purity, sank into the condition of Sūdras. Being separated from each other by these works, the Brahmans became divided into different castes. Duty and the rites of sacrifice have not been always forbidden to (any of) them. Such are the four classes for whom the Brahmanic 251 Sarasyati was at first designed by Brahmā, but who through their cupidity fell into ignorance. 6945. Brahmans live agreeably to the prescriptions of the Veda; while they continually hold fast the Veda, and observances, and ceremonies, their austere fervour (tapus) does not perish. And sacred science was created the highest thing: they who are ignorant of it are no twice-born men. Of these there are various other classes in different places, Piśāchas, Rākshasas, Pretas, various tribes of Mlechhas, who have lost all knowledge sacred and profane, and practise whatever observances they please. And different sorts of creatures with the purificatory rites of Brahmans, and discerning their own duties, are created by different rishis through their own austere fervour. This creation, sprung from the primal god, having its root in Brahma, undecaying, imperishable, is called the mind-born creation, and is devoted to the prescriptions of duty.' 6950. Bharadvaya again enquires: What is that in virtue of which a man is a Brahman, a Kshattriya,

means "formed of the quality of passion" (rajo-guna-maya); yellow (pita) "formed of the qualities of passion and darkness" (rajas-tamo-maya), and black (krishya or asita) "formed of darkness only" (kevals-tamomaya).

Brāhmī. This word is thus interpreted by the Commentator: redamayī | chaturyām api varyānām Brahmanā pūrvam vihitā | lobha-doshena tu ajnānatām tamobhūcam gatāh iūdrāh anadhikārino vede jātāh | "Sarasvatī, consisting of the Veda,
was formerly designed by Brahmā for all the four castes: but the S'ūdras having
through cupidity fallen into 'ignorance,' i.e. a condition of darkness, lost their right
to the Veda." See Indische Studien, ii. 194, note, where Professor Weber understands this passage to import that in ancient times the S'ūdras spoke the language of
the Aryas.

a Vaisya, or a Sudra; tell me, o most eloquent Brahman rishi.' Bhrigu replies: 'He who is pure, consecrated by the natal and other ceremonies, who has completely studied the Veda, lives in the practice of the six ceremonies, performs perfectly the rites of purification, who eats the remains of oblations, is attached to his religious teacher, is constant in religious observances, and devoted to truth, -is called a Brahman. 6953. He in whom are seen truth, liberality, inoffensiveness, harmlessness, modesty, compassion, and austere fervour,-is declared to be a Brahman. He who practises the duty arising out of the kingly office, who is addicted to the study of the Veda, and who delights in giving and receiving, 500-is called a Kshattriya. 6955. He who readily occupies himself with cattle, st who is devoted to agriculture and acquisition, who is pure, and is perfect in the study of the Veda,-is denominated a Vaisva. 6956. He who is habitually addicted to all kinds of food, performs all kinds of work, who is unclean, who has abandoned the Veda, and does not practise pure observances,-is traditionally called a Sudra. And this (which I have stated) is the mark of a Sudra, and it is not found in a Brahman : (such) a Sudra will remain a Sudra, while the Brahman (who so acts) will be no Brahman, 17334

The passage next to be quoted recognizes, indeed, the existence of castes in the Krita age, but represents the members of them all as having been perfect in their character and condition, and as not differing from one another in any essential respects.

It is related in the Vanaparvan that Bhīmasena, one of the Pāndus,

<sup>255</sup> Dānam viprebhyaḥ [ ādānam prajabhyaḥ, "Giving to Brāhmaus, receiving from his subjects." Comm.

Paiun rönjyöya upayoginah upalabdhvä viiati pratishthäm labhate | "Who perceiving cattle to be useful for trade, 'enters,' obtains a basis (for his operations)." —Comm. As we have seen above p. 97, these etymologies are frequently far-fetched and absurd.

On this verse the Commentator annotates as follows: etat satyādi-naptakum deije traicarnike | dharma era varņa-vibhāge kāraṇam na jātir ity arthah | "These seven virtues, beginning with truth (mentioned in verse 6953), exist in the twice-born man of the first three classes. The sense is that righteousness, and not birth, is the cause of the division into classes." This explanation is not very lucid. But the sense seems to be that the seven good qualities referred to are the proper characteristics of the three upper castes, while the defects specified in verse 6956 are the proper distinctive marks of the S'ūdras. Thus the S'ūdra who has the four defects will remain a S'ūdra, but a Brāhman who has them will be no Brāhman.

in the course of a conversation with his brother 255 Hanumat the monkey chief, had requested information on the subject of the Yugas and their characteristics. Hanumat's reply is given in verses 11234 ff.:

Kritam nāma yugam tāta yatra dharmah sanātanah | kritam eva na karttavyam tasmin käle yugottame | na tatra dharmāh sīdanti kshīyante na cha vai prajāh | tatah krita-yugam nāma kalena gunatām galam | deva-danava-gandharva-yaksha-rakshasa-pannagah | nasan krita-yage tata tadā na kraya-vikrayah E | na sāma-rig-yajur-varnāh Eriyā nāsīch cha mānavī | abhidhyāya phalam tatra dharmah sannyāsa eva cha | na tasmin yuga-samsarge vyadhayo nendriya-kshayah | nasaya napi ruditam na darpo napi vaikritam 255 | na vigrahah 250 kutas tandrī na dvesho na cha paiśunam | 11240. Na bhayam nāpi santāpo na chershyā na cha matsarah | tatah paramakam Brahma sa gatir yoginam para | atma cha sarva-bhatānām šuklo Nārāyanas tadā | brāhmanāh kehattriyāh vaišyāh šūdrāšcha krita-lakshanah | krito yugo samabhavan sva-karma-niratah projah | samāšrayam samāchāram sama-jnānam cha kevalam | tadā hi sāmakarmāņo varnā dharmān avāpnuvan | eka-deva-sadā-yuktāh eka-mantra-vidhi-kriyāh | prithagaharmās tv eka-vedā dharmam ekam anuvratāh | chāturaśramya-yuktena karmana kala-yogina | 11245. Akama-phalu-samyogat prāpnuvanti parām gatim | ātma-yoga-samāyukto dharmo 'yam kritalakshanah | krite yuge chatushpādāš chāturvarnyasya šāšvatah | etut kritayugam nama traigunya-parirarjjitam | tretam api nibodha toam tasmin sattram pravarttate | pādena hrasate dharmo raktatām yāti chāchyutah | satya-pravrittāś cha narāh kriyā-dharma-parāyanāh | tato yajnāh pravarttants dharmāścha vividhāh kriyāh | tretāyām bhāva - sankalpāh kriya-dana-phalopagah | prachalanti na vai dharmat tapo-dana-parayanāh | 11250. Sva-dharma-sthāh kriyācanto narās tretā-yuge 'bhavan | deapare tu yuge dharmo deibhagonah pravarttate | Vishnur cai pitatam yati chaturdha veda eva cha | tato'nyo cha chatur-vedas trivedáš cha tathá pare | dvi-vedáš chaika-vedáš chápy anrichaš cha tathá pare | exam śastreshu bhinneshu bahudha niyate kriya | tapo-dana-pravrittā cha rājasī bhavati prajā | eka-vedasya chājnānād vedās te bahavah

<sup>235</sup> Both were sons of Vayu. See verses 11134, 11169 f. and 11176 f. of this same book. The Ramayana is mentioned in verse 11177.

the MS. in the Edinburgh University Library reads as the last pada: dono-dhyayana-viiramah.

The Edinburgh MS. rends reden instead varyon.

<sup>256</sup> Kapatam-Comm. 256 Vairam-Comm.

kṛitāḥ | satteasya cheha vibhramsāt satye kaśchid avasthitaḥ | satteāt prachyavamānānām vyādhayo buhavo 'bhavan | 11255. Kāmāš chopadravāšchaiva tadā vai daiva-kāritāḥ | yair ardyamānāh subhriśam tapas tapyanti mānavāḥ | kāma-kāmāḥ svarga-kāmā yajnāms tanvanti chāpare | evam dvāparam āsādya prajāḥ kshīyanty adharmataḥ | pādenaik-na Kaunteya dharmaḥ kali-yuge sthitaḥ | tāmāsam yugam āsādya krishno bhavati Kešavaḥ | vedāchārāḥ prašāmyanti dharma-yajna-kriyās tathā | ītayo vyādhayas trandrī doshāḥ krodhādayās tathā | upadravāś cha varttante ādhayah kshud bhayam tathā | yugeshv āvarttamāneshu dharmo vyāvarttite punaḥ | dharme vyāvarttamāne tu loko vyāvarttate punaḥ | loke kshīns kshayam yānti bhāvā loka-pravarttakāḥ | yuga-kshaya-kritā dharmāḥ prārthanāni vikureate | etat kaliyugam nāma achirād yat pravarttate | yugānuvarttanam tv etat kurvanti chirajīvinaḥ |

"11234. The Krita is that age in which righteonsness is eternal. In the time of that most excellent of Yugas (everything) had been done (krita), and nothing (remained) to be done. Duties did not then languish, nor did the people decline. Afterwards, through (the influence of) time, this yuga fell into a state of inferiority. In that age there were neither Gods, Danavas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, nor Pannagas; no buying or selling went on; the Vedas were not classed sa Saman, Rich, and Yajush; no efforts were made by men: the fruit (of the earth was obtained) by their mere wish: righteousness and abandonment of the world (prevailed).

250 The Edinburgh MS. reads sottee instead of satye.

In thus rendering, I follow the Commentator, whose gloss is this: Makkyam apy anukhyatām gatam | "although the chief, it fell into inferiority." In Höhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon this line is quoted under the word ganatā, to which the sense of "superiority, excellence," is assigned.

200 Compare with this the verses of the Vayu Purana quoted in p. 90, which state that in the Krita age there were neither plants nor animals; which are the products

of unrighteonsness.

283 I do not venture to translate "there was then no [division of the Veda into] Saman, Rich, and Yajush, nor any castes," (1) because the Edinburgh MS. reads endah instead of earnah, and the Commentator does not allude to the word earnah; and (2) castes (earnah) are referred to below (verses 11242 f.) as existing, though without much distinction of character. The Commentator explains: trayi-dharmasya chitta-suddhy-arthateat tasyai cha tadanam seabharateat na samadiny asan | "As the object of the triple veda is purity of heart, and as that existed naturally at that period, there were no (divisions of) Saman, etc."

204 I follow the Commentator whose gloss is : "Mānarī kriyā" krishy-ādy-āram-bha-bhāta | kintu "abhidhyāya phalam," sankalpād era sarram sampedyate |

No disease or decline of the organs of sense arose through the influence of the age; there was no malice, weeping, pride, or deceit; no contention, and how could there be any lassitude? no hatred, cruelty, (11240) fear, affliction, jealousy, or envy. Hence the supreme Brahma was the transcendent resort of those Yogins. Then Narayana, the soul of all beings, was white.20 Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras possessed the characteristics of the Krita.36 In that age were born creatures devoted to their duties. They were alike in the object of their trust, in observances and in their knowledge. At that period the eastes, alike in their functions, fulfilled their duties, were unceasingly devoted to one deity, and used one formula (mantra), one rule, and one rite. Though they had separate duties, they had but one Veda, and practised one duty. By works connected with the four orders, and dependent on conjunctures of time, 208 (11245) but unaffected by desire, or (hope of) reward, they attained to supreme felicity. This complete and eternal righteousness of the four castes during the Krita was marked by the character of that age and sought after union with the supreme soul. The Krita age was free from the three qualities.200 Understand now the Treta, in which sacrifice commenced. To righteousness decreased by a fourth, Vishnu became red;

In verse 12981 of this same Vanaparvan the god says of himself: \*vetah kritayuge varnah pitas tretüyuge mama | rakto doüparam üsüdya krishnah kati-yuge tathā |
"My colour in the Krita age is white, in the Tretā yellow, when I reach the Dvapara
it is red, and in the Kuli black."

The Commentator's gloss is: kṛitāni srataḥ siddhāni lakshaṇāni samo damas tapa ity-ādīni yeshām te | "They were men whose characteristics, tranquillity, etc, were effected, spontaneously accomplished." On verse 11246 he explains the same term kṛita-lakshaṇaḥ by kṛita-yuga-sūchakaḥ, "indicative of the Kṛita age."

The different clauses of this line can only be reconciled on the supposition that the general principle of duty, and the details of the duties are distinguished. Dharma is the word used in both parts of the verse for "duty."

208 Kala-yogina. The Commentator explains: kalo dariadih | tad-yuktena | "con-

nected with time, i.e. the appearance of the new moon, etc."

Mand yet we are told in the Vayu P, that the creation itself proceeded from the influence of the quality of passion (see above, p. 75), and that the four castes when originally produced were characterized in different ways by the three qualities, pp. 62 and 89.

Ompare S'anti-pares, 13088. Idam krita-yugam nāma kālah ireshthah pravartiitah | ahiminyā yajna-pasievo yuga smin na tad anyathā | chatushpāt xakalo dharmo bhavishyaty atra vai eurāh | tatas tretā-yugam nāma trayī yatra bhavishyati | prokshitā yatra pasavo badham prāpsyanti eai makhe | "This Krita age is the most excellent of periods: then victims are not allowed to be slaughtered; complete and

and men adhered to truth, and were devoted to a righteousness dependent on ceremonies. Then sacrifices prevailed, with holy acts and a variety of rites. In the Treta men acted with an object in view, seeking after reward for their rites and their gifts, and no longer disposed to austerities and to liberality from (a simple feeling of) duty. 11250. In this age, however, they were devoted to their own duties, and to religious ceremonies. In the Dyapara age rightcousness was diminished by two quarters, Vishnu became yellow, and the Veda fourfold. Some studied four Vedas, others three, others two, others one, and some none at all. The scriptures being thus divided, ceremonies were celebrated in a great variety of ways; and the people being occupied with austerity and the bestowal of gifts, became full of passion (rajasi). Owing to ignorance of the one Veda, Vedas were multiplied. And now from the decline of goodness (sattva) few only adhered to truth. When men had fallen away from goodness, many diseases, (11255) desires and calamities, caused by destiny, assailed them, by which they were severely afflicted, and driven to practice austerities. Others desiring enjoyments and heavenly bliss, offered sacrifices. Thus, when they had reached the Dvapara, men declined through unrighteousness. In the Kali righteousness remained to the extent of one-fourth only. Arrived in that age of darkness, Vishnu became black : practices enjoined. by the Vedas, works of righteousness, and rites of sacrifice, ceased. Calamities, diseases, fatigue, faults, such as anger, etc., distresses, anxiety, hunger, fear, prevailed. As the ages revolve, righteousness again declines. When this takes place, the people also decline. When they decay, the impulses which actuate them also decay. The practices generated by this declension of the Yugas frustrate men's aims. Such is the Kali Yuga which has existed for a short time. Those who are long-lived act in conformity with the character of the age."

The next passage from the same book (the Vana-parvan) does not make any allusion to the Yugas, but depicts the primeval perfection of mankind with some traits peculiar to itself, and then goes on to describe their decline. Märkandeya is the speaker.

perfect righteousness will prevail. Next is the Treta in which the triple veda will come into existence; and animals will be slain in sacrifice." See note 65, page 39, above.

271 The Commentator explains anriches ("without the Rig-veda") by krita-krityāḥ. On the sense of the latter word see above.

12619. Nirmalāni śarīrāni viśuddhāni śarīrinām | sasarja dharmatantrāni pūrvotpannah Prajāpatih | amogha-phala-sankalpāh suvratāh satyavādinah | brahma-bhūtā narāh punyāh purānāh kuru-sattama | sartedvaih samāh yānti svachhandena nabhas-talam | tataś cha punar āyānti sarve svachhanda-chārinah | svachhanda-maranāś chāsan narāh svachhanda-chārinah | alpa-bādhā nirātankāh siddhārthā nirupadravāh | drashtāro deva-sanghānām rishīnām cha mahātmanām | pratyakshāh sarvadharmānām dāntā vigata-matsarāh | āsan varsha-sahasrīyās tathā putrasahasrinah | 12625. Tatah kālāntare 'nyasmin prithivī-tala-chārinah | kāma-krodhādhibhūtās te māyā-vyājopajīvinah | lobha-mohābhibhūtās te saktā dehais tato narāh | aśubhaih karmabhih pāpās tiryaň-niraya-gāminah |

"The first-born Prajāpati formed the bodies of corporeal creatures pure, spotless, and obedient to duty. The holy men of old were not frustrated in the results at which they aimed; they were religious, truth-speaking, and partook of Brahma's nature. Being all like gods they ascended to the sky and returned at will. They died too when they desired, suffered few annoyances, were free from disease, accomplished all their objects, and endured no oppression. Self-subdued and free from envy, they beheld the gods 272 and the mighty rishis, and had an intuitive perception of all duties. 273 They lived for a thousand years, and had each a thousand sons. Then at a later period of time, the in-

273 Compare the passage of the Nirukta, i. 20, beginning, sakshat-krita-sharmans ruhayo babhuruh, quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work, p. 174.

<sup>373</sup> See the passage from S'ankara's Commentary on the Brahma Sütras i. 3, 32, in the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 49 f., and note 49 in p. 95; and S'atapatha Brahmana, ii, 3, 4, 4, ubhaye ha cai idom agre saha asur decaé cha manushyar cha | tad gad ha ama manushyanam na bharati tad ha devan yachante " idam vai na nasti idam no 'sto" iti | te tasyai eon yachnyayai doeshena devas tirobhuta " na id hinamini na id deeshyo 'sani" iti [ " Gods and men, together, were both originally (component parts of) this world. Whatever men had not they asked from the gods, saying, 'We have not this; let us have it.' From distike of this solicitation the gods disappeared, (saying each of them) 'let me not hurt (them), let me not be hateful." Compare also the passage of the S'. P. Br. iii, 6, 2, 26, referred to by Professor Weber in Indischo Studion, x. 158: To ha sma etc ubhaye deva-manushyah pitarah sampibante | sii esha sampa | te ha xma driiyamana eea pura sampibante uta etarhy adriiyamanah | " Both gods, men, and fathers drink together. This is their symposium. Formerly they drank together visibly: now they do so unseen." Compare also Plato, Philabus, 18: Kai di mer madaiol, apelitrores fimur ads eryutlow bewr discourtes, Tauras onune rapidoras, "And the ancients who were better than ourselves, and dwelt nearer to the gods, have handed down this tradition."

habitants of the earth became subject to desire and anger, and subsisted by deceit and fraud. Governed by cupidity and delusion, devoted to carnal pursuits, sinful men by their evil deeds walked in crooked paths leading to hell," etc., etc.

At the end of the chapter of the Bhishmaparvan, entitled Jambukhanda-nirmāna, there is a paragraph in which Sanjaya gives an account of the four yugas in Bharatavarsha (Hindustan), and of the condition of mankind during each of those periods. After stating the names and

order of the yugas, the speaker proceeds:

389. Chatvari tu sahasrani varshandin Kuru-sattama | ayuh-sankhya krita-yuge sankhyātā rāja-sattama | tathā trīni sahasrāni tretāyām manujādhipa | dve sahasre dvāpare cha bhuvi tishthanti sampratam | na pramūna-sthitir hy asti tishys 'smin Bharatarshabha | garbha-sthāś cha mriyante cha tatha jata mriyanti cha | mahabala mahasatteah prajnaguna-samanvitāh | prajāyante cha jātāś cha śataśo tha sahasraśah | jātāh krita-yugo rajan dhaninah priya-darkinah | prajayante cha jatak cha munayo vai tapodhanah | mahotsahah mahatmano dharmikah satya-vadinah | priyadersana vapushmento mahavirya dhanurdharah | vararha yudhi jayante kshattriyah sara-sattamah | tretayam kshattriya rajan sarve vai chakravarttinah | üyushmanto mahüvirä dhanurdhara-varā yudhi | jäyante kshottriyā vīrās tretāyām vaša-varttinah | sarve varnā mahārāja jāyante deapare sati | mahotsaha viryavantah paraspera-jayaishinah | tejasa 'lpena samyuktah krodhanah purusha nripa | lubdha anritakas chaiva tishye jayanti Bharata | Ireha manas tatha krodho maya 'suya tathaisa cha | tishye bhavati bhūtānām rāgo lobhas cha Bhārata | sankshepo vartrājan dvapare 'smin narādhipa |

"389. Four thousand years are specified as the duration of life in the Krita age," three thousand in the Treta, and two thousand form the period at present established on earth in the Dvapara. There is no fixed measure in the Tishya (Kali): embryos die in the womb, as well as children after their birth. Men of great strength, goodness, wisdom, and virtue were born, and born too in hundreds and thousands. In the Krita age men were produced opulent and beautiful, as well as munis rich in austere fervour. Energetic, mighty, righteous, veracious, beautiful, well-formed, valorous, bow-carrying, (395) heroic Kshattriyas,

distinguished in battle, were born. In the Treta all sovereigns were Kshattriyas. Heroic Kshattriyas were born in the Treta, long-lived, great warriors, carrying bows in the fight, and living subject to authority. During the Dvapara all castes are produced, energetic, valorous, striving for victory over one another. In the Tishya age are born men of little vigour, irascible, covetous, and mendacious. During that period, envy, pride, anger, delusion, ill-will, desire, and cupidity prevail among all beings. During this Dvapara age there is some restriction."

As it is here stated that men of all castes were born in the Dvapara, while Brahmans and Kshattriyas only are spoken of as previously existing, it is to be presumed that the writer intends to intimate that no Vaisyas or Sudras existed during the Krita and Treta ages. This accords with the account given in the passage quoted above from the Uttara Kanda of the Ramayana, chapter 74, as well as with other texts which will be quoted below.

The following verses might be taken for a rationalistic explanation of the traditions regarding the yugas; but may be intended as nothing more than a hyperbolical expression of the good or bad effects of a king's more or less active discharge of his duties:

Sănti-parva, 2674. Kâlo vă kăranam râjno râjā vā kāla-kāranam | iti te samšayo mā bhūd rājā kālasya kāranam | danda-nītyām yadā rājā samyak kārtsnyena varttate | tadā krita-yugam nāma kāla-srishtam pravarttate | . . . . 2682. Danda-nītyām yadā rājā trīn amšān anuvarttate | chaturtham amšām utsrijya tadā tretā pravarttate | . . . . 2684. Arddham tyaktvā yadā rājā nīty-artham anuvarttate | tatas tu dvāparam nāma sa kālah sampravarttate | . . . . 2686. Danda-nītim parityajya yadā kārttsnyena bhūmipah | prajāh klišnāty ayogena pravartteta tadā kalih | . . . . 2693. Rājā krita-yuga-srashtā tretāyā dvāparasya cha | yugasya cha chaturthasya rājā bhavati kāranam |

"2674. The time is either the cause of the king, or the king is the cause of the time. Do not doubt (which of these alternatives is true): the king is the cause of the time. When a king occupies himself fully in criminal justice, then the Krita age, brought into existence by time,

<sup>278</sup> It does not appear clearly whether we are to suppose them to have been produced in the Krita, or in the Treta, as in the passage of the Ramayana, quoted in page 119.

prevails." [Then follows a description of the results of such good government: righteousness alone is practised; prosperity reigns; the seasons are pleasant and salubrious; longevity is universal; no widows are seen; and the earth yields her increase without cultivation.] "2682. When the king practises criminal justice only to the extent of three parts, abandoning the fourth, then the Tretā prevails." [Then evil is introduced to the extent of a fourth, and the earth has to be tilled.] "2684. When the king administers justice with the omission of a half, then the period called the Dvāpara prevails." [Then evil is increased to a half, and the earth even when tilled yields only half her produce.] "2686. When, relinquishing criminal law altogether, the king actively oppresses his subjects, then the Kali age prevails." [Then the state of things, which existed in the Krita age, is nearly reversed.] "2693. The king is the creator of the Krita, Tretā, and Dvāpara ages, and the cause also of the fourth yuga."

The next extract is on the same subject of the duties of a king, and on the yugas as forms of his action (see Manu, ix. 301, quoted above, p. 49):

Sănti-parvan, 3406. Karma südre krishir vaisye danda-nītis cha rājani | brahmacharyyam tapo mantrāh satyam chāpi deijātishu | teshām yaḥ kshattriyo veda vastrānām iva sodhanam 1 sīla-doshān vinirharttum sa pitā sa prajāpatih | kritam tretā dvāparam cha kalis Bharatarshabha | rāja-vrittāni sarvāni rājaiva yugam uchyate | chāturvarnyam tathā vedās chāturāsramyam eva cha | sarvam pramuhyate hy etad yadā rājā pramādyati |

"3406. Labour (should be found) in a Südra, agriculture in a Vaisya, criminal justice in a King, continence, austere fervour, and the use of sacred texts in a Brähman. The Kshattriya, who knows how to separate their good and bad qualities, (as (a washerman) understands the cleansing of clothes), is a father and lord of his subjects. The Krita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali, are all modes of a King's action. It is a King who is called by the name of Yuga. The four castes, the Vedas, and the four orders, are all thrown into disorder when the king is regardless."

<sup>174</sup> This comparison is more fully expressed in a preceding verse (3404): Yo na jānāti nirharttum vastrānām rajāko malam | raktānām vā šodhayitum yathā nāsti tathaica seḥ |

In two of the preceding passages different colours are represented as characteristic either of particular castes (Sänti-p. verses 6934 ff.), or of particular yugas (Vana-p. verses 11241 ff.). Colours (though not ranked in the same order of goodness) are similarly connected with moral and physical conditions in verses 10058 ff. of the Säntiparvan, of which 1 shall offer a few specimens:

Shad jīva-varnāh paramam pramānam kriskņo dhūmro nīlam athāsya madhyam | raktam punah sahyataram sukham tu hāridra-varnam susukham cha suklam | parantu suklam vimalam višokam yata-klamam siddhyati dānavendra | gatvā tu yoni-prabhavāni dnitya sahasrasah siddhim upaiti jīvah | 10060. . . . Gatih punar varna-kritā prajānām varnas tathā kāla-krito surendra | . . . 10062. Krishnasya varnasya gatir nikrishtā sa sajate naraks pachyamānah |

"10058. Six colours of living creatures are of principal importance, black, dusky, and blue which lies between them; then red is more tolerable, yellow is happiness, and white is extreme happiness. White is perfect, being exempted from stain, sorrow, and exhaustion; (possessed of it) a being going through (various) births, arrives at perfection in a thousand forms. 10060. . . . Thus destination is caused by colour, and colour is caused by time. . . . 10062. The destination of the black colour is bad. When it has produced its results, it clings to hell."

The next passage, from the Harivansa, assigns to each of the four castes a separate origin, but at the same time gives an explanation of their diversity which differs from any that we have yet encountered: unless, indeed, any one is prepared to maintain that the four principles, out of which the castes are here represented to have arisen, are respectively identical with the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Brahma! This passage, however, corresponds with one of those already quoted in associating different colours with the several castes. The question with which the passage opens refers to an account which had been given in the preceding section (verses 11799 ff.) of the creation of Bhrigu and Angiras, to both of whom the epithet "progenitor of Brāhmans" (brahma-raṃśa-kara) is applied. No mention is made there of Kshattriyas or any other castes. M. Langlois, the French translator of the Harivanśa, remarks that the distinction between the age of the Brāhmans and that of the Kshattriyas is an unusual one, and receives

no explanation in the context. But in two of the passages which have been quoted above (1) from the Uttara Kāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, chapter 74 (p. 119), and (2) from the Bhīshma-parva of the Mahābhārata, verses 393 ff. (p. 149), I think we find indications that the Krita Yuga was regarded as an age in which Brāhmans alone existed, nd that Kshattriyas only began to be born in the Tretā.

Hariyamsa, 11808. Janameya uvācha | Srutam brahma-yugam brahmen yuganam prathamam yugam | kshattrasyapi yugam brahman śrotum ichhami tatteatah | sasamskshepam savistaram niyamaih bahubhis chitam | upāya-jnais cha kathitam kratubhis chopasobhitam | Vaisampayana uvācha | 11810. Etat te kathayishyāmi yajna-karmabhir architam | dāna-dharmais cha vividhaih prajābhir upasobhitam | te 'ngushtha-mātrā munayah adattah surya-raśmibhih | moksha-praptena vidhina nirabadhena karmana | pravritte chapravritte cha nityam Brahma-parayanah | parāyanasya sangamya Brahmanas tu mahīpate | śri-vrittāh pāvanāś chaiva brūhmauas cha mahīpate | chārita-brahmacharyyās cha brahmajnanena bodhitah | purne yuga-sahasrante probhave pralayam gatah | brāhmaņā vritta-sampannā jnāna-siddhāh samāhitāh | 11815. Vyatiriktendriyo Vishuur yogatma brahma-sambhavah | Dakshah prajapatir bhutvā srijate vipulāh prajūh | aksharād brāhmanāh saumyāh ksharāt kshattriya-bandhavah | vaisya vikaratas chaica sadrah dhama-vikaratah | sveta-lohitakair varnaih pitair nilais cha brahmanah | abhinirvarttitak earnāms chintayanena Vishnuna | tato varnatvam apannah praja loke chaturvidhāh | brāhmanāh kshattriyā vaišyāh śūdrāš chaiva mahīpate | ekalingah prithag-dharma deipadah paramadbhutah | yatanaya 'bhisampannā gati-jnāh sarva-karmasu | trayānām varna-jātānām veda-proktāh kriyāh smritāh | tena brāhmaņa-yogena vaishņavena mahīpate | prajnayā tejasa yogat tasmat Prachetasah prabhuh | Vishnur eva muhayogi karmanam antaram gatah | tato nirvana-sambhutah sudrah karma-vivarjitāh | tasmād nārhanti samskāram na hy atra brahma vidyate | yathā 'quau dhuma-sanghato hy aranya mathyamanaya | pradurbhuto visarpan vai nopayujyati karmani | evam kūdrā visarpanto bhuvi kārtenyena janmana | na samskritena 571 dharmena veda-proktena karmana |

"Janamejaya says: 11808. I have heard, o Brahman, the (description of the) Brahma Yuga, the first of the ages. I desire also to be accurately informed, both summarily and in detail, about the age of the

<sup>277</sup> The printed text reads nasamskritena; but na samskritena seems necessary.

Kshattrivas, with its numerous observances, illustrated as it was by sacrifices, and described as it has been by men skilled in the art of narration. Vaisampāyana replied: 11810. I shall describe to you that age revered for its sacrifices and distinguished for its various works of liberality, as well as for its people. Those Munis of the size of a thumb had been absorbed by the sun's rays. Following a rule of life leading to final emancipation, practising unobstructed ceremonies, both in action and in abstinence from action constantly intent upon Brahma, united to Brahma as the highest object,-Brahmans glorious and sanctified in their conduct, leading a life of continence, disciplined by the knowledge of Brahma,-Brahmans complete in their observances, perfeet in knowledge, and contemplative, -when at the end of a thousand yugas, their majesty was full, these Munis became involved in the dissolution of the world. 11815. Then Vishnu sprung from Brahma, removed beyond the sphere of sense, absorbed in contemplation, became the Prajapati Daksha, and formed numerous creatures. The Brahmans, beautiful (or, dear to Soma), 478 were formed from an imperishable (akshara), the Kshattriyas from a perishable (kshara), element, the Vaisyas from alteration, the Sudras from a modification of smoke. While Vishnu was thinking upon the castes (carnan), Brahmans were formed with white, red, yellow, and blue colours (rarnaih). 479 Hence in the world men have become divided into castes, being of four descriptions, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, one in form, distinct in their duties, two-footed, very wonderful, full of energy(?), skilled in expedients in all their occupations. 11820, Rites are declared to be prescribed by the Vedas for the three (highest) castes. By that contemplation practised by the being sprung from Brahma (see v. 11815) -by that practised in his character as Vishnu,-the Lord Prachetasa (Daksha), i.e. Vishnu the great contemplator (yogin), passed through his wisdom and energy from that state of meditation into the sphere of works." Next the Sudras, produced from extinction, are destitute

<sup>278</sup> In verse 11802, we read abhishichya tu Somain cha yawarājya Pitāmahah | brūhmanānām cha rūjūnam ciāsvetam rajanī-charam | "Brahmā also inaugurated Soma as the heir to the kingdom, as the king of the Brūhmans who walks eternally through the night."

This play upon the two senses of the word varge will be noticed.

<sup>180</sup> I do not profess to be certain that I have succeeded in discovering the proper meaning of this last sentence.

of rites. Hence they are not entitled to be admitted to the purificatory ceremonies, nor does sacred science belong to them. Just as the cloud of smoke which rises from the fire on the friction of the fuel, and is dissipated, is of no service in the sacrificial rite, so too the Sudras wandering over the earth, are altogether (useless for purposes of sacrifice) owing to their birth, their mode of life devoid of purity and their want of the observances prescribed in the Veda."

The next extract gives an account at variance with all that precedes, as it does not assign to all the Brāhmans themselves the same origin, but describes the various kinds of officiating priests as having been formed from different members of Vishnu's body:

Harivamsa, 11355. Evam ekūrnace bhūte šete loke mahādyutiķ | prachhādya salilam sarcam Harir Nārāyanah prabhuh | mahato rajaso madhye mahārnava-samanya vai | virajanko mahābāhur aksharam brāhmanā viduh | ātma-rūpa-prakāšena tapasā samvritah prabhuh | trikam āchhādya kālam tu tatah sushvapa sas tada | purusho yajna ity ecam yat param parikirttitam | yach chanyat purushakhyam tu tat sarcam purushottamah | ye cha yajnapara vipra ritvija iti sanjnitah | atma-dehat pura bhata yajnebhyah śruyatam tadā | 11360. Brahmanam paramam vaktrād udgātāram cha sāma-gām | hotāram atha chādhvaryyum bāhubhyām asrijat prabhuh | brahmano brahmanateach cha prastotaram cha sarvasah | tam maitravarunam srishtva pratishthataram eva cha | udarat pratiharttaram potāram chaica Bharata | achhāvākam athorubhyām neshţāram chaica Bharata | panibhyam athachagnidhram brahmanyam chaica yajniyam | grāvānam atha bāhubhyām unnetāram cha yājnikam | ecam ecaisha bhagavān shodašaitān jagatpatiķ | pravaktrīn sarva-yajnānām ritvijo 'srijad uttaman | tad esha vai yajnamayah purusho veda-samjnitah | vedas cha tanmayāh sarve sangopanishada-kriyāh

Vaisampāyana said: 1135. "Thus the glorious Lord Hari Nārāyana, covering the entire waters, slept on (the world) which had become one sea, in the midst of the vast expanse of fluid st (rajas), resembling a mighty ocean, himself free from passion (virajaskaḥ), with mighty arms:—Brāhmans know him as the undecaying. Invested through austere fervour with the light of his own form, and clothed with triple time (past, present, and future), the Lord then slept. Purushottama

<sup>261</sup> Rajas is said in two places of the Nirukta, iv. 19, and x. 44, to have the sense of "water."

## Sect. XII .- Extracts from the Bhagavata Purana on the same subject.

I will conclude my quotations from the Puranas on the subject of the origin of mankind and of castes with a few passages from the Bhāgavata Purana. The first extract reproduces some of the ideas of the Purusha Sūkta<sup>273</sup> more closely than any of the Puranic accounts yet given.

ii. 5, 34. Varsha-püga-sahasränte tad andam udake sayam | külakarma-svabhäva-stho jivo 'jivam ajivayat | 35. Sa eva Purushas tasmäd undam nirbhedya nirgatah | sahasrorv-anghri-bāhv-akshah sahasrānanasīrshavān | 36. Vasyehāvayavair lokān kalpayanti manīshinah | katy-

I am unable to make a proper sense out of the words brahmans brühmansteäch cha, which, however, as I learn from Dr. FitzEdward Hall, are found (with only a difference of long and short vowels) in the best MSS, to which he has access, as well as in the Bombay edition. One of the sixteen priests, the Brühmanächhansin, is not found in the enumeration, and his name may therefore have stood at the beginning of the line. Instead of the inept rending sarraviah, at the end, the author may perhaps have written vakshasah, "from his chest," as, indeed, one MS, reads in the next line. The Bombay edition reads prishfad, "from the back," instead of spishfed.

253 M. Burnouf remarks in the Preface to the first vol. of his edition of the Bhagavata, pp. exxii. ff., on the manner in which its author has gone back to Vedic sources for his materials. The same thing is noticed by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, i. 286, note.

ādibhir adhah sapta saptordhvam jaghanādibhih | 37. Purushasya mukham brahma kshatram etasya bāhavah | ūrvor vaišyo bhagavatah padbhyām śūdro vyajāyata | 38. Bhūrlokah kalpitah padbhyām bhuvarloko 'sya nābhitah | hridā svarloka urasā maharloko mahūtmanah |

"34. At the end of many thousand years the living soul which resides in time, action, and natural quality gave life to that lifeless egg floating on the water. 35. Purusha then having burst the egg, issued from it with a thousand thighs, feet, arms, eyes, faces, and heads. 36. With his members the sages fashion the worlds, the seven lower worlds with his loins, etc., and the seven upper worlds with his groin, etc. 37. The Brähman (was) the mouth of Purusha, the Kshattriya his arms, the Vaisya was born from the thighs, the Sūdra from the feet of the divine being. The earth was formed from his feet, the air from his navel; the heaven by the heart, and the maharloka by the breast of the mighty one."

In the following verse the figurative character of the representation is manifest:

ii. 1, 37. Brahmānanam kshattra-bhujo mahātmā vid-urur anghriśrita-krishna-varnah |

"The Brahman is his mouth; he is Kshattriya-armed, that great One, Vaisya-thighed, and has the black caste abiding in his feet."

The next passage is more in accord with the ordinary representation, though here, too, the mystical view is introduced at the close:

iii. 22, 2. Brahmā 'srijat sva-mukhato yushmān ātma-parīpsayā | chhandomayas tapo-vidyā-yoga-yuktān alampaţān | 3. Tat-trānāyā-srijach chāsmān doḥ-sahasrāt sahasra-pāt | hridayam tasya hi brahma kshattram angam prachakshats |

"Brahmā, who is formed of the Veda (chhandas), with a view to the recognition of himself, created you (the Brāhmans) who are characterized by austere fervour, science, devotion and chastity, from his mouth. For their protection he, the thousand-footed, created us (the Kshattriyas) from his thousand arms: for they declare the Brāhman to be his heart, and the Kshattriya his body."

iii. 6, 29 ff. contains another reference to the production of the castes:

29. Mukhato 'varttata brahma Purushasya Kurūdvaha | yastūnmukhatvād varnānām mukhyo 'bhūd brāhmano guruḥ | 30. Bāhubhyo 'varttata kshattram kshattriyas tad-anuvrataḥ | yo jātaz trāyats varnān paurushāḥ kantāku-kshutāt | 31. Višo 'varttanta tasyorvor loka-vrittikarīr vibhoḥ | vaišyas tad-udbhavo vārttām nrinām yaḥ samavarttayat | 32. Padbhyām bhagavato jajne śuśrāshā dharma-siddhaye | tasyām jātaḥ purā śūdro yad-vrittyā tushyate Hariḥ | 33. Etc varnāḥ sva-dharmeṇa yajanti sva-gurum Harim | śraddhayā "tma-viśuddhyartham yaj jātāḥ saha vrittibhiḥ |

"29. From the mouth of Purusha, o descendant of Kuru, issued divine knowledge (brahma), and the Brähman, who through his production from the mouth became the chief of the castes and the preceptor. 30. From his arms issued kingly power (kshattra), and the Kshattriya devoted to that function, who, springing from Purusha, as soon as born defends the castes from the injury of enemies. 31. From the thighs of the Lord issued the arts, shaffording subsistence to the world; and from them was produced the Vaisya who provided the maintenance of mankind. 32. From the feet of the divine Being sprang service for the fulfilment of duty. In it the Südra was formerly born, with whose function Hari is well satisfied. By fulfilling their own duties, with faith, for the purification of their souls, these castes worship Hari their parent, from whom they have sprung together with their functions."

In viii. 5, 41, we find the following:

Vipro mukhād brahma cha yasya guhyam rājanya āsīd bhujayor balam cha | ūrvor vid ojo'nghrir aveda-śūdrau prasīdatām naḥ sa mahāvibhūtiḥ |

"May that Being of great glory be gracious to us, from whose mouth sprang the Brahman and the mysterious Veda, from whose arms came the Rajanya and force, from whose thighs issued the Viś and energy, and whose foot is no-veda (aveda) and the Südra."

The same work gives the following very brief account of the Arvāksrotas creation, which is described with somewhat more detail in the passages extracted above from the Vishnu and Väyu Purānas:

iii. 20, 25. Arcāk-srotas tu navamah kshattar eka-vidho nrinām | rajo 'dhikāh karma-parāh duḥkhe cha sukha-māninah |

The word so rendered is eisah, which in the hymns of the Rig-reda has always the sense of "people." Here, however, it seems to have the sense assigned in the text, if one may judge from the analogy of the following verse, in which the S'ūdra is said to be produced from his special function, iniriinhā, "service." The Commentator explains viiah = kṛishy-ūdi-vyavasāyāḥ, "the professions of agriculture," etc.

"The Arvaksrotas creation was of one description," viz., of men, in whom the quality of passion abounded, who were addicted to works, and imagined that in pain they experienced pleasure."

In vi. 6, 40, a new account is given of the origin of mankind. We are there told:

Aryamno Mātrikā patnī tayoś Charshanayah sutāh | yatra vai mānushī jātir Brahmanā chopakalpitā |

"The wife of Aryaman (the son of Aditi) was Matrika. The Charshanis were the sons of this pair, and among them the race of men was formed by Brahma." The word charshani signifies "men," or "people" in the Veda.

In the following verse (which forms part of the legend of Purūravas, quoted in the 3rd vol. of this work, pp. 27 ff.) it is declared that in the Krita age there was only one caste:

ix. 14, 48. Eka eva purā vedah praņavah sarva-vānmayah | devo Nārāyano nānya eko gnir varņa eva eha | Purūravasa evāsīt trayī tretā-mukhe nrīpa |

"There was formerly but one Veda, the pranava (the monosyllable Om), the essence of all speech; only one god, Nārāyaṇa, one Agni, and (one) caste. From Purūravas came the triple Veda, in the beginning of the Tretā."

Some of the Commentator's remarks on this text will be found in vol. iii. p. 29. He says the one caste was called "Hansa" (varyaś cha eka eva hamso nāma), and concludes his note by remarking: "The meaning is this: In the Krita age when the quality of goodness predominated in men, they were almost all absorbed in meditation; but in the Tretā, when passion prevailed, the method of works was manifested by the division of the Vedas, etc."

The Sankhya Karika, 53, says: ashfa-vikalpe daises tairyayyonyas cha penchadhā bhacati mānushyas chaika-vidhah samāsato bhautikah sargah; which is thus translated by Mr. Colebrooke (in Wilson's Sankhya Karika, p. 164); "The divine kind is of eight sorts; the grovelling is five-fold; mankind is single in its class. This, briefly, is the world of living beings." The Commentator Gaudapāda shortly explains the words mānushyas chaikasidhah by mānushayonir chaika, "the source of production of mankind is one only." Vijnāna Bhikshu, the Commentator on the Sankhya Pravachana, iii. 46, paraphrases the same words thus, mānushya-sargas chaika-prakārah, "the human creation is of one sort."

## SECT. XIII .- Results of this Chapter.

The details which I have supplied in the course of this chapter must have rendered it abundantly evident that the sacred books of the Hindus contain no uniform or consistent account of the origin of castes; but, on the contrary, present the greatest varieties of speculation on this subject. Explanations mystical, mythical, and rationalistic, are all offered in turn; and the freest scope is given by the individual writers to fanciful and arbitrary conjecture.

First: we have the set of accounts in which the four castes are said . to have sprung from progenitors who were separately created; but in regard to the manner of their creation we find the greatest diversity of statement. The most common story is that the castes issued from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet of Purusha, or Brahma. The oldest extant passage in which this idea occurs, and from which all the later myths of a similar tenor have no doubt been borrowed, is, as we have seen, to be found in the Purusha Sükta; but it is doubtful whether, in the form in which it is there presented, this representation is anything more than an allegory. In some of the texts which I have quoted from the Bhagavata Purana, traces of the same allegorical character may be perceived; but in Manu and the Puranas the mystical import of the Vedic text disappears, and the figurative narration is hardened into a literal statement of fact. In other passages, where a separate origin is assigned to the castes, they are variously said to have sprung from the words Bhub, Bhuvah, Svah; from different Vedas; from different sets of prayers; from the gods, and the asuras; from nonentity (pp. 17-21), and from the imperishable, the perishable, and other principles (Harivamsa, 11816). In the chapters of the Vishnu, Vāyu, and Mārkandeya Purānas, where castes are described as coeval with the creation, and as having been naturally distinguished by different gunas, or qualities, involving varieties of moral character, we are nevertheless allowed to infer that those qualities exerted no influence on the classes in whom they were inherent, as the condition of the whole race during the Krita age is described as one of uniform perfection and happiness; while the actual separation into castes did

not take place, according to the Vāyu Purāṇa, until men had become deteriorated in the Treta age.

Second: in various passages from the Brahmanas, Epic poems, and Puranas, the creation of mankind is, as we have seen, described without the least allusion to any separate production of the progenitors of the four castes (pp. 23-27, and elsewhere). And whilst in the chapters where they relate the distinct formation of the castes, the Puranas, as has been observed, assign different inatural dispositions to each class, they elsewhere represent all mankind as being at the creation uniformly distinguished by the quality of passion. In one of the texts I have quoted (p. 26 f.) men are said to be the offspring of Vivasvat; in another his son Manu is said to be their progenitor; whilst in a third they are said to be descended from a female of the same name. The passage which declares Manu to have been the futher of the human race explicitly affirms that men of all the four castes were descended from . him. In another remarkable text the Mahabharata categorically asserts that originally there was no distinction of classes, the existing distribution having arisen out of differences of character and occupation. Similarly, the Bhagavata Purana in one place informs us that in the Krita age there was but one caste; and this view appears also to be taken in some passages which I have adduced from the Epic poems.

In these circumstances we may fairly conclude that the separate origination of the four castes was far from being an article of belief universally received by Indian antiquity.

I shall now proceed to enquire what opinion the writers of the older Vedic hymns appear to have entertained in regard to the origin of the race to which they themselves belonged.

## CHAPTER II.

## TRADITION OF THE DESCENT OF THE INDIAN RACE FROM MANU.

It appears from the considerations urged in the preceding chapter that in all probability the Purusha Sükta belongs to the most recent portion of the Rig-veda Sanhita, and that it is at least doubtful whether the verse in which it connects the four castes with the different members of the creator's body is not allegorical. And we have seen that even if that representation is to be taken as a literal account of the creation of the different classes, it cannot, in the face of many other statements of a different tenor, and of great antiquity, be regarded as expressing the fixed belief of the writers of the period immediately succeeding the collection of the hymns in regard to the origin of the social divisions which prevailed in their own time. But the notions entertained of the origin of caste at the date of the Purusha Sükta, whatever they may have been, will afford no criterion of the state of opinion on the same subject in an earlier age; and it therefore remains to enquire whether those hymns of the Rig-veda, which appear to be the most ancient, contain either (1) any tradition regarding the origin of mankind, or of the Indian tribes; or (2) any allusion to the existence, in the community contemporary with their composition, of separate classes corresponding to those afterwards known as Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and S'udras; and if they embrace any reference of the latter kind, whether they afford any explanation of the manner in which these orders of men came to occupy their respective positions

On the subjects treated in this chapter compare my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. for 1863, pp. 406 ff., where a reference is made to the other writers who had previously treated of them, such as M. Nève, Mythe des Ribhavas, etc.

in society. We shall find on examination that the hymns supply some information on both these branches of enquiry.

Numerous references are undoubtedly to be found in all parts of the hymn-collection to a variety of ranks, classes, and professions; of which an account will be given in the next chapter; but no hint is anywhere discoverable, except in the single text of the Purusha Sükta, of those classes being distinguished from each other by any original difference of race. If, however, the early Vedic Indians had all along believed in the quadruple production of their nation from the different members of Purusha, one might naturally have expected to find allusions to such a variety of birth running through the hymns. But nothing, I repeat, of this kind is to be traced. On the contrary it appears from a considerable number of passages that at least the superior ranks of the community were regarded as being of one stock, the Aryan, and as having one common ancestor. This chapter will therefore embrace, First, the texts which are found in the hymns regarding the origin of the Indian tribes, and the history of their progenitor, and Secondly those passages which occur in the Brahmanas, and other later works in which the statements of the early Vedic poets on these subjects are reechoed or developed.

Sect. I .- Manu as the progenitor of the Aryan Indians and the institutor of religious rites according to the Hymns of the Rig-veda.

In this section I shall first quote the texts which allude to Manu as father (which must of course be understood to designate him as the actual human progenitor of the authors of the hymns, and of the bulk of the people to whom they addressed themselves); and then adduce those which speak of him as the institutor of religious rites, or as the object of divine protection.

- (1) The following texts are of the first class:
- i. 80, 16. Yam Atharva Manush pitā Dadhyañ dhiyam atnata | tasmin brahmāṇi pūrvathā Indre ukthā samagmata |
- "Prayers and hymns were formerly congregated in that Indra, in the teremony which Atharvan, father Manu, and Dadhyanch celebrated."
  - \* This verse is quoted in the Nirukta, xii. 34, where the words Manush pita,

i. 114, 2. Yat śam cha yoś cha Manur ayeje pita tad aśyama tava Rudra pranitishu |

"Whatever prosperity or succour father Manu obtained by sacrifice, may we gain all that under thy guidance, O Rudra."

ii. 33, 13. Yā vo bheshajā Marutah śuchīni yā śantamā vrishano yā mayobhū | yāni Manur avrinīta pitā naḥ tā śam cha yoś cha Rudrasya vaśmi |

"Those pure remedies of yours, O Maruts, those which are most auspicious, ye vigorous gods, those which are beneficent, those which our a father Manu chose, those, and the blessing and succour of Rudra, I desire."

viii. 52, 1 (Sama-veda, i. 355). Sa pürvyo mahanam veno kratubhir ānaje | yasya dvārā Manush pitā deveshu dhiyah ānaje |

"That ancient friend hath been equipped with the powers of the mighty (gods). Father Manu has prepared hymns to him, as portals of access to the gods."

"father Manu," are explained as meaning Manuscha pita manavanam, "Manu the father of men." Sayana, the Commentator on the Rig-veda, interprets them as meaning sarvanam prajunam pitribhuto Manuscha, "Manu the father of all creatures." In R.V., z. 82, 3, the words "our father and generator" (yo nah pita janita), are applied to Vis'vakarman, the creator of the universe. The word "father" in the R.V. is often applied to Dyaus, the Sky, and "mother" to the Earth, as in vi. 51 5. (Compare Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1864, pp. 55 ff.) But in these passages it is not necessary to suppose that the words are employed in any other than a figurative sense; although in a hymn to the Earth in the Atharva-veda, xii. I, we find the following verse (the 16th): Tenj-jūtas tenyi charanti martyūs team bibharshi dvipadas tvam ehatushpadah | taveme prithivi pancha-manavah yebhyo jyotir amritam martyebhyah udyon suryo raimibhir atanoti | "Mortals born of thee live on thee: thou supportest both bipeds and quadrupeds. Thine, o Earth, are these five races of men, these mortals on whom the sun rising, sheds undying light with his rays;"where it might almost appear as if the poet meant to represent mankind as netually generated by the earth. Brihaspati (iv. 50, 6; vi. 73, 1) and the other gods, as Indra. are called "father," or compared to fathers (vii. 52, 3); as are Rudra, vi. 49, 10; and the Rishi, R.V., x. 81, 1; x. 82, 1, 3, 4. S. P. Br., i. 5, 3, 2, has Prajapatan pitari; and Taitt. Br. iii. 9, 22, 1, Prajapatim pitaram. In both the last places Prajupati is referred to as the father of the gods.

It is to be observed that while in the two preceeding passages Manu is styled merely "father Manu," he is here called "our father Manu" (Manuh pita nah).

\* I am indebted to Professor Aufrecht for the above translation of this, to me, obscure verse. Sayana explains it thus: Sa purvyo mukhyo mohanom pūjyanam yajamananam kratubhih karmabhir nimittabhūtair venah kontas tesham hacih kamayamanah anaje agachhati | yasyendrasya dvorā dvarāyi praptyupāyani dhiyah karmani devesho eteshu madhye pitā sarvesham pālako Manur anaje praps | ānajih prapti-

The sense of the next text is less clear, but it appears at least to allude to the common designation of Manu as a father:

x. 100, 5. Yajno Manuh pramatir nah pita hi kam |

"Sacrifice is Manu, our protecting father."

The following verse, according to the Commentator at least, speaks of the paternal or ancestral path of Manu. Professor Aufrecht thinks it need not mean more than the ancestral human path:

viii. 30. 3. Te nas trādhvam te avata te u no adhi vochata | mā naḥ pathaḥ pitryād mānavād adhi dūram naishṭa parāvatah |

"Do ye (gods) deliver, protect, and intercede for us; do not lead us far away from the paternal path of Manu."

As in the preceding passages Manu is spoken of as the progenitor of the worshippers, so in the following the same persons may perhaps be spoken of as his descendants, although it is also true that the phrases employed may be merely equivalent to "children of men."

i. 68, 4. Hota nishatto Manor apatys so chit nu asam patih rayinam | "He (Agni) who abides among the offspring of Manu as the invoker (of the gods), is even the lord of these riches." "

karmii | "This chief one, in consequence of the rites of the venerable sacrificers, desiring their oblation, comes,—he (Indra) as means of attaining whom Manu the preserver of all has obtained rites among these gods." Professor Benfey renders the verse, where it occurs in the Sama-veda, thus: "He is the chief of the rich, through works the dear one culightens him, whose doors father Manu has, and illuminates observances towards the gods." From Prof. Benfey's note to the passage (p. 230) it appears that the Commentator on the Sama-veda explains ānaje by cyaktīkaroti āt-mānam, "makes himself distinct" (herein differing from Sayana), Manu by jaūtā sarvasys = Indrah, "the knower of all, Indra," and ānaje, where it occurs the second time, by āgamayati, "causes to come." Such are the differences of opinion regarding the interpretation of some parts of the hymns.

On this verse Sayana comments thus: Sarveshām Manuh pitā tatah āgatāt | parāvatah | pitā Manur dūram mārgam chakre | tasmāt patho mārgāt no amnān mā naishta mā nayata | apanayanam mā kuruta ity arthah | sarvadā brahmacharyyāgni-hotrādi-karmāni yena mārgapa bhavanti tam eva asmān nayata | kintu dūram ya stad-vyatirikto viprakrishto mārgo'sti tasmād adhi adhikam ity arthah asmān apanayata | "'Of Manu' means, come from Manu who is the father of all. 'Distant:' Father Manu journeyed slong a distant path. Do not lead us away from that path. Lead us along that path in which continence, the agnihotra sacrifice, and other duties have always been practised. But lead us away from the distant path which is different from that."

The Commentator here explains "the offspring of Manu" as offspring or creatures in the form of worshippers (yajamāna-warūpāyām prajāyām); and adds that according to a Brāhmana "creatures are sprung from Manu" ("Mānavyo hi prajāh,"

iii. 3, 6. Agnir devebhir manushascha jantubhis tanvano yajnam purupesasam dhiya |

"Agni, together with the gods, and the children (jantubhih) of Manush, celebrating a multiform sacrifice with hymns," etc.

In the following texts reference is made to the people of Manu, the word for "people" being vis, from which vaisya, "a man of the people," is derived :

iv. 37, 1. Upa no Vājāh adhveram Ribhukshāh devāh yāta pathibhir decayanaih | yatha yajnam manusho vikshu asu dadhidee rangah sudineshu ahnām |

"Ye gods, Vajas, and Ribhukshans, come to our sacrifice by the path travelled by the gods, that ye, pleasing deities, may institute a sacrifice among these people of Manush (Manusho vikshu) on auspicious days."

vi. 14, 2. Agnim hotaram ilate yajneshu manusho viśah |

"The people of Manush praise in the sacrifices Agni the invoker." viii. 23, 13. Yad vai a vispatih sitah suprīto manusho viši | višvā id Agnih prati rakshāmsi sedhati |

"Whenever Agni, lord of the people, kindled, abides gratified among the people of Manush, he repels all Rakshases."

(2.) From the preceding texts it appears that the authors of the hymns regarded Manu as the progenitor of their race. But (as is clear from many other passages) they also looked upon him as the first person by whom the sacrificial fire had been kindled, and as the institutor of the ceremonial of worship; though the tradition is not always consistent on this subject. In one of the verses already quoted (i, 80, 16) Manu is mentioned in this way, along with Atharvan and

iti hi brāhmanam). Yāska (Nir. iii. 7) gives the following derivations of the word manushya, " man :" Manushyah kaswat | matea karmani sivyanti | manasyamanena spinhith . . . . | Manor opatyam Manusho ed | "From what are men (named) ? Because after reflection they sew together works; (or) because they were created by one who reflected (or, according to Durga, "rejoiced") . . . . (or) because they are the offspring of Manu, or Manush."

7 Vispati. Compare vi. 48, 8, where it is said : eiseasam grikapatir eisam asi tram Agne manushinam | "Agni, thou art the master of the house of all human people (or, people sprung from Manush);" and x. 80, 6, Agnim visah ilate manushir yāh Agnim Manusho Nahusho vi jātāh | " Human people (or, people descended from Manush) praise Agni : (people) sprung from Manush, from Nahush, (praise) Agni." Or if manushah be the nom. plur. the last clause will run thus : " men sprung from

Nahush (praise) Agui,"

Dadhyanch, as having celebrated religious rites in ancient times. The following further passages refer to him as a kindler of fire, and offerer of oblations:

- i. 36, 19. Ni tvām Agns Manur dadhe jyotir janāya šašvate |
- "Manu has placed (or ordained) thee, Agni, a light to all the people."
- 76, 5. Yathā viprasya Manusho havirbhir devān ayajaḥ kavibhih kaviḥ san | eva hotaḥ satyatara tvam adya Agne mandrayā juhvā yajasva |
- "As thou, thyself a sage, didst, with the sages, worship the gods with the oblations of the wise Manush, so to-day, Agni, most true invoker, worship them with a cheerful flame."
- v. 45, 6. Ā ita dhiyam kṛiṇavāma sakhāyah . . . . yayā Manur Viśiśipram jigāya . . . .
- "Come, friends, let us perform the prayer . . . . whereby Manu conquered Visisipra . . . .
- viii. 10. 2. Yad vä yajnam Manave sammimikehathur eva it Künvasya bodhatam |
- "Or if ye (Asvins) sprinkled the sacrifice for Manu, think in like manner of the descendant of Kanva."
- ix. 96, 11. Tvayā hi naḥ pitarah Soma pūrce karmāṇi chakruḥ pavamāna dhīrāḥ | . . . . 12. Yathā apavathāḥ Manave vayodhāh amitrahā varivovid havishmān | eva pavawa . . . .
- "For through thee, O pure Soma, our early fathers, who were wise, performed their rites . . . 12. As thou didst flow clear for Manu, thou upholder of life, destroyer of foes, possessor of wealth, rich in oblations, so (now) flow clear." . . . .
- x. 63, 7. Yebhyo hotrām prathamām āyeje Manuh samiddhāgnir manasā sapta hotrībhih | tā Ādityā abhayam śarma yachhata . . . .
- "O ye Adityas, to whom Manu, when he had kindled fire, presented along with seven hotri priests the first oblation with a prayer, bestow on us secure protection."
- x. 69, 3. "Yat te Manur yad anikam Sumitrah samidhe Agne tad idam naviyah" 5
- The S'atapatha Brāhmana (i. 4, 2, 5) thus explains the words deveddho Manviddhah:—Manviddhah iti | Manur hy etam agre ainidha | tasniid āha "Maneiddhah" iti | "The gods formerly kindled it (fire): hence it is called 'god-kindled.' Manu formerly kindled it: and hence it is called 'kindled by Manu.' "The Aitareya Brāhmana (ii. 34), however, explains the word Mane-iddhah from the fact that "men kindle it" (imam hi manushyā indhate).

"That lustre of thine which Manu, which Sumitra, kindled is this same which is now renewed."

In conformity with the preceding texts, the following may be understood as declaring that the sacrificial fire had been first kindled by Manu:

- i. 13, 4 (= S.V. ii. 700). Agne sukhatame rathe devān īļitaķ ā vaha | asi hotā Manurhitaķ |
- "O Agni, lauded, bring the gods hither in a most pleasant chariot. Thou art the invoker (of the gods) placed by Manush," 9
- i. 14, 11. Team hotā Manurhito 'gne yajneshu sīdasi | saḥ imam no adhearam yaja |
- "Thou, Agni, the invoker placed by Manush, art present at the sacrifices: do thou present this our oblation." (See also R.V. iii. 2, 15.)
  - vi. 16, 9. Team hotā Manurhitah . . . .
  - "Thou art the invoker placed by Manush . . . . "
- viii. 19, 21. Île giră Manurhitam yam decă dütam aratim ni erire | yajishtham havya-vāhanam |
- "With a hymn I laud that adorable bearer of oblations placed by Manush," whom the gods have sent as a ministering messenger."
- " The compound word which I have here rendered "placed by Manush" is in the original Manur-hita. Professor Aufrecht would render it "given to man," and quotes i. 36, 10, in support of this view. The sense I have given is supported by i. 36, 19, where the same root, dha, from which hite (originally dhite) comes, is used, joined with the particle wi. The same participle hita is used in vi. 16, 1, where it is said : Team Agne yajnanam hota sarcesham hitah | devebbir manushe jane | "Thou, Agni, hast been placed, or ordained, among the race of Manush by the gods as the invoker at all sacrifices." The fact that Agni is here said to have been placed by the gods among the race of Manush does not forbid us to suppose that there are other passages in which, either inconsistently, or from a different point of view, Agui may have been said to be placed by Manu. The compound manur-hita occurs also in the following texts, where, however, it has probably the sense of "good for man," viz. : i. 106, 5. Brihaspate sadam id nah sugam kridhi sam yor yat te manur-hitam tad imahe | "Brihaspati, do us always good: we desire that blessing and protection of thine which is good for man." (Sayana says that here manur-hitam means either "placed in thee by Manu, i.e., Brahma," or, "favourable to man." Benfey, in loco, renders "destined for man.") vi. 70, 2. Rajanti asya bhuvanasyu rodasi asme retah sinchatam yad manur-hitam | "Heaven and earth, ruling over this world, drop on us that seed which is good for man." x. 26, 5. Rishih so yo manur-hitah | "He (Pushan) who is a rishi kind to man," etc. Professor Roth s.v. gives only the latter sense.

10 Though the word manur-hita is here interpreted by Sayana as meaning "placed by Manu Prajapati who sacrificed," it might also signify "friendly to men," as Agni is also said to have been sent by the gods.

viii. 34, 8. A tvā hotā Manurhito devatrā vakshad īdyah |

"May the adorable invoker placed by Manu bring thee (Indra) hither among the gods," etc.

There is also a class of passages in which the example of Manush may be referred to by the phrase manush-vat, "like Manush," or, "as in the case of Manush." Thus in i. 44, 11, it is said:

Ni tea yajnasya sadhanam Agne hotaram riteijam manushvad deva dhimahi . . . .

"Divine Agni, we, like Manush, place thee, the accomplisher of the sacrifice, the invoker, the priest," etc.

v. 21, 1. Manushvat tvā ni dhīmahi Manushvat sam idkīmahi | Agne Manushvad Angiro devān devayate yaja |

"Agni, we place thee like Manush, we kindle thee like Manush. Agni, Angiras, worship the gods like Manush, for him who adores them."

vii. 2, 3. Manushvad Agnim Manuna samiddham sam adhvaraya sadam in mahema |

"Let us, like Manush, continually invoke to the sacrifice Agni who was kindled by Manu."

viii. 27, 7. Sula-somāso Varuna havāmahe Manushvad iddhāgnayah |

"We invoke thee, Varana, having poured out some, and having kindled fire, like Manush."

viii. 43, 13. Uta tvā Bhrigueat śuche Manushead Agne āhuta | Angirasvad havāmahe | . . . 27. Yam tvā janāsa indhate Manushead Angirastama | Agne za bodhi me vachah |

"Like Bhṛigu, like Manush, like Angiras, we invoke thee, bright Agni, who hast been invoked. . . . . 27. Agni, most like to Angiras, whom men kindle like Manush, attend to my words."

The Satapatha Brahmana, i. 5, 1, 7, explains thus the word Manushvat: Manur ha vai agre yajnena ije | tad anukritya imah prajah ya-

"I should observe that Prof. Aufrecht thinks the phrase—except perhaps with the single exception of viii. 43, 13—means "amongst men." Prof. Roth gives only the sense "like men," "as among, or for, men."

The same work in the same passage thus explains the phrase Bharata-vat. "He bears (bharati) the oblation to the gods; wherefore men say, Bharata (or 'the bearer') is Agni. Or, he is called Bharata (the 'sustainer') because, being breath, he sustains these creatures." This phrase may, however, refer to the example of King Bharata. See S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii. 5, 4, 14.

jante | tasmād āha "Manush-vad" iti | "Manor yajnaḥ" iti u vai āhuḥ | tasmād vā iva āhur "Manushvad" iti | "Manu formerly sacrificed with a sacrifice. Imitating this, these creatures sacrifice. He therefore says, Manushvat, 'like Manu.' Or, they say 'like Manu,' because men speak of the sacrifice as being Manu's."

It must, however, be admitted that Manu is not always spoken of in the hymns of the first, or only, kindler of fire or celebrator of religious rites. In i. 80, 16, already quoted, Atharvan and Dadhyanch are specified along with him as having offered sacrifice in early times.

In the following verses Atharvan is mentioned as having generated fire:

vi. 16, 13. Imam tu tyam Atharva-vad Agnim mathanti vedhasah | "The wise draw forth this Agni, as Atharvan did."

vi. 16, 13 (= S. V. i. 9; Vāj. Sanh. xi. 32). Tvām Agno pushkarād adhy Atharvā nir amanthata . . . . | 14. Tam u tvā Dadhyaññ rishih putrah īdho Atharvanah |

"Agni, Atharvan drew thee forth from the lotus leaf," etc. 14. "Thee the rishi Dadhyanch, son of Atharvan, kindled," etc.

[In the Vajasaneyi Sanhitā, the first of these verses is immediately preceded by the following words (xi. 32): Atharvā tvā prathamo nir amanthad Agno | "Atharvan was the first who drew thee forth, Agni."]

Again it is said in the Rig-veda, x. 21, 5. Again jāto Atharvanā vidad višvāni kāvyā | bhuvad dūto Vivasvatah | "Agai, produced by Atharvan, knows all wisdom, and has become the messenger of Vivaswat."

In i. 83, 5, Atharvan is mentioned as the earliest institutor of sacrifice: Yajnair Atharva prathamah pathas tate tatah süryo vratapāh venah ājani | "Atharvan was the first who by sacrifices opened up paths; then the friendly Sun, the upholder of ordinances, was produced," etc.: so too in x. 92, 10. Yajnair Atharva prathamo vi dhārayad devā dakshair Bhrigavah sam chikitrire | "Atharvan, the first, established (all things) with sacrifices. The divine Bhrigus co-operated with their powers." 13

These two texts might, though not very probably, be understood to mean not that Atharvan was the first to employ sacrifice, but to use it for the purpose referred to in the centext,

The next texts speak of the Bhrigus as the institutors of sacrifice by fire:

i. 58, 6. Dadhus tvā Bhrigavo mānusheshv ā rayim na chārum suhavam janebhyaḥ | hotāram Agne |

"The Bhrigus have placed thee, o Agni, among men, as an invoker, like a beautiful treasure, and easily invoked for men," etc.

ii. 4, 2. Imam vidhanto apām sadasthe dvitā adadkur Bhrigavo vikshu Āyoḥ |

"Worshipping him (Agni) in the receptacle of waters, the Bhrigus placed him among the people of Ayu."

x. 46, 2. Imam vidhanto apām sadasthe pašum na nashtam padair anu gman | guhā chatantam ušijo namobhir ichhanto dhīvā Bhrigavo avindan |

"Worshipping him in the receptacle of waters, and desiring him with prostrations, the wise and longing Bhrigus followed him with their steps, like a beast who had been lost, and found him lurking in concealment" (i. 65, 1).

In other places, the gods, as well as different sages, are mentioned as introducing or practising worship by fire, or as bringing down the sacred flame from heaven:

i. 36, 10. Yam tvā devāso manave dadhur iha yajishtham huvyavāhana | yam Kanvo Medhyātithir dhanaspritam yam Vrishā yam Upastutah |

"Thou, o bearer of oblations, whom the gods placed here as an object of adoration to man (or Manu); whom Kanva, whom Medhyātithi, whom Vrishan, whom Upastuta (have placed) a bringer of wealth," etc. Compare vi. 16, 1, quoted above, p. 167, note 9.

iii. 5, 10. Yadī Bhrigubhyaḥ pari Mūtariśeā guhā santam havyaeāham samīdhe |

"When Matariswan kindled for the Bhrigus Agni, the bearer of oblations, who was in concealment."

x. 46, 9. Dyāvā yam Agnim prithivî janishtām āpas Tvashtā Bhrigavo yam sahobhih | īlenyam prathamam Mātariśvā devās tatakshur manave yajatram |

"Mütariśwan and the gods have made, as the first adorable object of worship to man (or Manu), that Agni whom heaven and earth, whom

14 In the following passages also the Bhrigus are mentioned as connected with the worship of Agni: î. 71, 4; i. 127, 7; i. 143, 4; iii. 2, 4; iv. 7, 1; vi. 15, 2; viii. 43, 13; viii. 91, 4; x. 122, 5.

the waters, whom Tvashtri, whom the Bhrigus, have generated by their powers."

In the 8th verse the Ayus, and in the 10th the gods, as well as men, are said to have placed Agni.

In i. 60, 1; i. 93, 6; i. 148, 1; iii. 2, 13; iii. 5, 10; iii. 9, 5; vi. 8, 4, Mātarišvan is again spoken of as the bringer or generator of fire. (Compare note 1, in p. 416, of my article "On Manu the progenitor of the Āryan Indians," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. for 1863.)

But to return to Manu. Although the distinction of having been the first to kindle fire is thus, in various passages, ascribed to Atharvan or the Bhrigus, this does not disprove the fact that in other places, it is, somewhat inconsistently, assigned to Manu; and none of these other personages is ever brought forward as disputing with Manu the honour of having been the progenitor of the Aryan race. In this respect the Vedic tradition exhibits no variation, except that Yama also seems in some places to be represented as the first man. (See my article in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1865, pp. 287 ff., and especially the words of the Atharva-veda, xviii. 3, 14. Yo mamara prathamo marttydnām | "Who (Yama) died first of men.")

(III.) The following passages describe Manu as being the object of special favour or intervention on the part of some of the gods:

i. 112, 16. Yābhir narā Sayace yābhir Atraye yābhiḥ purā Manuve gātum ishathuḥ | yābhiḥ śārīr ājatam Syūmaraśmaye tābhir u shu ūtibhir Aśvinā gatam | 18. . . . . Yabhir Manum śūram ishā samāvatam |

"Come, Aświns, with those succours, whereby, o heroes, ye effected deliverance for Sayu, for Atri, and formerly for Manu, whereby ye shot arrows for Syūmaraśmi. 18. . . . . whereby ye preserved the hero Manu with food." 15

viii. 15, 5. Yena jyotimshi Ayave Manave cha viveditha | mandano asya barhisho vi rajasi |

"Exulting in this (exhilaration), wherewith thou didst make known the luminaries to Ayu, and to Manu, thou art lord of the sacrificial grass."

13 This passage, as far as it concerns Manu, is thus explained by Sayana: "And with those succours, whereby ye made a path, a road which was the cause of escape from poverty, by sowing barley and other kinds of grain, etc., for Manu, the royal rishi of that name; according to another text" (i. 117, 21).

When compared with the preceding verse it seems not improbable that the following text may refer to the same tradition, and that instead of Vayave we should read Ayave:

vii. 91, 1. Kuvid anga namasā ye eridhāsah purā devā anavadyāsah āsan | te Vāyave (Āyave?) Manave bādhitāya avāsayan Ushasam Sūryena |

"Certainly those gods who were magnified by worship were of old faultless. They displayed the dawn with the sun to Vayu (Ayu?), to Manu when distressed.

There is also a reference to the sky being displayed to Manu in the following verse, unless the word (manu) is to be there taken as an epithet of Purūravas, which does not seem a probable supposition:

i. 31, 4. Team Agne Manace dyam avasayah Puraravase sukrite zukrittarah |

"Thou, Agni, didst display the sky to Manu, to the beneficent Purūravas, (thyself) more beneficent."

If Manu be taken for a proper name in vii. 91, 1, it may reasonably be understood in the same way in vi. 49, 13, where the person referred is similarly spoken of as distressed:

vi. 49, 13. Yo rajāmši vimame pārthivāni triš chid Vishnur Manave bādhitāya |

"Vishnu who thrice measured the terrestrial regions for Manu when distressed."

And in that case the word Manu may perhaps also be taken to denote a person in vii. 100, 4, Vichakrame prithicim esha etām kshetrāya Vishgur Manave daśasyan | "This Vishgu strode over this earth, bestowing it on Manu for an abode." Although here the general sense of "man" would make an equally good sense.

I may introduce here another text in which, from its conjunction with other proper names, it must be held that the word Manu denotes a person.

i. 139, 9. Dadhyañ ha me janusham purvo Angirah Priyamedhah Kanvo Atrir Manur vidus te me purve Manur viduh |

"Dadhyanch, the ancient Angiras, Priyamedha, Kanva, Atri, Manu, know my (Paruchhepa's?) birth; they, my predecessors, Manu, know it."

There are, as we have seen, some passages in the hymns in which it is doubtful whether the words manu and manush denote an

individual, or stand for man in general; and there are also texts in which the latter sense is clearly the only one that can be assigned. Such are the following:

(1.) Manu in the singular:

i. 130, 5. . . . Dhenur iva manave viśvadohaso janaya viśvadohasah |

"All-productive as a cow to man, all-productive to a person."

v. 2, 12. Barhishmate manave śarma yamsad havishmate manave śarma yamsat

"That he may bestow protection on the man who sacrifices, on the

man who offers oblations."

viii. 47, 4. Manor viśvasya gha id ime Ādityāḥ rāya īśate . . . . | "These Ādityas are lords of every man's riches" . . . .

(2.) Manu in the plural:

viii. 18, 22. Ye chid hi mrityubandhacah Adityah manacah smasi | pra su nah ayur jivase tiretana |

"O ye Adityas, prolong the days of us who are men who are of kin

to death, that we may live."

x. 91, 9. Yad devayanto dadhati prayainsi te havishmanto manavo vrikta-barhishah |

"When these pious men sacrificing, and spreading the sacrificial grass, offer thee oblations."

(3.) Manush in the singular:

i. 167, 7. Guhā charantī manusho na yoshā |

"Like the wife of a man moving secretly."

vii. 70, 2. . . . atāpi gharmo manusho duroņe |

"Fire has been kindled in the man's abode."

The same phrase manushe durone occurs also in viii. 76, 2; x. 40, 13; x. 104, 4; x. 110, 1. In x. 99, 7, we find the words druhvane manushe, "against the injurious man."

(4.) Manush in the plural:

iv. 6, 11. Hotāram Agnim manusho nishedur namasyanta uśijaḥ śamsam āyoḥ |

"Men offering worship, and eager, attend upon Agni the invoker, the object of man's (or Ayu's) praises."

In the following passages, if the word Manu is not to be understood as denoting a person, the progenitor of men, it seems, at all events, to designate his descendants, the favoured race to which the authors of the hymns believed themselves to belong, and appears to be in some cases at least nearly synonymous with Arya, the name by which they called men of their own stock and religion, in contradistinction to the Dasyus, a term by which we are either to understand hostile demons, or the rude aboriginal tribes:

i. 130, 8. Indrah samatsu yajamānam āryam prāvad višveshu šatomūtir ājishu . . . . | manave šāsad avratān tvacham krishnām arandhayat | 14

"Indra who bestows a hundred succours in all conflicts . . . . has preserved the Arya in the fights. Chastising the lawless, he has subjected the black skin to the man (manave)."

Compare i. 117, 21, where instead of manu, or manush, the word manusha is employed:

Yavam vrikena Asvinā vapantā isham duhantā manushāya dasvā | abhi dasyum bakurena dhamantā uru jyotis chakrathur āryāya |

"Sowing barley with the wolf, ye, o potent Aśvins, milking out food for man (manusha), blowing away the Dasyu with the thunder-bolt (?), have made a broad light for the Arya."

i. 175, 3. Tvam hi śūrah sanitā chodayo manusho ratham | sahāvān dasyum avratam oshah pūtram na śochishā |

"Thou, a hero, a benefactor, hast impelled the chariot of man: victorious, thou hast burnt up the rite-less Dasyu, as a vessel is consumed by a blaze."

ii. 20, 6. Sa ha śruta Indro nāma deva urddhvo bhuvad manushe dasmatamaḥ | ava priyam arśasānasya sahvān śiro bharad dāsasya svadhāvān | 7. Sa vrittrahā Indraḥ krishnayonīḥ purandaro dāsīr airayad vi | ajanayad manave kshām apaścha satrā śamsam yajamānasya tūtot |

"The god renowned as Indra hath arisen most mighty for the sake of man. Violent, self-reliant, he has smitten down the dear head of the destructive Dasa. 7. Indra, the slayer of Vrittra, the destroyer of cities, has scattered the Dasyu (hosts) sprung from a black womb. He

17 See Prof. Roth's explanation of this passage as given in a note to the article on Manu the progenitor of the Aryan Indians, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xx. p. 418.

<sup>16</sup> A similar opposition between the word āyu, "man," and dasyu is to be noted in the following passage, vi. 14, 3: nānā hi Agne avasa spardhante rāyo aryaḥ | tūrvanto dasyum āyavo vrataŭh sīkshanto avratam | "In various ways, o Agni, the riches of the enemy emulously hasten to the help (of thy worshippers). The men destroy the Dasyu, and seek by rites to overcome the riteless."

has produced for man the earth 18 and the waters; he has perfectly fulfilled the aspiration of his worshipper."

vi. 21, 11. Nu me ā vācham upu yāhi vidvān višvebhih sūno sahaso yajatraih | ye agnijihvāh ritasāpah āsur ye manum chakrur uparam dasāya |

"Do thou, o wise god, son of strength, approach my hymn with all the adorable (deities), who were fire-tongued, rite-frequenting, and made man superior to the Dāsa."

viii. 87, 5. Abhi hi satya somepāḥ ubhe babhūtha rodasī | Indrāsi suncato vridhaḥ patir divaḥ | 6. Tvam hi śaścatīnām Indra dartā purām asi | hantā dasyor manor vridhaḥ patir divaḥ |

"5. For thou, o true soma-drinker, hast overcome both worlds. Indra, thou art the prosperer of him who makes libations, the lord of the sky. 6. Thou, Indra, art the destroyer of all the cities, the slayer of the Dasyu, the prosperer of man, the lord of the sky."

ix. 92, 5. Tan nu satyam pavamānasya astu yatra višve kāravah samnasanta | jyotir yad ahne akrinod u lokam prāvad manum dasyave kar abhīkam |

"Let this be the true (abode) of the pure god (Soma) where all the sages have assembled; since he has made light and space for the day, has protected man, and repelled the Dasyu."

x. 49, 7. Yad mā sāvo manushaḥ āha nirnije ridhak krishe dāsam kritvyam hathaiḥ |

"When the libation of man calls me to splendour, I tear in pieces (?) with blows the vigorous Dasa."

x. 73, 7. Team jaghantha Namuchim makhanyum dasam krinvanah rishayo vimayam | team chakartha manave syonan patho devatra anjasa iva yanan |

"Thou hast slain the lusty Namuchi, making the Dasa bereft of magic against the rishi: thou made for man beautiful paths leading as it were straightway to the gods."

It is to be observed that in none of these passages is the Brahmanical, or any other, caste singled out as having been the special object of divine protection. Men, or Aryas, are the favourites of the gods. And

In iv. 26, 7, Indra says: "Aham bhumim adadom cryoya aham vrishfim do-sushe martyaya | "I gave the earth to the Arya; I gave rain to the sacrificing mortal."

even in such hymns as R.V. i. 112; i. 116; i. 117; i. 119, etc., where the Aśvins are celebrated as having interposed for the deliverance of many of their worshippers, whose names are there specified, we are nowhere informed that any of these were Brahmans, although reference is often made to their being rishis.<sup>10</sup>

There is one other text of considerable interest and importance, R.V. iii. 34, 9, which, although it is unconnected with Manu, may be here cited, as it connects the word arya with the term rarna, "colour," which in later times came to signify "caste," as applied to the Brahmans and other classes. It is this:

Sasānātyān uta sūryam sasāna Indrah sasāna purubhojasam gām | hiranyayam uta bhogam sasāna hateī dasyūn pra āryam varnam āvat |

"Indra bestowed horses, he bestowed the sun, he bestowed the many-nourishing cow, he bestowed golden wealth: having slain the Dasyu, he protected the Āryan colour."

It is to be observed that here the word varna is used in the singular. Thus all the persons coming under the designation of Arya, are included under one class or colour, not several.<sup>20</sup>

We shall see in the next chapter that, irrespective of the verse of the Purusha Sükta, there are in the Rig-veda Sanhită a few texts in which the Brahmans are mentioned alone of all the four castes, without any distinct reference being found anywhere to the second class as Rājanyas, or Kshattriyas, or to the third and fourth as Vaisyas and Sūdras.

In the mean time I shall advert to some other phrases which are employed in the hymns, either to denote mankind in general, or to signify certain national or tribal divisions. The most important of these is that of the "five tribes," who are frequently referred to under the appellations of pancha-krishfayah, pancha-kshitayah, pancha-kshitaya mānushyyah (vii. 97, 1), pancha-charshanayah, pancha-janāh, pānchajanyā viš (viii. 52, 7), pancha bhūma (vii. 69, 2), pancha jātā (vi. 61, 12)."

19 See Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 7 ff.

21 In iii. 49, 1, mention is made not of the five tribes, but of all the tribes : Sames

<sup>20</sup> Săyana, indeed, interprets the word āryam rarnam by uttamam rarnam traicarnikam ["the most excellent class consisting of the three upper castes;" but he of course explains according to the ideas of his own age. In the Satapatha Brähmana, Känya Säkhä (Adhvara Kända, i. 6) it is stated that the upper three castes only were Arvas and fit to offer sacrifice (ārya eea brāhmana vā kshattriyo vā vaisyo vā te hi yajniyāh) see Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 281.

On this verse Yaska remarks, Nirukta, iii. 8: "Gandhareāḥ pitaro devā asurā rakshāmsi" ity eko | "chatvāro varnā nishādaḥ panchamaḥ" ity Aupamanyavaḥ | "Some say the word denotes the Gandharvas, fathers, gods, asuras, and rakshases. Aupamanyava says it denotes the four castes and the Nishādas." "

If Aupamayava was right, the Nishādas also were admissible to the worship of the gods in the Vedic age, as the "five classes" are represented in various texts as votaries of Agni. Such are the following:

vi. 11, 4. Āyum na yam namasā rātahavyāḥ anjanti suprayasam paneha janāḥ |

"Agni, whom, abounding in oblations, the five tribes, bringing offerings, honour with prostrations, as if he were a man."

Sāyana here defines the five tribes as "priests and offerers of sacrifices" (ritvig-yajamāna-lakshanāḥ).

ix. 65, 22. Ye somasah . . sunvire . . | 23. Ye va janeshu panchasu |

mahām Indram yasmin višvā ā krishtayah somapāh kāmam avyan | "Praise the great Indra, in whom all the tribes drinking soma have obtained their desire."

22 Compare x. 60, 4. "In whose worship Ikshvaku prospers, wealthy and foe-destroying, like the five tribes in the sky (disrea pancha krishfayah). Sayana, however, renders "His five tribes (the four castes and the Nishadas) are as (happy as) if in heaven." Prof. Müller, Journ. Rov. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 462, renders, "as the five tribes in heaven."

23 In his note on this passage in his "Illustrations of the Nirukta," p. 28, Prof. Roth remarks: "The conception of the five races which originally comprehended all mankind... is here transferred to the totality of the divine beings. Hence also arises the diversity of understanding, when the number has to be indicated." Prof. Roth then quotes part of Aitareya Brühmana, iii. 31, which I give a little more fully from Dr. Hang's edition: Tünchajanyam vai etad uktham yad vais vadevam | sarveshäm vai etat panchojanänäm uktham aviat etat panchojanänäm uktham aviat panchojanänäm uktham aviat panchinyai janatäyai havino gachhanti ya evam eeda | "This Vais'vadeva uktha belongs to the five classes of beings. It belongs to all the five classes of gods, men, gandharvas and apsarases, serpents, and fathers. To these five classes gods, men, gandharvas and apsarases, know him (who uses it). Those of this five-fold set of beings who are skilled in invocation come to the man who knows this." See Dr. Hang's Ait. Br. ii. 214, where it is said that Gandharvas and Apsarases are counted as one class.

"Or those soma-libations which have been poured out . . (23) among the five tribes."

x. 45, 6. Vīļum chid adrim abhinat parāyan janāh yad agnim ayajanta pancha |

"He (Agni), travelling afar, clove even the strong mountain, when the five tribes worshipped Agni."

vii. 15, 2. Yah pancha charshanir abhi nishasāda dame dame | kavir grihapatir yuvā |

"The wise and youthful master of the house (Agni) who has taken up his abode among the five tribes in every house,"

In vi. 61, 12, Sarasvatī is spoken of as "augmenting or prospering the five tribes" (pancha jātā vardhayantī).

In viii. 52, 7, it is said: Yat pānchajanyayā višā Indre ghoshāḥ asrikshata | "When shouts were uttered to Indra by the people of the five tribes," etc.

In R.V. i. 117, 3, Atri is styled rishim panchajanyam, "a rishi belonging to the five tribes." In v. 32, 11, the epithet satpatih panchajanyah, "the good lord of the five tribes," is applied to Indra. And in ix. 66, 20, Agni is called the purified rishi, the priest of the five tribes (panchajayah purohitah)."

In other passages, however, it is far from clear that the "five races" are intended to be identified with the Aryas, or people of honourable race, to whom the authors of the hymns belonged. Such, perhaps, is the case in the following verse: ii. 2, 10. Armākam dyumnam adhi pancha krishfishu uchchā svar na šušuchīta dushturam | "May our glory shine aloft among the five tribes, like the heaven unsurpassable." See also vi. 46, 7, to be quoted below.

On the same subject, Professor Roth remarks as follows in his Lexicon under the word krishti: "The phrase five races is a designation of all nations, not merely of the Aryyan tribes. It is an ancient enumeration, of the origin of which we find no express explanation in the Vedio texts. We may compare the fact that the cosmical spaces or points of the compass are frequently enumerated as five, especially in

<sup>24</sup> See Mahabharata, iii. 14160, as referred to by Roth under jana, where the birth of a being of five colours, apparently a form of Agai, is described, who was generated by five rishis, and who was known as the god of the five tribes (pönchajanya) and the producer of five races.

the following text of the A.V. iii. 24, 2: imā yāḥ pancha pradiśo mānavih pancha krishtayaḥ | 'these five regions; the five tribes sprung
from Manu'; among which (regions) we should have here to reckon
as the fifth the one lying in the middle (dhruvā dik, A.V. iv. 14, 8;
xviii. 3, 34), that is, to regard the Aryyas as the central point, and
round about them the nations of the four regions of the world. . . . .
According to the Vedic usage, five cannot be considered as designating
an indefinite number."

We cannot therefore regard the use of the term "five races" as affording any evidence of the existence of a rigidly defined caste-system at the period when it was in frequent use. The frequent reference to such a division, which fell into disuse in later times, rather proves the contrary. The caste-system was always a quadruple, not a quintuple, one; and although the Nishādas are added by Aupamanyava as a fifth division of the population, this class was esteemed too degraded to allow us to suppose that they could ever have formed part of a universally recognized five-fold division, of which all the parts appear to be regarded as standing on an equal, or nearly equal, footing.

It is supposed by Dr. Kuhn<sup>25</sup> that the "five tribes" are to be identified with the clans whose names are mentioned in the following verse:

i. 108, 8. Yad Indragni Yadushu Turvašeshu yad Druhyushv Anushu Pūrushu sthah | ataḥ pari vrishaṇāv ā hi yātam athā somasya pibatam untasya |

"If, o Indra and Agni, ye are abiding among the Yadus, Turvasas, Druhyus, Anus, Pūrus,—come hither, vigorous heroes, from all quarters, and drink the Soma which has been poured out."

Although, however, these tribes are often mentioned separately in the Rig-veda, this is either the only, or almost the only, text in which they are all connected with one another. Their identity with the "five classes" is therefore doubtful.

There is another word employed in the Rig-veda to designate a race well known to the authors of the hymns, viz., nahush. We have already met with this term in a verse (x. 80, 6) I have quoted above, where it appears clearly to denote a tribe distinct from the descendants. of Manush; and the adjective derived from it occurs in vi. 46, 7 (=

<sup>29</sup> See Weber's Indische Studien, i. 202, where Dr. Kuhn's paper in the Hall. Allg. Lit. Z. for 1846, p. 1086, is referred to.

S.V. i. 262), where also the tribes of Nahush appear to be discriminated from the five tribes, whoever these may be supposed to be. The words are these: Yad Indra nāhushīshv ā ojo nrimnam cha krishīshu | yad vā pancha kshitīnām dyumnam ā bhara satrā viśrāni paumsyā | "Indra, whatever force or vigour exists in the tribes of Nahush, or whatever glory belongs to the five races, bring it (for us); yea all manly energies together."

Professor Roth (see his Lexicon, s. v.) regards the people designated by the word nahush as denoting men generally, but with the special sense of stranger, or neighbour, in opposition to members of the speaker's own community; and he explains the words of x. 80, 6, twice referred to above, as signifying "the sons of our own people, and of those who surround us."

These descendants of Nahush, whoever they may have been, are, however, distinctly spoken of in x. 80, 6 (the passage just adverted to), as worshippers of Agni, and can scarcely, therefore, have been regarded by the Aryas as altogether aliens from their race and worship.

Setting aside, as before, the Purusha Sūkta, there are few distinct references in the hymns of the Rig-veda to the creation of men, and none at all to the separate creation of castes. The following text ascribes the generation of mankind to Agni, R.V. i. 96, 2: Sa pūrvayā nividā kavyatā āyor imāḥ prajāḥ ajanayad manūnām | vivasvatā chakshasā dyām apaš cha devā Agnim dhārayan draviņodām | "By the first nivid, by the wisdom of Āyu, he (Agni) created these children of men; by his gleaming light the earth and the waters: the gods sustained Agni the giver of riches."

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa introduces this verse by the following passage: Prajāpatir vai idam eka eva agre āsa | so 'kāmayata " prajāyeya bhūyān syām" iti ; sa tapo 'tapyata | sa vācham ayachhat | sa sañvatsarasya parastād vyāharad dvādaša kriteaḥ | dvādašapadā vai eshā nivit | etām vāva tām nividam vyāharat | tām sarvāni bhūtāny aneasrijyanta | tad etad rishiḥ paśyann abhyanūvacha "sa pūrvayā" ityādinā | "Prajāpati alone was formerly this universe. He desired 'may I be propagated, and multiplied.' He practised austere fervour. He suppressed his voice. After a year he spoke twelve times. This nivid

<sup>\*</sup> See Dr. Haug's translation in his Ait, Br. ii. 143; and Benfey's German version in his Orient und Occident, ii. 512.

consists of twelve words. This nivid he uttered. After it all beings were created. Beholding this the rishi uttered this verse, 'by the first nivid,' '' etc.

The generation of "creatures" (prajāh) is ascribed in various texts to different gods, in iii. 55, 19 to Tvashtri Savitri; in ix. 86, 28 to Soma; in viii. 85, 6 (ya imā jajāna višvā jātāni) to Indra. In x. 54, 3 Indra is said to have "generated the father and mother (heaven and earth) from his own body" (yan mātaram cha pitaram cha sākam ajanayathās tanvah svāyāh); while Višvakarman, who in x. 81, 2, 3 is said to have generated heaven and earth, is also in x. 82, 3 called "our father and generator" (yo nah pitā janitā). All these passages are, however, too vague to afford us any insight into the ideas of their authors regarding the creation of the human race.

Sect. II.—Legends and Notices regarding Manu from the Satapatha, Aitareys, and Taittiriya Brāhmanas, the Taittiriya Sanhitā, and the Chhāndogya Upanishad.

The first passage which I adduce contains the very important legend of the deluge, which has already been quoted in the 2nd vol. of this work, pp. 324 ff., and which has also been rendered into English by Professor Max Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 425 ff.) and by Professor M. Williams (Ind. Epic Poetry, p. 34), as well as into German by its earliest translator, Professor Weber, in the year 1849 (Ind. Studien, i. 163 f.).

Satapatha Brühmana, i. 8, 1, 1. Manave he vai prātar avanegyam ndakam ājahrur yathā idam pānibhyām avanejanāya āharanti | evam tasya avanenijānasya matsyah pānī āpede | 2. Sa ha āsmai vācham uvāda "bibhrihi mā pārayishyāmi tvā" iti | "kasmād mā pārayishyasi" iti | "aughah imāh sarvāh prajāh nirvodhā tatas tvā pārayitāsmi" iti | "Katham te bhritir" iti | 3. Sa ha uvācha "yāvad vai kshullakāh bhavāmo bahvī vai nas tāvad nāshtrā bhavaty uta matsya eva matsyam gilati | kumbhyām mā agre bibharāsi | sa yadā tām ativarahā atha karshūm khātvā tasyām mā bibharāsi | sa yadā tām ativarahā atha mā samudram abhyavaharāsi | tarhi vai atināshtro bhavitāsmi" iti | 4. Sašead ha

<sup>27</sup> Perhaps, however, we are to understand Tvashtri's function of aiding in pro-

<sup>&</sup>quot; Sairat-i abdo 'tra samarthyat kshipra-vachanah .- Comm.

ihasha 19 asa sa hi iyeshtham 10 vardhate | " atha itithim saman tad aughah agantā tad mā nāvam upakalpya upāsāsai | sa aughe utthite nāvam āpadyāsai tatas tvā pārayitāsmi" iti | 5. Tam evam bhritvā samudram abhyavajahāra | sa yatithim tat samām paridideša tatithīm samām nāvam upakalpya upāsānchakre | sa aughe utthite nāvam āpede | tam sa matsyah upanyapupluve | tasya śringe navah paśam pratimumocha | tena etam uttaram girim " atidudrāva 10 | 6. Sa ha uvācha " apīparam vai tvā vrikshe navam pratibadhnishva | tum tu tva ma girau santam udakam antaschhaitsīd yāvad yāvad udakam samavāyāt tāvat tāvad anvavasarpāsi" iti | Sa ha tavat tavad eva anvavasasarpa | tud api etad uttarasya girer " Manor avasarpanam'i iti | augho ha tāh sarcāh prajāh niruvāha atha iha Manur eva ekah parišišishe | 7. Sah archan śrāmyamś chachara prajakāmah | tatra api pāka-vojnena ije | sa ghritam dadhi mastv āmikshām itu apsu Juhuvanchakara | tatah samvatsare yoshit sambabhava | sa ha pibdamana iva udeyāya | tasyai ha sma ghritam pade santishthate | tava Mitrā-Vorunau sanjagmāte | 8. Tām ha ūchatuh "kā asi" iti | "Manor duhitā" iti | "avayor brūshca" iti | "na" iti ha uvācha "yah eva mām ajījanata tasya eva aham asmi " iti | tasyam apiteam " ishate | tad va jamau tad vā na jajnāc to ati tu eca iyāya | sā Manum ājagāma | 9. Tām ha Manur wacha "kā asi" iti | "tava duhitā" iti | "katham bhaqavati mama duhita" iti | "yāh amūr spsu āhutīr ahaushīr ghritam dadhi maste amiksham tato mam ajljanathah | sa ašīr asmi tām mā vaine avakalpaya | yajne ched vai mā avakalpayishyasi bahuh prajayā pašubhir bhavishyasi yam u maya kancha asisham asasishyase sa te sarca samardhishyate" iti | tām etad madhye yajnasya avākalpayat | madhyam hi etad yojnasya yad antarā prayājānuyājān | 10. Tayā archan śrāmyams chachara prajakamah | taya imam prajatim prajajne ya iyam Manoh prajatih | yam u enaya kancha asisham asasta sa asmai sarva samardhyata | sā eshā nidanena yad Ida | sa yo ha evam vidvān Idayā charati elām ha eva prajātim prajāyate yam Manuh prajāyata | yam u enayā kāncha āśisham āśāste sā asmai sarvā samridhyate ;

"1. In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing, as

Jhasho mahā-matsyaḥ.—Comm.
 Jyeshṭham eriddhatamam.—Comm.
 Uttaraos girim Himovantam.—Comm.
 Some MSS, read adhidudrüssa,

<sup>25</sup> Piblamānā . . . ghrita-prabhavatvāt ghritam eravantī sumighdhā udakād utthitā.—Comm.

Apiteam bhāgaḥ | tam prārthitaeantau.—Comm.
 Pratijnātaeatī cha na cha pratijnātaeatī.—Comm.

men are in the habit of bringing it to wash with the hands. As he was thus washing, a fish came into his hands, (2) (which spake to him) 'preserve me; I shall save thee.' (Manu enquired) 'From what wilt thou save me?' (The fish replied) 'A flood shall sweep away all these creatures; " from it I will rescue thee.' (Manu asked) 'How (shall) thy preservation (be effected)?' 3. The fish said: 'So long as we are small, we are in great peril, for fish devours fish; thou shalt preserve me first in a jar. When I grow too large for the jar, then thou shalt dig a trench, and preserve me in that. When I grow too large for the trench, then thou shalt carry me away to the ocean. I shall then be beyond the reach of danger.' 4. Straightway he became a large fish; for he waxes to the utmost. (He said) 'Now in such and such a year, then the flood will come; thou shalt, therefore, construct a ship, and resort to me; thou shalt embark in the ship when the flood rises, and I shall deliver thee from it.' 5. Having thus preserved the fish, Manu carried him away to the sea. Then in the same year which the fish had enjoined, he constructed a ship and resorted to him. When the flood rose, Manu embarked in the ship. The fish swam towards him. He fastened the cable of the ship to the fish's horn. By this means he passed over 18 this northern mountain. 8 6. The fish said, 'I have delivered thee; fasten the ship to a tree. But lest the water should cut thee off whilst thou art on the mountain, as much as the water subsides, so much shalt thou descend after it.' He accordingly descended after it as much (as it subsided). Wherefore also this, viz., 'Manu's descent' is (the name) of the northern mountain. Now the flood had swept away all these creatures; so Manu alone was left here. 7. Desirous of offspring, he lived worshipping and toiling in arduous religious rites. Among these he also sacrificed with the paka offering. He cast clarified butter, thickened milk, whey and curds, as an oblation into the waters. Thence in a year a woman was produced. She rose

Bhūcino 'rthasya siddhyartham deratā sea matsya-rūpens ājagāma | "To accomplish what was to follow, it was a deity which came in the form of a fish."—Comm.

W Aughah udaka-sanghātah | sa imāh Bharatavarsha-nivāsinīh prajāh nihissham vedhā | desāntaram prāpayitā | "The flood will entirely carry these creatures abiding in Bharatavarsha;—will convey them to another country."—Comm.—I do not see why the verb nirvodhā should have the sense here assigned to it: at all events we are afterwards told that Manu alone was left after the flood.

Or, if adhidudrāva be the true reading, "he hastened to."
 The Himayat or Himālaya, according to the Commentator.

up as it were unctuous. Clarified butter adheres to her steps. Mitra and Varuna met her. They said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Manu's daughter,' (she replied). 'Say (thou art) ours,' (they rejoined). 'No,' she said, 'I am his who begot me.' They desired a share in her. She promised that, or she did not promise that; but passed onward. She came to Manu. 9. Manu said to her, 'Who art thou?' 'Thy daughter,' she replied. 'How, glorious one,' asked Manu, '(art thou) my daughter?' 'Thou hast generated me,' she said, 'from those oblations, butter, thick milk, whey and curds, which thou didst cast into the waters. I am a benediction. Apply me in the sacrifice. If thou wilt employ me in the sacrifice, thou shalt abound in offspring and cattle. Whatever benediction thou wilt ask through me, shall accrue to thee.' He (accordingly) introduced her (as) that (which comes in) the middle of the sacrifice; for that is the middle of the sacrifice which (comes) between the introductory and concluding forms. 10. With her he lived worshipping and toiling in arduous religious rites, desirous of offspring. With her he begot4 this offspring which is this offspring of Manu.4º Whatever benediction he asked with her, was all vouchsafed to him. This is essentially that which is Ida. Whosoever, knowing this, lives with Ida, begets this offspring which Manu begot. Whatever benediction he asks with her, is all vouchsafed to him."

40 Such is the rendering of pibdamana given by the Commentator, who is followed by Professors Weber and Müller. Professor Roth in his Lexicon, s. r., explains it by "firm," i.s. "the woman arose solid out of the fluid mass."

et Compare Taitt. Sanhita, v. 1, 5, 6. "S'iro bhava prajabhyam" ily aha prajabhya eva enam šamayati | "mänushībhyas tvām angirah" ity ūka mānaeyo hi prajāh | " He says, 'be auspicious to the twain offspring;' for he pacifies him from (injuring) the offspring. He says, '(We pacify) thee from (injuring) the human offspring, o Angiras.' For creatures are descended from Manu."

<sup>44</sup> I should observe that the same verb (prajajne) by which the generative act of Manu is here described, is in other passages of the same Brahmann (ii. 2, 4, 1; ii. 5, 1, 1; vi. 1, 1, 8; vi. 1, 3, 1; vii. 5, 2, 6; xi. 5, 8, 1) applied in another tense to the god Prajapati, of whom it is said that he considered how he should beget progeny (sa aikshata ' katham nu prajayeya). (Compare xi. 1, 6, 1.) In other parts of the same work, however, it is said that Prajapati evented (arrijata) the waters (vi. 1, 1, 9), or creatures (projah asrijata, vii. 4, 3, 5; x. 2, 2, 1); and the fact of the word "beget" being applied to Prajapati, either in a figurative, or anthropomorphic sense, does not authorize us to suppose that the author of the S'atapatha Brahmana, in the passage before as (the legend of the delage), intended to represent Mann as the creator of the human race, and not as their progenitor in the natural sense. (In R.V. ii, 32, 1: vi. 70, 3, we find the phrase prajoyemahi prajobhih | pra prajobhir joyate | " let us beget children," " he begets children.")

From this interesting legend we learn that, according to its author's belief, Manu was not the creator of mankind, as some later accounts considered him to have been, but himself belonged to an earlier race of living beings, which was entirely destroyed by the deluge which is described. The legend regards him as a representative of his generation, who, for some reason, perhaps his superior wisdom, or sanctity, or position, was selected out of the crowd of ordinary mortals to be rescued from the impending destruction. That he was regarded as a mere man, and not as a being of a superior order, is shown by the fact of his requiring the aid of a higher power to preserve him. A supernatural fish, apparently some divine person, conceived as taking the form of a creature which would be perfectly secure and at home in the midst of the raging waters, undertook to deliver him, and guided the ship on which he was directed to embark, through all dangers to its destined haven. No one but Manu took refuge in the ship, for he alone, the story expressly records, was preserved, while all the other living beings were overwhelmed. Finding himself the sole surviver when the waters subsided, he became desirous of progeny; and with intense devotion performed certain religious rites in the hope of realizing his wish through their efficacy. As a result of his oblations, a woman arose from the waters into which they had been cast. A male and a female now existed, the destined parents of a new race of men who sprang from their union, - a union the fruitfulness of which was assured by their assiduous practice of sacred ceremonies. From Manu and Ida, we are expressly told, the race known as that of Manu, i.e. the race of men, was produced. The legend says nothing whatever of this race being originally characterized by any distinction of eastes, or about four sons, the ancestors of Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras being born to Manu and Ida. We must therefore suppose that the author of the legend intends to represent the early race of mankind, or at least the first inhabitants of Bharatavarsha, as descended from one common progenitor without any original varieties of caste, however different the professions and social position of their descendants afterwards became. We are consequently entitled to regard this legend of the Satapatha Brahmana as at variance with the common fable regarding the separate origin of the Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras.

The following are some other passages in which Manu and Ida are both referred to:

Taitt. S. ii. 6, 7, 1. Manuh prithivyāh yajniyam aichhat | sa ghritam nishiktam avindat | so 'bravīt "ko 'sya īśvaro yajno 'pi karttor" iti | tāv abrūtām Mitrā-Varuṇau "gor eva āvām īśvarau karttoh svah" iti | tau tato gām śamairayatām | sā yatra yatra nyakrāmat tato ghritam apīḍyata | tasmād ghritapadī uchyate | tad asyai janma | . . . 3. Idām upahvayate | paśavo vai Idā | paśūn eva upahvayate | chatur upahvayate | chatushpādo hi paśavah | "Mānavī" ity āha | Manur hy etām agre 'paśyat | "ghritapadī" ity āha | yad esa asyai padād ghritam apīḍyata tasmād evam āha | "Maitrāvaruṇī" ity āha | Mitrāvaruṇau hy enām samairayatām |

"Manu sought whatever upon earth was fit for sacrifice. He found butter poured out. He said, 'Who has power to employ this in sacrifice also?' Mitra and Varuna replied, 'We two have power to employ the cow.' They then sent forth the cow. Wherever she went forth, butter was pressed out. Hence she is called the 'butter-footed.' This is her birth . . . . 3. He calls upon Idā. Animals are Idā. He calls upon animals. He calls upon them four times. For animals are four-footed. He says 'Manavi.' For Manu first saw her. He says 'Butter-footed.' He says so, because butter was pressed from her foot. He says 'Maitrāvarunī.' For Mitra and Varuna sent her forth." (Comp. Taitt. Br. iii. 7, 5, 6.)

Taitt. Br. i. 1, 4, 4. Idā vai Mānavī yajnānukāšiny a āsīt | sā 'śrinod "Asurā agnim adadhate" iti . . . | 6. Sā 'bravīd Idā Manum "tathā vai aham tava agnim ādhāsyāmi yathā pra prajayā pašubhir mithunair janishyase praty asmin loke sthāsyasi abhi suvargam lokam jeshyasi" iti | gārhapatyam agre ādadhāt | . . . . gārhapatyena eva asmai prajām pašūn prājanayat |

"Ida, the daughter of Manu, was a revealer of sacrifice. She heard, the Asuras are placing fire.' . . . 6. Ida said to Manu, 'I shall so place thy fire that thou shalt increase in offspring, cattle, and twins; thou shalt be firmly established in this world, and shalt conquer the heavenly world.' She first placed the garhapatya fire. It was

& Yajna-tattea-prakaiana-samartha. -- Comm.

<sup>44</sup> Compare the Kathaka Br. viii. 4, quoted in Weber's Indische Studien, iii. 463, where Ida is said to have promised to Manu: tathā to Agnim ādhāsyāmi yathā ma-

through the garhapatya that she produced for him offspring and cattle."

Taitt. S. i. 7. 1, 3. Sarcena vai yajnena devāḥ suvargam lokam āyan | pākayajnena Manur aśrāmyat | sā Idā Manum upāvarttata | tām devāsurāḥ vyahvayanta pratichim devāḥ parāchim Asurāḥ | sā devān upāvarttata |

"The gods arrived at the heavenly world by the whole sacrifice. Manu worshipped with the pākayajna. That Idā came to Manu. The gods and asuras called her away in different directions, the gods in front, the asuras behind. She came to the gods."

The following texts refer to Manu alone, as a celebrator of religious ceremonies:

Taitt. S. ii. 5, 9, 1. "Agne mahān asi" ity āha | mahān hy esha yad Agniḥ | "brāhmaṇa" ity āha | brāhmaṇo hy esha | "bhārata" ity āha | esha hi devebhyo havyam bharati | "deveddha" ity āha | devāh hy etam aindhata | "Manviddha" ity āha | Manur hy etam uttaro devebhyaḥ aindha |

"He says, 'Agni, thou art great.' For this Agni is great. He says, 'o Brahman.' For he is a Brahmam. He says, 'o Bharata.' For he bears the oblation to the gods. He says, 'kindled by the gods.' For the gods kindled him. He says, 'kindled by Manu.' For Manu kindled him after the gods.'

Taitt. S. vi. 2, 5, 2 f. Trivrato vai Manur asīd dvivratā asurā ekavratā devāh | prātar madhyandine sāyam tud Manor vratam āsīt pākayajnasya rūpam pushtyai | prātašcha sāyāncha asurānām nirmadhyam kuhūdho rūpam | tatas te parābhavan | madhyandine madhyarāttre devānām tatas te 'bhavan suvargam lokam āyan |

"Manu performed three rites; the asuras two; the gods one. Manu's rite was in the morning, at noon, and in the evening, the form of a pakayajna for neurishment. That of the asuras was in the morning and evening, without any midday rite, a form of hunger. Hence they perished. That of the gods was at midday and midnight. Hence they prospered, and arrived at the heavenly world."

Taitt. S. vii. 5, 15, 3. Etayā (i.e. abhijityā) vai Indram devāḥ ayājayan | tasmād "Indrasavaḥ" | etayā Manum manushyāḥ | tasmād "Manu-savaḥ" |

nuckyŭ decan upoprajanishyante | "I will so place Agni for thee, than men shall be born among the gods."

yathā Indro devānām yathā Manur manushyāṇām eva bhavati yaḥ evam vidvān etayā ishṭyā yajate |

"With this (abhijiti) the gods sacrificed for Indra. Hence it is called 'Indra-sava.' Men sacrificed with it for Manu. Hence it is called 'Manu-sava.' As Indra is among gods, and Manu among men, so he becomes who thus knowing sacrifices with this oblation."

In Taitt. S. ii. 2, 10, 2, we find nearly the words which Kullüka quotes on Manu's Institutes, i. 1: Yad vai kincha Manur avadat tad bheshajam | "Whatever Manu said was a remedy."

In Satapatha Br. vi. 6, 1, 19, Manu is called a Prajāpati: "Prajāpataye Manave svāhā" iti | Prajāpatir vai Manuh | sa hi idam sarvam
amanuta | Prajāpatir vai etad agre karma akarot | "Svāhā to Manu
the lord of creatures. Manu is a lord of creatures (prajā-pati) for he
thought (amanuta) all this. The lord of creatures (prajā-pati) formerly
did all this work."

The following story in its different versions also connects Manu with religious observances and represents him as very devout:

S. P. Br. i. 1, 4, 14 ff. Manor he vai rishabhah asa | tasminn asuraghnī sapatna-ghnī vāk pravishţā āsa | tasya ha sma śvasathād ravathād asura-rākshasāni mridyamānāni yanti | te ha asurāh samūdire " pāpam vata no 'yam rishabhah sachate katham ne imam dabhnuyama" iti | "Kīlātākulī" iti ha asura-brahmāv āsatuḥ | tau ha ūchatuḥ " śraddhādevo vai Manuh | āvām nu vedāva" iti | tau ha āgatya ūchatur " Mano yājayāva tvā" iti | "kena" iti | "anena rishabhena" iti | "tathā" iti | tasya alabdhasya sa vag apachakrama | sa Manor eva jayam Manavim praviveśa | tasyai ha sma yatra vadantyai śrincanti tato ha sma eva asura-rākshasāni mridyamānāni yanti | te ha asurāk samūdire " ito vai nah papiyah sachate bhuyo hi manushi vag vadati" iti | Kilatakuli ha eva achatuh " áraddha-devo vai Manur avam no eva vedava" iti | tau ha agatya üchatur " Mano yajayava tva" iti | " kena" iti | " enaya eva jāyayā" iti | "tathā" iti | tasyai ālabdhāyai sā vāg apachakrāma sā yajnam eva yajna-pātrāņi praviveša | tato ha enām na šekatur nirhantum | sā eshā asura-ghnī vāg udvadati | sa yasya ha evam vidushah etām atra vācham pratyudeādayanti pāpīyāmso ha eca asya sapatnāh bhavanti |

"Manu had a bull. Into it an Asura-slaying, enemy-slaying voice had entered. In consequence of this (bull's) snorting and bellowing, Asuras and Rakshasas were continually destroyed. Then the Asuras said: 'This bull, alas, does us mischief; how shall we overcome him?' Now there were two priests of the Asuras called Kilāta and Akuli. They said: 'Manu is a devout believer: let us make trial of him.' They went and said to him, 'let us sacrifice for thee.' 'With what (victim)?' he asked. 'With this bull,' they replied. 'Be it so,' he answered. When it had been slaughtered, the voice departed out of it, and entered into Manu's wife Manavi. Wherever they hear her speaking, the Asuras and Rākshasas continue to be destroyed in consequence of her voice. The Asuras said: 'She does us yet more mischief; for the human voice speaks more.' Kilata and Akuli said, 'Manu is a devout believer: let us make trial of him.' They came and said to him, 'Manu, let us sacrifice for thee.' 'With what (victim)?" he asked. 'With this (thy) wife,' they replied. 'Be it so,' he answered. When she had been slaughtered the voice departed out of her and entered into the sacrifice and the sacrificial vessels. Thence they were unable to expel it. This is the Asura-slaying voice which speaks out (when the two stones are struck with the samya, as a part of the ceremonial). Wretched become the enemies of that man for whom, when he knows this, they cause this voice here to reverberate."

Taitt. Br. iii. 2, 5, 9. Manoh śraddhä-devasya yajamānasya asura-ghnī vāg yajnāyudheshu pravishtā āsīt | te 'surāh yāvanto yajnāyudhānām udvadatām upāśrinvans te parābhavan |

"An asura-slaying voice had entered into the sacrificial implements of the devout believer and sacrificer Manu. The Asuras, as many as heard the sacrificial implements sounding, were overcome."

Kāthaka Br. ii. 30, 1.4 Manor vai kapālāny āsan | tair yāvato yāvato 'surān abhyupādadhāt te parābhavan | atha tarhi Trishthā-varātrī oāstām asura-brahmau | tā asurāh abruvann "imāni shat kapālāni yāchethām" iti | tau prataritvānā abhiprāpadyetām "Vāyave Agne Vāyave Indra" iti | "kimkāmau sthah" ity abravīt | "imāni nau kapālāni dehi" iti | tāny ābhyām adadāt | tāny aranyām parāhritya samapimshtām | tad Manor gāvo 'bhivyatishthanta | tāni rishabhah samalet | tasya ruvato yāvanto 'surāh upāśrinvams te parābhavan |

<sup>45</sup> Extracted from Weber's Indische Studien, iii. 461 f. A translation of this, as well as of the next passage, is given by Prof. Weber in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. xviii. 284 ff.
48 Roth in his Lexicon s. v. reads Trishnāvarūtrī.

tau prātaritvānā abhiprāpadyetām "Vāyave Agne Vāyave Indra" iti | "kimkāmau sthah" ity abravīt | "anena teā rishabhena yājayāva" iti | tat patnīm yajur vadantīm pratyapadyata | tasyāh dyām vāg ātishthat | tasyāh vadantyāh yāvanto 'surāh upāśrinvams te parābhavan | tasmād naktam strī chandrataram vadati | tau prātaritvānā abhiprāpadyetām "Vāyave Agne Vāyave Indra" iti | "kimkāmau sthah" ity abravīt | "anayā teā patnyā yājayava" iti | sā paryagnikritā āsīt | atha Indro 'chayad " Manvam śraddhādevam Trishthāvarūtrī asura-brahmau jäyayä vyardhayatam" iti | sa ügachhat | so 'bravīd " äbhyām tvā yājayāni" iti | "na" ity abravīd "na vai aham anayor īśe" iti | atithipatir vava atither ise" ity abravit | tā asmai prāyaschhat | sa prativešo vedim kurvann asta | ta aprišchhatam "ko'si" iti | "brahmanah" iti | "kutamo brāhmanah" iti | "kim brāhmanasya pitaram kim u priehhasi mataram | śrutam ched asmin vedyam sa pita sa pitamahah" iti | tā avittām "Indro vai" iti | tau prāpatatām | tayor yāh prokshanīr āpah āsams tābhir anuvisrijya šīrsho ašchhinat | tau vrishaš cha yavāshaš cha abhavatām | tarmāt tau varsheshu śushyatah | adbhir hi hatau | tām paryagnikritam udasrijat | taya "rdhnot | tah imah Manavyah prajah | yat paryagni-kritam patnicatam utsrijati yam eca Manur riddhim ardhnot tam ridhnoti |

"Manu had platters. All the Asuras, against whom he laid out the sacrifice with these were destroyed. Now Trishtha and Varütri were at that time the priests of the Asuras. The Asuras said to them, 'ask for these six platters.' These two arrived as morning guests, repeating the formula, 'To Vāyu, o Agni, to Vāyu, o Indra.' 'What do you desire?' asked Manu. 'Give us these platters,' they replied. He gave them to them. Taking them they smashed them in the forest. Then Manu's cattle were standing round. The bull licked the platters. As many Asuras as heard him bellowing were destroyed. The two Asura priests came as morning guests, repeating the formula, 'To Vayu, o Agni, to Vayu, o Indra.' 'What do you desire?' enquired Manu. 'Let us sacrifice for thee with this bull,' they answered. He then came to his wife who was uttering a yajosh. Her voice reached to the sky. As many Asuras as heard her speaking were destroyed. Hence a woman speaks more pleasantly by night. The two Asura priests arrived as morning guests, repeating the formula, 'To Vayu, o Agui, to Vayu, o Indra.' 'What do you desire?' asked Manu. 'Let us sacrifice for thee with

this thy wife (as the victim),' they replied. The fire was carried round her. Then Indra perceived, 'Trishtha and Varutri, the two Asura priests are depriving the devout believer Manu of his wife.' He came and said (to Manu), 'Let me sacrifice for thee with these two Asura priests (for victims).' 'No,' answered Manu, 'I am not their master.' 'The host is master of the guest,' rejoined Indra. Manu then gave them to him. (Standing) near them he was making an altar. They asked 'Who art thou?' 'A Brahman,' he replied. 'What (class of) Brahman, they enquired. He rejoined (with a verse), 'Why askest thou the father or the mother of a Brahman? If Vedic tradition, is to be discovered in him, that is his father, that his grandfather.' They knew, 'this is Indra.' They fled. He threw after them the water which was there for consecration, and therewith cut off their heads. They became, (the one) a vrisha, (the other) a yavāsha plant. Hence these (two plants) wither in the rains, because they were killed with water. He released her (Manu's wife) after the fire had been carried round her. By her he prospered. These are the creatures sprung from Manu. Whenever a man releases the victim offered to Agni Patnīvata, after fire has been carried round it, he prospers with the same prosperity with which Manu prospered."

Compare with this a passage of the Taitt. Sanh. vi. 6, 6, 1. Indrah patniyā Manum ayājayat | tām paryagnikritām udasrijat | tayā Manur ārdhnot | yat paryagnikritam pātnīvatam utsrijati yām eva Manur riddhim ārdhnot tām eva yajamāna ridhnoti |

"Indra was sacrificing for Manu with his wife (as the victim). He released her after the fire had been carried round her. By her Manu prospered. Whenever the worshipper releases the victim offered to Agni Pātnīvata after fire has been carried round it, he prospers with the same prosperity with which Manu prospered."

I quote the following passages also from the interest which they possess as relating to a personage so ancient and venerable as Manu is reputed to be:

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, v. 14. Nābhānedishtham vai Mānavam brahmacharyyam vasantam bhrātaro nirabhajan | so 'bravīd etyn "kim mahyam abhākta" iti | "etam eva nishthāvam avavaditāram" ity abruvan | tasmād ha apy etarhi pitaram putrāḥ "nishthāvo 'vavaditā' ity eva āchakshate | sa pitaram etya abravīt "tvām ha vāva mahyam tata abhākskur" iti | tam pita 'bravid "ma putraka tad adrithah | Angiraso vai ime svargāya lokāya satram āsats | te shashtham shashtham eva ahar āgatya muhyanti | tan ete sukte zhazhthe 'hani samsaya | tezham yat sahazram satra-pariveshanam tat te svar yanto dasyanti" iti | " tatha" iti | tan upait "pratigribhnīta Mānavam sumedhasah" iti | tam abruvan "kimkāmo vadasi" iti | "idam eva vah shashtham ahah projnāpayāni" ity abravid "atha yad vai etat sahasram satra-pariveshanam tad me war yanto datta" iti | " tatha" iti | tan ete eukte shashthe 'hany asamsayat | tato vai te pra yajnam ajanan pra svargam lokam | tad yad ete sukte shashthe 'hani samsati yamasya prajnatyai svargasya lokasya anukhyatyai | tam svar yanto 'bruvann "etat te brahmana sahasram" iti | tad enam samākuruāṇam purushah krishņaša-vāsy uttaratah upotthāya abravīd " mama vai idam mama vai castuham" iti | so'bravid "mahyam vai idam adur" iti | tam abravit "tad vai nau tava eva pitari prasnah" iti | sa pitaram ait | tam pità 'bravid " nanu te putraka adur " iti | " adur eva me" ity abravit " tat tu me purushah krishnasa-väsy uttaratah upodatishthat 'mama vai idam mama vai västuham' iti adita" iti | tam pita 'bravit " tasya eva putraka | tat tubhyam sa dasyati" iti | sa punar etya abravīt "tava ha vāva kila bhagavah idam iti me pitā āha" iti | so 'bravit " tad aham tubhyam eva dadami yah eva satyam avadir" iti | tasmād evam vidushā satyam eva vaditavyam | sa esha sahasra-sanir mantro yad nabhanedishtham | upa enam sahasram namati pra shashthena ahnā svargam lokam jānāti yah evam veda | 47

"The brothers of Nabhanedishtha disinherited him whilst he was living in the state of a Brahmacharin. Coming (to them) he said: 'What share have you given to me?' They replied, '(we have given thee) this judge and divider (as thy share).' In consequence sons even now speak of their father as the 'judge and divider.' He came to his father and said, 'Father, they have given thee to me as my share.' His father answered, 'Do not, my son, care about that. These Angirases are performing a sacrifice in order to (secure) the heavenly world; but as often as they come to the sixth day (of the ceremony) they become perplexed. Make them recite these two hymns (R.V. x. 61 and 62) on the sixth day; and when they are going to heaven, they will give

<sup>47</sup> This passage has been already translated into German by Prof. R. Roth, Journal of the German Oriental Society, vi. 244, and into English by Prof. Max Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 423 f., and by Dr. M. Haug in his Ait. Br. vol. ii. p. 341 f.

thee that provision of a thousand " which has been made for the sacrifice.' He said, 'So be it.' He approached them, saying, 'Receive me. the son of Manu, ye sages.' They replied, 'With what object dost thou speak?' He said, 'Let me make known to you this sixth day; and then you shall give me this sacrificial provision of a thousand, when ye are going to heaven.' 'Let it be so,' they answered. He made them repeat these two hymns on the sixth day. They then knew the sacrifice, and the heavenly world. Hence when any one repeats these two hymns on the sixth day, it is with a view to a knowledge of the sacrifice, and to the revelation of the heavenly world. When they were going to the heavenly world, they said to him, 'This thousand, o Brahman, " is thine.' As he was collecting (the thousand) a man in dark clothing rose up before him from the north, and said. 'This is mine; what remains on the spot is mine.' Nabhanedishtha replied: 'But they have given it to me.' (The man) rejoined: 'It belongs to (one of) us; let thy father be asked.' He went to his father, who enquired: 'Have they not given thee (the thousand), my son?' 'They did give it to me,' he replied, 'but a man in dark clothes rose up before me from the north, and took it from me, saying, 'This is mine; what remains on the spot is mine." His father said: 'It is his; but he will give it to thee.' He returned, and said (to the man): 'This is thine, reverend sir, so my father says.' (The man) replied: 'I will give it to thee, who hast spoken the truth.' Wherefore one who-has this knowledge should speak only truth. That is a hymn which bestows a thousand, that Nabhanedishtha hymn. A thousand falls to his lot, he knows the heavenly world on the sixth day-the man who knows this."

Taittirīya Sunhitā, iii. 1, 9, 4. Manuh putrebhyo dāyum vyabhajat | sa Nābhānedishtham brahmacharryam vasantam nirabhajat | sa āgachhat | so 'bravīt '' kathā mā nirabhāg'' iti | "na tvā nirabhāksham'' ity abravīd '' Angirasah ime satram āsate te suvargam lokam na prajānanti | tebhyah idam brāhmanam brūhi | te suvargam lokam yanto ye eshām paśavas tāms te dāsyanti'' iti | tad ebhyo'bravīt | te suvargam

<sup>48</sup> See R.V. x. 62, 7.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The application of this title to Nübhänedishtha is to be remarked, as his father Manu is recorded in the Puranic legends as ancestor of the solar race of kings. See the passage from the M. Bh. i. 3136 ff., quoted above, p. 126.

lokam yanto ye esham paśavah asams tan asmai adaduh | tam paśubhiś charantam yajna-vastau Rudrah agachhat | so'bravīt "mama vai ime paśavah" iti | "adur vai mahyam imān" ity abravīt | "na vai tasya to īśate" ity abravīt | "yad yajnavāstau hīyate mama vai tad" iti | tasmād yājnavāstu na abhyavetyam | so 'bravīt | "yajne mā bhaja atha to paśūn na abhimamsye" iti | tasmai etam manthinah samsrāvam ajuhot | tato vai tasya Rudro paśūn na abhyamanyata | yatra etam eva vidvān manthinah samsrāvam juhoti na tatra Rudrah paśūn abhimanyate |

"Manu divided his property among his sons. He disinherited his son Nābhānedishtha who was living as a Brahmachārin. He came and said, 'How hast thou disinherited me?' 'I have not disinherited thee,' replied (his father); 'these Angirases are celebrating a sacrifice; they do not know the heavenly world; declare to them this Brahmana; and when they are going to heaven, they will give thee the cattle they have.' He declared the Brahmana to them, and when they were going to heaven they gave him the cattle they had. Rudra came to him as he was on the place of sacrifice employed with the cattle and said: 'These are my cattle.' 'But,' replied Nabhanedishtha, 'they have given them to me.' 'They have not power to do so : that which is left on the place of sacrifice is mine,' answered Rudra. Hence the place of sacrifice must not be approached. (Rudra further) said : 'Give me a share in the sacrifice, and I shall not injure thy cattle.' He offered him this libation of soma and flour. Then Rudra did not injure his cattle. Whenever any one knows this libation of soma and flour and offers it up, Rudra does not injure his cattle."100

A passage, quoted above, p. 26 f., from the Taittirīya Sanhitā, vi. 5,

The reader who knows German, and wishes to see an able discussion of the question, whether the legend of Nābhānedishtha, as given in the Aitareya Brāhmana, has any real connection with the two hymns of the Rig-veda (x. 61 and 62) which are referred to in it, and whether it contains any reminiscence, or symbolical representation, of ancient historical events, may consult Prof. Roth's paper on the subject, in the 6th vol. of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, pp. 243 ff. The learned writer settles both questions in the negative, maintaining that the legend is manufactured out of certain misinterpreted allusions in the hymns, with the view of asserting the superiority of priestly knowledge to earthly power and worldly wealth, and that there never existed either a Nābhānedishtha or a Manu. The object which I have in view in the collection of these texts does not require that I should express any opinion on these points. I only seek to ascertain what were the traditions received by the most ancient Indian writers themselves regarding the origin of their race, and not what was the historical value of those traditions.

6, 1 ff., may perhaps also be considered as affirming the descent of men from Manu when it declares them to be the offspring of Vivasvat; since the latter is regarded as the father of Manu.

In the Chhandogya Upanishad, iii. 11, 4 (p. 178 of Bibliotheca Indica, vol. iii.) the following reference to Manu occurs:

Tad ha etad Brahmā Prajāpataye Prajāpatir Manave Manuḥ prajābhyaḥ | tad ha etad Uddālakāya Āruņaye putrāya jyeshṭhāya pitā brahma provācha |

"This (doctrine) Brahmā declared to Prajāpati, Prajāpati to Manu, Manu to (his) offspring. This sacred truth was declared to his eldest son Uddālaka Aruni by his father."

The first half of this passage is repeated in viii. 15, 1, of the same work (p. 625).

In his commentary on the former of the two passages, Sunkara Acharyya gives this explanation:

Brahmā Hiranyagarbho Virāje Prajāpataye weācha | so 'pi Manave | Manur Iksheākv-ādibhyaḥ prajābhyaḥ provācha |

"Brahmā Hiranyagarbha declared it to the Prajāpati Virāj; he to Manu; and Manu declared it to his descendants Ikshvāku and the rest."

In his note on the second passage, viii. 15, 1, he varies somewhat in his explanation of the personages by whom the doctrine was transmitted:

Bruhmā Hiranyagarbhah Parameśvaro vā tad-dvārena Prajāpataye Kaśyapāya uvācha | asāv api Manave sva-putrāya | Manuh prajābhyah |

"Brahmā Hiranyagarbha, or the supreme Lord (Parameśvara) through his instrumentality, declared it to the Prajāpati Kaśyapa; he to his son Manu; Manu to his descendants."

In these two passages of the Chhāndogya Upanishad Brahmā is distinguished from Prajāpati, and Prajāpati from Manu, who again is said to have handed down the doctrine, not to any one person in particular, but "to the offspring," or "descendants" (prajābhyaḥ), apparently his own descendants. This Upanishad therefore seems to coincide in the doctrine of the hymns, and of the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, that Manu was the progenitor of mankind. The Commentator, it will have been noticed, in one place delares that Prajāpati is identifiable with Virāj, and again that Kaśyapa is to be understood under that appellation. Virāj and Kaśyapa are not, however, generally regarded as the same.

Nor is Kaśyapa commonly considered to be Manu's father. In the passages from the Rāmāyana, ii. 110, and Mahābhārata, quoted above, pp. 115 and 126, Kaśyapa is said to be the father of Vivasvat, and he again of Manu.

However this may be, as Manu is said to have handed down the sacred tradition to his descendants, we must suppose that those descendants included the whole of the progenitors of the Aryan Indians who were worthy of being made the depositaries of such a tradition; and must therefore conclude that the Chhāndogya Upanishad agrees with the passage quoted above, p. 126, from the Mahābhārata, in recognizing Manu as the progenitor of the Brāhmans, as well as the other castes.

## SECT. III.—Extracts from the Mahabharata regarding Mause.

I have already adduced in the preceding chapter, page 126, an important passage of the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan verses 3128 ff., in which Manu Vaivasvata is expressly declared to have been the progenitor of mankind including the four castes. A legend of the deluge, corresponding to the one which has been adduced from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa, in the last section, is also to be found in the Vana-parvan of the Mahābhārata, and although it does not represent Manu as the parent from whom the human race was reproduced, but as the creator by whom the world was renewed, after the flood, I shall extract the entire text. Its style of narration is tedious, when compared with the quaint brevity of the Brāhmaṇa; but I shall condense it as much as possible in the translation. It begins thus, verse 12747:

Mārkandeya uvācha | Vicawatah suto rājan maharshih suprātāpacān | babhāva nara-śārdūla Prajāpati-sama-dyutih | ojasā tejasā lakshmyā tapasā cha višeshatah | atichakrāma pitaram Manuh svam cha pitāmaham | ūrddhva-bāhur višālāyām Badaryām sa narādhipah | eka-pāda-sthitas tīvram chachāra sumahat tapah | 12750. Avāk-širās tathā chāpi netrair animishair dridham | so 'tapyata tapo ghoram varshānām ayutam tadā | tam kadāchit tapasyantam ūrdrachīram jatā-dharam | Chīrinī-tīram āgamya matsyo vachanam abravīt | "bhagavan kshudra-matsyo 'smi balavadbhyo bhayam mama | matsyebhyo hi tato mām tvam trātum arhasi suverata | durbalam balavanto hi matsyam matsyā višeshatah | āsvadanti sudā vrittir vihitā nah sanātanī | tasmād bhayaughād mahato majjantam mām višeshatah | trātum arhasi karttāsmi krite pratikrītām tava'' | 12755.

Sa matsya-vachanam śrutva kripaya 'bhipariplutah | Manur Vaivasvato grihnāt tam matsyam pāninā reayam | udakāntam upānīya matsyam Vaivasvato Manuh | alinjire prākshipat tam chandrāmśu - sadriša prabhe | sa tatra vavridhe rajan matsyah parama - satkritah | putravat svikarot tasmai Manur bhavam višeshatah | atha kalena mahata sa malsyah sumahan abhut | alinjire yatha chaiva nasau samabhavat kila | atha matsyo Manum drishtva punar evabhyabhashata | "bhagavan sādhu me 'dyānyat sthānam sampratipādaya" | 12760. Uddhrityälinjirät tasmät tatah sa bhagavän Manuh | tam matsyam anayad vāpīm mahatīm sa Manus tadā | tatra tam prākshipach chāpi Manuh para-puranjaya | athāvarddhata matsyah sa punar varsha-ganān bahūn | dvi-yojanāyatā vāpī vistritā chāpi yojanam | tasyām nāsau samabhavat matsyo rajiva-lochanah | vicheshtitum cha Kaunteya matsyo vapyäm visampate | Manum matsyas tato drishtva punar eväbhyabhashata | " naya mām bhagavan sādho samudra-mahishīm priyām | Gangām tatra nivatsyāmi yathā vā tāta mānyase | 12765. Nideše hi mayā tubhyam sthātavyam anasūyatā | vriddhir hi paramā prāptā tvat-krite hi mavā 'nagha'' | evam ukto Manur matsyam anayad bhagavān vašī | nadīm Gangām tatra chainam svayam prākshipad achyutah | sa tatra vavridhe matsyah kanchit kalam arindama | tatah punar Manum drishtea matsyo vachanam abravīt | "Gangāyām na hi śaknomi brihatvāch cheshtitum prabho | samudram naya mām āśu prasīda bhagavann" iti | uddhritya Gangā-salilāt tato matsyam Manuh svayam | samudram anayat pārtha tatra chainam avāsrijat | 12770. Sumahān api matsyas tu sa Manor nayatas tadā | āsīd yatheshta-hāryyaścha sparša-gandha-sukhašcha vai | yadā samudre prakshiptah sa matsyo Manunā tadā | tata enam idam vākyam smayamāna ieābravīt | " bhagavan hi kritā rakshā teayā sarrā višeshatah | prapta-kalam tu yat karyyam tvaya tach chhravatam mama | achirād bhagavan bhaumam idam sthāvara-jangamam | sarvam eva mahābhāga pralayam vai gamishyati | samprakshālana-kālo 'yam lokānām samupasthitah | tasmāt tvām bodhayāmy adya yat te hitam anuttamam | trasanam sthavaranam cha yuch chengum yach cha nengoti | tasya sareasya sampraptah kalah parama-darunah | naus cha kārayitavyā to dridhā yukta-vatārakā | tatra saptarshibhih sārddham āruhethā mahāmune | vījāni chaiva sarvāņi yathoktāni deijaih purā | tasyām ārohayer nāvi susanguptāni bhāgašah | nau-sthaś cha mām pratikshethas talo muni-jana-priya | agamishyamy aham śring? vijneyas tena tāpasa | evam etat tvayā kūryam āprishto 'si vrajāmy aham | tā na śakyā mahatyo vai āpas tarttum mayā vinā | 12780. Nābhišankyam idam chāpi vachanam me tvayā vibho" | " evam karishye" iti tain sa matsyam pratyabhāshata | jagmatuś cha yathākāmam anujnāpya parasparam | tato Manur mahārāja yathoktam matsyakona ha | vijany adaya sarvani sagaram pupluve tada | naukaya subhaya vira mahorminam arindama | chintayamasa cha Manus tam matsyam prithiripate | sa cha tach-chintitam jnatea mateyah parapuranjaya | śringi tatrājagāmāšu tadā Bharata-sattama | tam drishtvā manuja-vyāghra Manur matsyam jalarnave | 12785. Sringinam tam yathoktena rupenadrim ivochhritam | vatūrakamayam pāšam atha matsyasya mūrdhani | Manur manuja-śārdūla tasmin śringe nyaveśayat | samyatas tena pāśena matsyah para-puranjaya | vegena mahatā nāvam prākarshal lavanāmbhasi | sa cha tāms tārayan nāvā samudram manuješcara | nrityamānam ivormībhir garjamānam icāmbhasā | kshobhyamānā mahāvātaih sā naus tasmin mahodadhau | ghurnate chapaleca strī matta para-puranjaya | naiva bhumir na cha disah pradiso va chakasire | 12790. Sarvam ambhasam evāsīt kham dyaus cha narapungava | evambhūte tadā loke sankule Bharatarshabha | adrisyanta saptarshayah Manur matsyas tathaira cha | evam bahun varsha-ganan tam navam so'tha matsyakah | chakarshatandrito rajan tasmin salila-sanchaye | tato Himavatah śringam yat param Bharatarshabha | tatrākarshat tato nāvam sa matsyah Kurunandana | athābravīt tadā matsyas tān rishīn prahasan śanaih | "asmin Himacatah śringe nāvam badhnīta māchiram" | sā baddhā tatra tais tūrnam rishibhir Bharatarshabha | 12795. Neur mateyasya vachah śrutvā śringe Himavatas tadā | tach cha Naubandhanam nāma śringam Himavatah param | khyātam adyāpi Kaunteya tad viddhi Bharatarshabha | athābravīd anismishas tān rishīn sa hitas tadā | "aham Prajāpatir Brahmā yat-param nādhigamyate | matsya-rūpena yūyam cha mayā 'smād mokshitā bhayāt | Manunā cha prajūh sarvāh sa-devāsura-mānushāh | srashtuvyāh sarva-lokāś cha yach ohengam yach cha nengati | tapasā chāpi tivrena pratibhā 'zya bhavishyati | mat-prasādāt prajā-sarge na cha moham gamishyati" | 12800. Ity uktvā vachanam matsyah kshanenūdaršanam gatah | srashtu-kāmah prajāš chāpi Manur Vaivasvatah svayam | pramūdho bhūt prajā-sarge tapas tepe mahat tatah | tapasa mahata yuktah so'tha srashtum prachakrame | sarvăh praja Manuh sakshad yathavad Bharatarshabha | itu stad mătsyakam nāma purāņam parikīrttitam |

"12747. Märkandeva said: There was a great rishi Manu, son of Vivasvat, majestic, in lustre equal to Prajapati. In energy, fiery vigour, prosperity, and austere fervour he surpassed both his father and his grandfather. Standing with uplifted arm, on one foot, on the spacious Badari, he practised intense austere fervour. 12750. This direful exercise he performed, with his head downwards, a and with unwinking eyes, for 10,000 years. Once, when, clad in dripping rags, with matted hair, he was so engaged, a fish came to him on the banks of the Chīrinī, and spake: 'Lord, I am a small fish; I dread the stronger ones, and from them you must save me. For the stronger fish devour the weaker; this has been immemorially ordained as our means of subsistence. Deliver me from this flood of apprehension in which I am sinking, and I will requite the deed.' 12755. Hearing this, Manu, filled with compassion, took the fish in his hand, and bringing him to the water threw him into a jar bright as a moonbeam. In it the fish, being excellently tended, grew; for Manu treated him like a son. After a long time he became very large, and could not be contained in the jar. Then, seeing Manu, he said again : 'In order that I may thrive, remove me elsewhere.' 12760. Manu then took him out of the jar, brought him to a large poud, and threw him in. There he continued to grow for very many years. Although the pond was two yojanas long, and one yojana broad, the lotus-eyed fish found in it no room to move; and again said to Manu: 'Take me to Ganga, the dear queen of the ocean-monarch; in her I shall dwell; or do as thou thinkest best, (12765) for I must contentedly submit to thy authority, as through thee I have exceedingly increased.' Manu accordingly took the fish and threw him into the river Ganga. he waxed for some time, when he again said to Manu: 'From my great bulk I cannot move in the Ganga; be gracious and remove me quickly to the ocean.' Manu took him out of the Ganga; and east him into the sea. 12770. Although so huge, the fish was easily borne, and pleasant to touch and smell, as Manu carried him. When he had been thrown into the ocean he said to Manu : 'Great lord, thou hast in every way preserved me: now hear from me what thou must do when the

<sup>91</sup> He could not have stood on one foot and with his head downwards (if this means standing on his head) at one and the same time. The text may mean that these attitudes were successively adopted.

time arrives. Soon shall all these terrestrial objects, both fixed and moving, be dissolved. The time for the purification of the worlds has now arrived. I therefore inform thee what is for thy greatest good. 12775. The period dreadful for the universe, moving and fixed, has come. Make for thyself a strong ship, with a cable attached; embark in it with the seven rishis, and stow in it, carefully preserved and assorted, all the seeds which have been described of old by Brahmans.48 When embarked in the ship, look out for me: I shall come recognizable by my horn. So shalt thou do; I greet thee and depart. These great waters cannot be crossed over without me. 12780. Distrust not my word.' Manu replied, 'I shall do as thou hast said.' After taking mutual leave they departed each on his own way. Manu then, as enjoined, taking with him the seeds, floated on the billowy ocean in the beautiful ship. He then thought on the fish, which, knowing his desire, arrived with all speed, distinguished by a horn. When Manu saw the horned leviathan, lofty as a mountain, he fastened the ship's cable to the horn. Being thus attached, the fish dragged the ship with great rapidity, transporting it across the briny ocean which seemed to dance with its waves and thunder with its waters. Tossed by the tempests, the ship whirled like a reeling and intoxicated woman. Neither the earth, nor the quarters of the world appeared; (12790) there was nothing but water, air, and sky. In the world thus confounded, the seven rishis. Manu, and the fish were beheld. So, for very many years, the fish, unwearied, drew the ship over the waters; and brought it at length to the highest peak of Himavat. He then, smiling gently, said to the rishis, 'Bind the ship without delay to this peak.' They did so accordingly. 12795. And that highest peak of Himavat is still known by the name of Naubandhana ('the Binding of the Ship'). The friendly fish (or god, animisha) then said to the rishis, 'I am the Prajapati Brahma, than whom nothing higher can be reached. In the form of a fish I have delivered you from this great danger. Manu shall create all living beings, gods, asuras, MEN, with all worlds, and all things moving and fixed. By my favour and through severe austere fervour, he shall attain perfect insight into his creative work, and shall not be-

<sup>32</sup> The S'atapatha Brahmana is silent as to these seeds, as well as to the seven rishis; but it is possible that the reference here made to them may have been borrowed from some other ancient source.

come bewildered.' 12800. Having thus spoken, the fish in an instant disappeared. Manu, desirous to call creatures into existence and bewildered in his work, performed a great act of austere fervour; and then began visibly to create all living beings. This which I have narrated is known as the Mātsyaka Purāṇa (or 'Legend of the Fish').'

It will be observed that towards the close of this narrative it is stated that Manu (not Brahma himself) was the creator of Men, as well of gods and asuras; and that no reference is made to the formation of separate castes.

The commentators seem disinclined to take this legend in its literal sense. We shall see below what reason the scholiast on the Bhagavata Purana assigns for this procedure. The following are some of the remarks of the Commentator Nilakantha on the above passage of the Mahabharata:

"Manoh" manute ity abhimanatmako 'hankaro Manuh | viseshena vaste achhadayati chit-prakasam iti viveka-jnanam tad-van vivasvan mayāvī īśvaraḥ "māyinam tu maheśvaram" iti śruteh | tasya Vaivasvatasya charitam sancharanam | "avidyā-nāśe saty āvidyako hankārah katham sancharati | nahi tantu-dahe patas tishthati" ity akshepah | . . . . atra para-brahmana eva rūpūnlaram matsyūkhyo jīvah | so 'hankārena Manunā uttarottara-śreshtheshu alinjirādi-rūpeshu sthūla-deheshu tapo-balād nipatyate | sa cho samudrakhye vairāje dehe nipatitas cha kalpante avidyānāśa-rūpe saty api dādha-(dagdha?) -pata-nyāyena anuvarttamānam ahankaram saptarshi-sanjnakaih pranadibhih elja-sanjnaih prarabdhakarmabhis cha sahitam charama-deha-nāvy ărūdham cāsanā-caratrayā jīvamatsyena pralaya-kale 'py uhyamanam meru-śringa same 'chale bhavato (Himavad-?) rūpe sadvāsanayā labdhāspadam vilīnam anulakshya jīvamatsyo'darśanam praptah | ati-viline hy ahankare jivatvom naśyati | sa punar nirasta-jīva-bhāso 'hankāro brahma-rūpatāsı apanno yathā pūrvam vāsanayā jagat erijati | nashte 'py avidyākhye kūrane samsārabhāna-lakshaṇam kāryam chakra-bhramam iva kanchit kālam anuvarttate ity adhyāya-tātparyam | aksharārthas to ityādi |

"'Manu,' that which imagines, denotes the consciousness of self (ahankāra), consisting in the idea that objects refer to one's self (abhimāna). Vivasvat' is he who possesses the discriminating knowledge that (such and such a thing) obscures the light of the mind, i.e.

<sup>50</sup> See Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, vol. i. 212.

he is the Illuder, Isvara, for the Veda 44 speaks of 'Mahesvara the Illuder.' It is the 'history,' the action, of this son of Vivasvat, that is related. It is objected, 'how can Ahankara, which arises from ignorance, operate when ignorance is destroyed?' for when the threads are burnt the cloth no longer remains' . . . . Here the embodied soul, called in this passage a 'Fish,' is only another form of the supreme Brahma. This 'Fish' is thrown by 'Manu,' who is Ahankara, through the power of austere fervour, into gross bodies, here represented by 'a jar,' 'a pond,' etc., which gradually rise in excellence. Being at last east into the body of Viraj, called 'the ocean,' although 'the close of the Kalpa' means the destruction of ignorance, still the embodied soul denoted by the 'Fish,' contemplating Ahankara still remaining like the ashes of burnt cloth, then entering, along with the breath and other vital airs named 'the seven rishis,' and the works of a former birth designated as 'seeds,' into the ship which signifies its last body, and then borne along even in the period of dissolution by the embodied soul itself symbolized as a 'Fish,' by means of the 'rope' of the remaining consciousness of past perceptions (vāsanā), obtaining at length through a consciousness of former perceptions, which were pure (sadvāsanā), a resting-place on a mountain like the peak of Meru, represented by the Himavat (?), and finally dissolved ;-the embodied soul under the figure of a 'Fish' having contemplated all this, -vanishes. For when Ahankara has become entirely dissolved, the state of the embodied soul ceases. Then Ahankara, after the state of the embodied soul has been dispelled, obtains the condition of Brahma; but by its consciousness of past perceptions creates the world as before. Even when the cause called ignorance has been destroyed, the effect in the shape of the semblance of the world continues for some time, like the revolution of a wheel. Such is signification of the section."

According to this allegorial interpretation "Vivasvat," father of Manu, represents Iśvara, the Illuder. "Manu" is Ahankāra, or self-consciousness. The "Fish" is the embodied soul, which fancies itself to be, but is not, distinct from the Supreme spirit. Ahankāra, denoted by 'Manu,' places the embodied soul, symbolized by the "Fish," in a variety of bodies gradually increasing in excellence, which are signified

<sup>54</sup> The words are taken from one of the Upanishads, to which, at the time of correcting this sheet, I am unable to give the necessary reference.

by the "jar," "pond," "Gangā," and "ocean." Although the end of the Kalpa means the removal of ignorance, still Ahankāra continues for a time; and along with the "seven rishis," who stand for the vital airs, and the "seeds," which are former works, embarks on the "ship," which is its last body, and is drawn over the ocean by the embodied soul by means of a "rope," which signifies the consciousness of former perceptions. Ahankāra at length finds a resting-place, denoted by Mount Himavat; and when it has been destroyed, the embodied soul vanishes. Ahankāra, however, passes into the form of Brahma, and, through the operation of the cause explained by the Commentator, creates the world anew.

It is scarcely necessary to remark that the narrator of the legend himself appears to have had no idea of making it the vehicle of any Vedantic allegory such as is here propounded.

The following is another version of the same legend from the Matsya Purana:

i. 12.55 Purā rājā Manur nāma chīrnavān vipulam tapah | putre rājyam samāropya kshamāvān Ravi-nandanah | 13. Malayasyaika-deše tu sarvātmāguna-samyutah | sama-duḥkha-sukho vīrah prāptavān yogam uttamam | 14. Vachanam 16 varadas chāsya varshāyuta-sate gate | " varam erinishva" provächa pritatma Kamalasanah | 15. Evam ukto bravid rājā praņamya sa Pitāmaham | "ekum evāham ichhāmi tvatto varam anuttamam | 16. Bhūta-grāmasya sarvasya sthāvarasya charasya cha bhaveyam rakshanāyālam pralaye samupasthite" | 17. "Evam aste" iti viśvātmā tatraivāntaradhīyata | pushpa-vrishtiś cha mahatī khāt papāta surārpitā | 18. Kadāchid āśrame tasya kurvatah pitri-tarpanam | papāta pānyor upari šapharī jala-samyutā | 19. Drishtvā tach-chhapharīrāpam sa dayālur mahīpatih | rakshanoyākarod yatnam sa tasmin ka. rakodare | 20. Ahorātrena chaikena shodušāngula-vistritah | so 'bhavad matsya-rūpena " pāhi pāhīti " chābravīt | 21. Sa tam ādāya manike prākshipaj jala-charinam | tatrāpi chaikarātrena hasta-trayam avarddhata | 22. Punah praharttanādena Sahasrakiranātmajam | sa matsyah "pāhi pāhīti" "tvām aham saranam gatah" | 23. Tatah sa kūps tam matsyam prāhinod Ravi-nandanah | yadā na māti tatrapi kūpe matsyah

<sup>53</sup> This passage is extracted in Professor Aufrecht's Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskrit MSS, p. 347.
56 The Taylor MS, reads δαδλώνες, instead of σαςλανανα.

sarovare | 24. Kshiptah sa prithutām āgāt punar yojana-sammitām | tatrāpy aha punar dīnah "pāhi pāhi nripottama" | 25. Tatah sa Manunā kshipto Gangāyām apy avarddhata | yadā tadā samudre tam prakshipad medinipatih | 26. Yada samudram akhilam vyapyasau samovasthitah | tadā prāha Manur bhītah "ko 'pi tvam asuretarah | 27. Athavā Vāsudevas tvam anya īdrik katham bhavet | yojanāyutavimšatya kasya tulyam bhaved capuh | 28. Indtas tvam matsya-rūpena mām khedayasi Keśava | Hrixhikeśa jagannātha jagad-dhāma namo 'stu te" | 29. Evam uktah sa bhagavan matsya-rupī Janardanah | " sādhu sādhe" iti chovācha " samyag jnātam tvayā 'nagha | 30. Achirenaiva kālena medinī medinīpate | bhavishyati jale magnā sā-saila-vanakānanā | 31. Naur iyam sarva-devānām nikāyena vinirmilā | mahā-jīvanikāyasya rakshaņārtham mahīpato | 32. Svedāndajodbhijā jīvā ye cha jieā jarāyujāķ | asyam nidkāya sareāms tān anarthāt 2 pāķi sucrata | 33. Yugunta-vatabhihata yada chalati naur nripa | śringe 'smin mama rajendra tademām samyamishyasi | 34. Tato layante sarvasya sthavarosya charasya cha | prajapatis team bhavita jagatah prithici-pate | 35. Evam krite mahārāja 16 sarvajno dhritimān rishih | manvantarādhipas chāpi deva-pūjyo bhavishyasi | 36. Adhyūya ii. Sūta ucācha | 1. Evam ukto Manus tena paprachhazura-sudanam | varshair kiyadbhir bhagavan bhavishyaty antara-kshayah | 2. Sattvāni cha katham nātha rakshishye Madhusūdana | teayā saha punar yogah katham vā bhavitā mama | 3. Srī-matsya uvācha | adya-prabhrity anāvrishţir bhavishyati mahītale | yāvad varshaśatam sagram durbhiksham narakavaham | 4. Tato Ipa-sattea-kshayada raśmayah sapta dărunăh | sapta-sapter bhavishyanti prataptăngăra-varshinah | 5. Aurcanalo 'pi vikritim gamishyati yuga-kshaye | vishagnis chāpi pātālāt sankarshana-mukha-chyutah | 6. Bhavasyāpi lalātotthas tritiya-nayananalah | jagad dagdham tatha kehobham gamiehyati mahamate | 7. Evam dagdhā mahī sarvā yadā syād bhasma-sannibhā to | ākāšam ushmana taptam bhavishyati parantapa | 8. Tatah sa-deva-nakshatram jagad yasyati sankshayam | samvartto bhimanadak cha dronak chando balāhakah | 9. Vidyutpatākah sonāmbuh saptaite laya-vāridāh | agni-praeveda-sambhûtûh plavayishyanti medinim | 10. Samudrûh kshobham ûgatya

<sup>37</sup> Instead of anarthat the Taylor MS. reads anathan,

<sup>\*</sup> The Taylor MS. reads here evam krita-yugasyadau.

<sup>\*</sup> Kurma-sannibhā | Taylor MS.

<sup>40</sup> The Taylor and Gaikowar MSS, have chandro.

chaikatvena vyavasthitäh | etad ekärnavam sarvam karishyanti jagat-trayam | 11. Dieyām nāvama imām grīhya sarva-vījāni sarvašah | āropya rajjvā yogena mat-prayuktena suvrata | 12. Samyamya nāvam machchhringe mat-prabhāvābhirakshitah | ekah sthāsyasi deveshu dagdheshv api parantapa | 13. Soma-sūryāv aham Brahmā chatur-loka-samanvitah | Narmadā cha nadī punyā Mārkandeyo mahān rishih | 14. Bhavo vedāh puranam cha vidyabhih sarvato vritam | tvaya sarddham idam sarvam sthäsyaty antara-sankshaye | 15. Evam ekärnave jäte Chakshushantarasankshayo | vedān pravarttayishyāmi tvat-sargādau mahīpate | 16. Sūta uvācha | Evam uktvā sa bhagavāms tatraivāntaradhīyata | Manur apy āsthito yogam Vāsudeva-prasādajam | 17. Athābhūch cha tathā-bhūtah samplavah pürva-süchitah | käle yathokte sanjate Vasudeva-mukhodyate | 18. Sringi pradurbabhūvātha matsya-rūpī Janardanah | Ananto rajjurūpeņa Manoh pāršvam upāgamat | 19. Bhūta-sangān samākrishya yogenāropya dharmacit | bhujanga-rajjeā matsyasya śringe nācam ayojayat | 20. Uparvy upasthitas tasyāh pranipatya Janārdanam | ābhūta-samplave tasminn atīte yoga-śāyinā ! 21. Prishţena Manunā proktam purānam matsyarūpiņā | tad idānīm pravakshyāmi śrinudhvam rishi-sattamāḥ |

"12. Formerly a heroic king called Manu, the patient son of the Sun, endowed with all good qualities, indifferent to pain and pleasure, after investing his son with the royal authority, practised intense austere fervour, (13) in a certain region of Malaya (Malabar), and attained to transcendent union with the Deity (yoga). 14. When a million years had elapsed, Brahma became pleased and disposed to bestow a boon, which he desired Manu to choose. 15. Bowing before the father of the world the monarch said, 'I desire of thee this one incomparable boon, that when the dissolution of the universe arrives I may have power to preserve all existing things, whether moving or stationary.' 17. 'So be it,' said the Soul of all things, and vanished on the spot; when a great shower of flowers, thrown down by the gods, fell from the sky. 18. Once as, in his hermitage, Manu offered the oblation to the Manes, there fell, upon his hands, along with some water, a Saphari fish (a carp), (19) which the kind-hearted king perceiving, strove to preserve in his water-jar. 20. In one day and night the fish grew to the size of sixteen fingers, and cried, 'preserve me, preserve me.' 21. Manu then took and threw him into a large pitcher, where in one night he

<sup>41</sup> The Taylor MS, reads veda-navam, " the ship of the Vedas."

increased three cubits, (22) and again cried, with the voice of one distressed, to the son of Vivasvat, 'preserve me, preserve me, I have sought refuge with thee.' 23. Manu next put him into a well, and when he could not be contained even in that, (24) he was thrown into a lake, where he attained to the size of a vojana; but still cried in humble tones, 'preserve me, preserve me.' 25. When, after being flung into the Ganga he increased there also, the king threw him into the ocean. 26. When he filled the entire ocean, Manu said, in terror, 'Thou art some god, (27) or thou art Vasudeva; how can any one else be like this? Whose body could equal 200,000 yojanas? 28. Thou art recognised under this form of a fish, and thou tormentest me, Keśava; reverence be to thee, Hrishikeśa, lord of the world, abode of the universe!' 29. Thus addressed, the divine Janardana, in the form of a fish, replied: 'Thou hast well spoken, and hast rightly known me. 30. In a short time the earth with its mountains, groves, and forests, shall be submerged in the waters. 31. This ship has been constructed by the company of all the gods to for the preservation of the vast host of living creatures. 32. Embarking in it all living creatures, both those engendered from moisture and from eggs, as well as the viviparous, and plants, preserve them from calamity. 33. When driven by the blasts at the end of the yuga, the ship is swept along, thou shalt bind it to this horn of mine. 34. Then at the close of the dissolution thou shalt be the Prajapati (lord of creatures) of this world, fixed and moving. 35. When this shall have been done, so thou, the omniscient, patient rishi. and lord of the Manvantara, shalt be an object of worship to the gods." 2nd Adhyaya: "1. Suta said: Being thus addressed, Manu asked the slayer of the Asura, 'In how many years shall the (existing) Manyantara come to an end? 2. And how shall I preserve the living creatures? or how shall I meet again with thee?' The fish answered: ' From this day forward a drought shall visit the earth for a hundred years and more, with a tormenting famine. 4. Then the seven direful rays of the son, of little power, destructive, shall rain burning charcoal. 5. At the close of the yuga the submarine fire shall burst forth,

The reading of the Taylor MS, here is partially crased; but it may have been sarvo-cedānām, "of all the Vedas." Compare the various reading in verse 11 of the next adhyāya.

st According to the reading of the Taylor MS, we should have to substitute the words, "Thus at the beginning of the Krita age, thou" etc.

while the poisonous flame issuing from the mouth of Sankarshana (shall blaze) from Pātāla, and the fire from Mahādeva's third eye shall issue from his forehead. Thus kindled the world shall become confounded. 7. When, consumed in this manner, the earth shall become like ashes, the ather too shall be scorched with heat. 8. Then the world, together with the gods and planets, shall be destroyed. The seven clouds of the period of dissolution, called Samvartta, Bhīmanāda, Drona, Chanda, Balāhaka, (9) Vidyutpatāka, and Soņāmbu, produced from the steam of the fire, shall inundate the earth. 10. The seas agitated, and joined together, shall reduce these entire three worlds to one ocean. 11. Taking this celestial ship, embarking on it all the seeds, and through contemplation fixed on me fastening it by a rope (12) to my horn, thou alone shalt remain, protected by my power, when even the gods are burnt up. 13. The sun and moon, I Brahma with the four worlds, the holy river Narmadā," the great rishi Mārkandeya, (14) Mahādeva, the Vedas, the Purana with the sciences,-these shall remain with thee at the close of the Manvantara. 15. The world having thus become one ocean at the end of the Chakshusha manyantara, I shall give currency to the Vedas at the commencement of thy creation.' 16. Suta continued: Having thus spoken, the divine Being vanished on the spot; while Manu fell into a state of contemplation (yoga) induced by the favour of Väsudeva. 17. When the time announced by Vasudeva had arrived, the predicted deluge took place in that very manner. Then Janardana appeared in the form of a horned fish; (the serpent) Ananta came to Manu in the shape of a rope. 19. Then he who was skilled in duty (i.e. Manu) drew towards himself all creatures by contemplation (yoga) and stowed them in the ship, which he then attached to the fish's horn by the serpent-rope, (20) as he stood upon the ship, and after he had made obeisance to Janardana. 21. I shall now declare the Purana which, in answer to an enquiry from Manu, was uttered by the deity in the form of the fish, as he lay in a sleep of contemplation till the end of the universal inundation : Listen." The Matsya Purana gives us no further information here about the progress and results of the deluge; and this narrative does not appear to be ever afterwards resumed.

<sup>\*\*</sup>In the opinion of this writer, therefore, the Narmada (Nerbudda) must have been a holier stream than the Ganga: otherwise we should have expected him to select the latter as the river to be preserved at the dissolution.

The Bhagavata P. viii. 24, 7, gives the same story with variations as follows:

Asīd atīta-kalpānte brāhmo naimittiko layah | samudropaplutās tatra lokā bhūr-ādayo nripa | 8. Kālenāgata-nidrasya Dhātuh śiśayishor balī | mukhato nissyitän vedän Hayagrivo 'ntike 'harat | 9. Inatva tad danacendrasya Hayagricasya cheshtitam | dadhara saphari-rupam bhagaran Harir īśvaraḥ | 10. Tatra rāja-rishiḥ kaśchid nāmnā Satyavrato mahān | Nărâyana-paro 'tapyat tapah sa salilăsanah | 11. Yo 'são asmin mahākalpe tanayah sa Vicasvatah | Sraddhadeva iti khyato manutce Harina rpitah | 12. Ekadhā Kritamālāyām kurvato jala-tarpaņam | tanyānjalyudake küchich chhaphary ekü 'bhyapadyata | 13. Satyavrato 'njali-gatām saha toyena Bharata | utsasarja nadi-toye sapharim Dravidesvarah | tam āha sātikaruņam mahākārunikam nripam | yādobhyo jnāti-ghātibhyo dinam mam dinacatsalo | kathom visrijase rajan bhitam asmin sarij-jale | . . . . 32. Saptame 'dyatanad urddhram ahany etad arindama | nimankshyaty apyayambhodhau trailokyam bhur-bhuvadikam | 33. Trilokyām līyamānāyām samvarttāmbhasi vai tadā | upasthāsyati nauh kāchid eikālā tvām mayeritā | 34. Tvam tāvad oshadhih sarvā vijāny uchchāvachani cha | saptarshibhih parivritah sarva-sattvopavrimhitah | 45. Āruhya crihatīm nāvam vicharishyasy aviklavah | ekūrnave nirāloks rishīnām eva varchasā | 36. Dodhūyamānām tām nāvam samīrena balīyasā | upasthitasya me śringe nibadhnīhi mahāhinā | 37. Aham tvām rishibhih sakam sahanavam udanvati | vikarshan vicharishyami yavad Brāhmī niśā prabho | . . . 41. Tatah samudrah udvelah sarvatah plavayan mahim | vardhamano mahameghair varshadbhih samadrisyata | 42. Dhyayan bhagavad-adeśam dadriśe navam agatam i tam aruroha eiprendrair ādāyaushadhi-cīrudhah | 43. Tam ūchur munayah prītā rājan dhyāyasva Keśavam | sa vai nah sankatād asmād avitā śam vidhāsyati | 44. So nudhyātas tato rojnā prādurāsīd mahārnave | eka-śringa-.dharo matsyo haimo niyuta-yojanah | 45. Nibadhya navam tach-chhringe vathokto Harina purā | varatrenāhinā tushtas tushtāva Madhusūdanam | . . . . 54. Ily uktavantam nripatim bhagavan Adiparushah | matsyarūpī mahāmbhodhau viharams tattvam abravīt | 55. Purāna-samhitām divyām Sānkhya-Yoga-kriyāvatīm | Satyovratasya rājarsher ātma-guhyam aseshatah | 56. Asraushid rishibhih sakam atma-tatteam asamśayam | nacy asino bhagavata proktam brahma sanatanam | 57. Atitapralayāpāye utthitāya sa Vedhase | hatvāšuram Hayagrīvam redān pratyāharad Hariḥ | 58. Sa tu Satyavrato rājā jnāna-vijnāna-samyutaḥ | Vishnoḥ prasādāt kalps 'smin āsīd Vaivasvato Manuh |

"7. At the close of the past Kalpa there occurred an occasional " dissolution of the universe arising from Brahma's necturnal repose; in which the Bhūrloka and other worlds were submerged in the ocean. 8. When the creator, desirous of rest, had under the influence of time been overcome by sleep, the strong Hayagriva coming near, carried off the Vedas which had issued from his mouth. 9. Discovering this deed of the prince of the Danavas, the divine Hari, the Lord, took the form of a Saphari fish. 10. At that time a certain great royal rishi, called Satyavrata, who was devoted to Narayana, practised austere fervour, subsisting on water. 11. He was the same who in the present great Kalpa is the son of Visvasvat, called Sraddhadeva, to and was appointed by Hari to the office of Manu. 12. Once, as in the river Kritamālā he was offering the oblation of water to the Pitris, a Sapharī fish came into the water in the hollow of his hands. 13. The lord of Dravida, Satyavrata, cast the fish in his hands with the water into the river. 14. The fish very piteously cried to the merciful king, 'Why dost thou abandon me poor and terrified to the monsters who destroy their kindred in this river?" [Satyavrata then took the fish from the river, placed it in his waterpot, and as it grew larger and larger, threw it successively into a larger vessel, a pond, various lakes, and at length into the sea. The fish objects to be left there on the plea that it would be devoured; but Manu replies that it can be no real fish, but Vishnu himself; and with various expressions of devotion enquires why he had assumed this disguise, verses 15-31.] The god replies: 32. "On the seventh day after this the three worlds Bhurloka, etc., shall sink beneath the ocean of the dissolution. 33. When the universe is dissolved in that ocean, a large ship, sent by me, shall come to thee. 34. Taking with thee the plants and various seeds, surrounded by the seven rishis, and attended by all existences, (35) thou shalt embark on the great ship, and shalt without alarm move over the one dark ocean, by the sole light of the rishis. When the ship shall be vehemently shaken by

<sup>4)</sup> Naimittika. See above p. 45.

<sup>68</sup> Manu is called S'rāddhadeva in the Mahābhārata also, S'āntip. 4507. In the Brāhmanas, however, he receives the appellation, or epithet, not of S'rāddhādeva, but of Sraddhadeva. See above, p. 188 ff.

the tempestuous wind, fasten it by the great serpent to my horn-for I shall come near. 37. So long as the night of Brahma lasts, I shall draw thee with the rishis and the ship over the ocean." [The god then disappears after promising that Satyavrata shall practically know his greatness and experience his kindness, and Satyavrata awaits the predicted events, verses 38-40. 41. "Then the sea, augmenting as the great clouds poured down their waters, was seen overflowing its shores and everywhere inundating the earth. 42. Meditating on the injunctions of the deity, Satyavrata beheld the arrival of the ship, on which he embarked with the Brahmans, taking along with him the various kinds of plants. 43. Delighted, the Munis said to him, 'meditate on Keśava; he will deliver us from this danger, and grant us prosperity.' 44. Accordingly when the king had meditated on him, there appeared on the ocean a golden fish, with one horn, a million yojanas long. 45. Binding the ship to his horn with the serpent for a rope; as he had been before commanded by Hari, Satyavrafa lauded Madhusudana." [Verses 46-53 contain the hymn.] 54. When the king had thus spoken, the divine primeval Male, in the form of a fish, moving on the vast ocean declared to him the truth; (55) the celestial collection of Puranas, with the Sankhya, Yoga, the ceremonial, and the mystery of the soul. 56. Seated on the ship with the rishis, Satyavrata heard the true doctrine of the soul, of the eternal Brahma, declared by the god. 57. When Brahma arose at the end of the past dissolution, Hari restored to him the Vedas, after slaying Hayagrīva. 58. And King Satyavrata, master of all knowledge, sacred and profane, became, by the favour of Vishnu, the son of Vivasvat, the Manu in this Kalpa."

Before adducing the remarks of the commentator Srīdhara Svāmin on the passage last cited from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, I shall quote one more version of the same legend from the Agni Purāṇa. It is not of any great consequence, as, though more condensed, it coincides in purport with that in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa: which of the two has bor-

of This has been copied by Professor Aufrecht from a MS. of the Agni Purina, belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of London. I am informed by Prof. Aufrecht that the East India Office Library has two MSS. of the Vahni Purina, which (although Vahni is, in later Sanskrit, synonymous with Agni) differ entirely in their contents from the Agni Purina.

rowed from the other, or whether both are derived from a common source, I am unable to say.

Vasishtha uvācha | 1. Matsyādi-rūpinam Vishnum brūhi sargādi-kāranam | puranam brahma chagneyam yatha Vishnoh pura érutam | Agnir uvācha | 2. Matsyavatāram vakshye 'ham Vasishtha śrinu vai Hareh | avatāra-kriyām dushta-nashtyai sat-pālanāya hi | 3. Āsīd atīta-kalpānte brāhmo naimittiko layah | sanudropaplutās tatra lokā bhūrādikā mune | 4. Manur Vaivasvatas tepe tapo vai bhukti-muktaye | ekadā Kritalmālāyām kurcato jala-tarpanam | 5. Tasyānjaly-udake matsyah scalpa eko 'bhyapadyata | ksheptu-kāmam jale prāha " na mām kshipa narottama ! 6. Grahādibhyo bhayam me'tra" tach chhrutvā kalaše 'kshipat | Manum eriddhah punar matsyah praha tam "dehi me erihat" | 7. Tasya tad vachanam śrutva raja 'tha vandane 'kshipat | tatra vriddho 'bravid bhapam " prithu dehi padam mama" | 8. Sarovare punah kshipto vacridhe tat-pramanavan | üche "dehi vrihat sthanam" prakshipach chambudhau tatah | 9. Laksha-yojana-vistirnah kehana-matrena so 'bhavat | matsyam tam adbhutam drishtva vismitah prabravid Manuh | 10. "Ko bhavan nanu vai Vishnur Narayana namo'stu te | mayaya mohayasi mam kimartham cha Janardana" | 11. Manur-ukto 18 'bravid mateyo Manum vai pālane ratam | avatīrņo bhavāyūsya jagato dushţa-nashṭaye | 12. "Saptame divase tv abdhih plāvayishyati vai jagat | upasthitāyām nūvi tvam vijadini vidhāya cha | 13. Saptarshibhih parivrito nišām brāhmim charishyasi | upasthitasya me śringe nibadhnihi mahāhina" | 14 Ity ukted 'ntardadhe matsyo Manuh kala-pratikshakah | stitah samudra udvele navam aruruhe tada | 15. Eka-sringa-dharo mateyo haimo niyutayojanah | navam babandha tach-chhringa matsyakhyam cha puranakam | 16. Suśrāva matsyāt pāpa-ghnam sa-śrutam śrutibhih śrutam (?) | brahma-veda-praharttūram Hayagrīvam cha dānavam | 17. Avadhīd vedamantrādyan palayamasa Kesacah |

"Vasishtha said: 1. Declare to me Vishnu, the cause of the creation, in the form of a Fish and his other incarnations; and the Puranic revelation of Agni, as it was originally heard from Vishnu. Agni replied: 2. Hear, o Vasishtha, I shall relate to thee the Fish-incarnation of Vishnu, and his acts when so incarnate for the destruction of

<sup>49</sup> Professor Aufrecht's transcript has this reading Manur-ukto; which I have retained, although I was not aware that Manus was commonly used for Manu, except in the Vedic period.

the wicked, and protection of the good. 3. At the close of the past Kalpa there occurred an occasional dissolution of the universe caused by Brahma's sleep, when the Bhurloka and other worlds were inundated by the ocean. 4. Manu, the son of Vivasvat, practised austere fervour for the sake of worldly enjoyment as well as final liberation. Once, when he was offering the libation of water to the Pitris in the river Kritamālā, (5) a small fish came into the water in the hollow of his hands, and said to him when he sought to cast it into the stream, Do not throw me in, (6) for I am afraid of alligators and other monsters which are here.' On hearing this Manu threw it into a jar. Again, when grown, the Fish said to him, 'Provide me a large place.' 7. Manu then east it into a larger vessel (?). When it increased there, it said to the king, 'Give me a wide space.' 8. When, after being thrown into a pond, it became as large as its receptacle, and cried out for greater room, he flung it into the sea. 9. In a moment it became a hundred thousand yojanas in bulk. Beholding the wonderful Fish, Manu said in astonishment: (10) 'Who art thou? Art thou Vishnu? Adoration be paid to thee, o Narayana. Why, o Janardana, dost thou bewilder me by thy illusion?' 11. The Fish, which had become incarnate for the welfare of this world and the destruction of the wicked. when so addressed, replied to Manu, who had been intent upon its preservation: (12) 'Seven days after this the ocean shall inundate the world. A ship shall come to thee, in which thou shalt place the seeds, (13) and accompanied by the rishis shalt sail during the night of Brahma. Bind it with the great serpent to my horn, when I arrive. 14. Having thus spoken the Fish vanished. Manu awaited the promised period, and embarked on the ship when the sea overflowed its shores. 15. (There appeared) a golden Fish, a million yojanas long, with one horn, to which Manu attached the ship, (16) and heard from the Fish the Matsya Purana, which takes away sin, together with the Veda. Keśava then slew the Danava Hayagriva who had snatched away the Vedas, and preserved its mantras and other portions."

The following is Sridhara's comment, before referred to, on the legend of the deluge, as told in the Bhagavata Purana. These remarks have been well translated and explained in the preface to the 3rd volume of his edition of this Purana (pp. xxxviii ff.) by M. Burnouf, whose claborate discussion of the legend extends from p. xxiii to p. liv.

Atra idam chintyam "kim ayam mahapralayo dainandino va" iti | tatra tāvad "brāhmo layah" (v. 7) iti "yo 'sāv asmin mahā-kalpe" (v. 11) iti cha ukter " mahāpralayah" iti prāptam " na" iti brūmah | mahāpralaye prithivy-ādīnām avašeshāsambhavād " yāvad brāhmī nišā" (v. 37) ity-ady-ukti- virodhach cha | ato " dainandana" iti yuktam | na cha etad api sangachhate | samvarttakair anävrishty-ādibhir vinā akasmād eca "saptame 'hani trailokyam nimankshyati" (v. 32) iti matsyokter anupapatteh | yathoktam prathama-skandhe "rupam" (i. 3, 15) ity adi tad api tadā durghaļam | na hi pralaya-dvaye 'pi "mahīmayyām nāvy" ārohah sambhavati na cha Chākshusha-manvantare pralayo'sti | tathā cha sati saptamo Manur Vaicascatah ity api durghatam syat | "team tāvad oshadhīh sarvāh" (viii. 24, 34) ity-ādi-nirdešo 'pi na sangachhate | na hi tadā oshadhy-ādīnām sattrānām cha avašezhah zambhavati | tasmād anyathā varnyats | naivāyam vāstavah ko 'pi pralayah | kintu Satyavratasya jnänopadeśaya ävirbhūto bhagavān vairāgyārtham akasmāt pralayam ica darkayāmāsa yathā 'sminn eva Vaivasvata-manvantare Mūrkandeyāya darkitacān | tad-apekshayā eva cha "mahā-kalpe 'sminn" iti višeshanam sangachhate | tathā cha "tatah samudrah udvelah sarvatah samadriśyata" (v. 41) iti tasyaiva yathā daršanam uktam ity eshā dik |

"Here we have to consider whether this was a great dissolution of the universe, or one of those which occur at the close of each day of Brahmā. If it be supposed from the expressions 'a dissolution proceeding from Brahma' (v. 7), and 'he is the same who in this Mahakalpa' (v. 11), that it was a great dissolution, we reply,-no; because in a great dissolution the earth and other worlds cannot possibly remain in existence, and because this would be opposed to the words 'so long as the night of Brahma lasts' (v. 37). Hence it might appear that it must be one of the dissolutions which occur at the end of a day of Brahma. But this also is impossible, because it would be at variance with the Fish's words that 'the three worlds should be submerged on the seventh day,' (v. 32) suddenly, without the drought and other calamities which precede a dissolution. What is stated in the first book (iii. 15), 'at the deluge, in the Chakshusha Manvantara, he took the form of a Fish, and preserved Manu Vaivasvata, whom he placed in a ship formed of the earth,' " would also in that case be inconceivable; for

es Bhūgavata Purāna, i. 3. 15. Rupnēn sa jugrihe māteyaēn Chākshmhodadhi-samplere | nāvy āropya mahēmayyām apād Vaivasvatam Manum | On this passage also

(1.) in neither of the two dissolutions could any one be placed 'in a ship in the form of the earth' (as the earth is submerged in the one case and altogether destroyed in the other); (2.) there is no dissolution of the world in the Chakshusha Manyantara; (3.) in the case supposed the existence of a seventh Manu, the son of Vivasvat would be impossible (for the fourteen Manus succeed each other in one Kalpa without the intervention of any dissolution). And in that case, the command to take 'all the plants into the ship' (viii. 24, 34), would be inconceivable, since no plants or other such substances are left at such a period. Such being the fact, the narrative must be otherwise explained. It was in fact no real dissolution which is here related. But the deity, who appeared to teach Satvavrata knowledge, shewed him suddenly the semblance of a dissolution to instil into him dispassion, just as in the Vaivasvata Manvantara he shewed to Markandeya. And if referred to this, the words 'in this Māhakalpa' will be conceivable. And consequently the words 'Then the sea was beheld overflowing its shores on every side' are spoken with reference to what Satyavrata saw (in the vision). Such is an indication of the purport of the Section."

Sridhara Svāmin here reasons only upon the data supplied by the particular version of the story which he found before him in the Bhagavata, and does not seem to have extended his researches so far as to ascertain whether the legend might not exhibit some variations as narrated in other Puranas. If he had turned to the Matsya Purana he would have found that one of his objections, viz., that drawn from the absence of any reference to the calamities supposed to precede a dissolution, did not apply to the account there given; since that narrative expressly asserts that these premonitory signs were manifested. Others of his objections apply no doubt to the other narratives as well as to that in the Bhagavata. According to the ordinary Puranic theory (see above, pp. 43 ff.) fourteen Manus exist in each Kalpa, and one succeeds. another without the intervention of any pralaya or dissolution. It is obviously inconsistent with this theory to represent such a dissolution S'ridhara remarka: Yadyapi mancantarüvasine pralayo nüsti tathüpi kenachit kautukena Satyavratāya māyā pradaršītā | yathā "akānde Markondeyāya" iti drashtaryam | " Although there is no dissolution at the end of a Manvantara, yet, through a certain sport an illusion was shown to Satyavrata, as in the other passage where it

is said ' Suddenly to Markandeya,' etc."

as taking place either during the life of any of the Manus, or after his disappearance. It is even doubtful, or more than doubtful (Wilson's Vish. P. i. p. 50 f. and p. 44, above) whether one Manu can exist contemporaneously with another, and yet, according to the Matsya and Agni Puranas (see above, pp. 205 ff., 211 f.) Manu Vaivasvata is said to have lived during his predecessor's period, although the Bhagavata avoids this difficulty by making Satyavrata the hero of the story and by representing him as being born again as Manu Vaivasvata at the beginning of the next Manvantara. (M. Burnouf's Preface above referred to may be consulted for further remarks on this subject.) The authors of the Mahabharata and the Puranas do not, however, appear to have been so sensitively alive to inconsistencies of this description as Sridhara. Perhaps the system of Kalpas and Manvantaras may not have been so clearly defined, or so generally current, when the older parts, at least of the Mahabharata, were composed, as at a later period. To And even the Puranic writers may not have cared very much to preserve a strict congruity in all that they wrote. In fact they may have had no great faith in the authority of speculations so arbitrary and artificial as those relating to the great mundane periods to which I refer,-speculations which were derived from no higher source than previous writers of their own class. The case, however, was different with the Commentators, who lived at a later period, and who seem to have regarded the established doctrine regarding Kalpas and Manyantaras as an article of faith.

There is, however, no doubt that, for the reasons above assigned, this legend of a Flood, such as is described in the Mahâbhârata and the Purāṇas, does not fit into the system of Kalpas and Manvantaras. But what is the inference which we ought to draw from this circumstance? M. Burnouf believes (1.) that the theory of great mundane periods and periodical dissolutions of the universe was received in India from very early times (Bhāg. P. iii. Pref. p. xliii.) and (2) that it was older than the legend of a deluge, as, although the latter may have been derived from ancient tradition, the style in which it is related in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas has nothing of the archaic colouring of the Itihāsas contained in the Brāhmaṇas, and it had not, so far as he knew,

<sup>70</sup> The Sväyambhuva Manvantara is mentioned in the S'antip. verse 12658, but no details are given (krite yuge mahārāja pura Svöyambhuve 'ntare).

been found in any work of the class last named(p. xxvii.), and was not, he anticipated, likely to be discovered there (lii.). The conclusion which he deduces from these premises, and from the absence of any tradition of any great local inundation (pp. xlviii. and li.), is that, although, as related in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the legend of the deluge has received in some respects an Indian character (xxxi. ff.; xlv. ff.), it is not in its origin Indian, (li.), but was most probably imported into Hindustan from a Semitic source, whether Hebrew or Assyrian (lii.-liv.). The first of M. Burnouf's premises, regarding the great antiquity of the system of Kalpas, Manvantaras, and mundane dissolutions, is not borne out by the Vedic hymns, or anything that has yet been found in the Brāhmaṇas (see above, pp. 45 ff.). And his anticipation that no reference to a deluge would be discovered in any of the older Indian records has proved incorrect, as is shewn by the legend of Manu quoted above (p. 181 ff.) from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Professor Weber, by whom attention was first drawn (in his Indische Studien, i. 160 ff.) to this passage, shows how materially it interferes with Burnouf's results. If there is no proof of the great antiquity of the cosmical theory which that great scholar supposes to be inconsistent with the early existence in India of any tradition of a deluge, whilst on the other hand there is distinct evidence that that tradition was actually current there at a much earlier period than he imagined, it is clear that his supposition of its having been introduced into that country from an exclusively Semitic source loses much of its probability.

The explanation by which Sridhara endeavours to maintain the consistency of the Puranic narratives and theories seems to be altogether unfounded. There is no appearance of the authors either of the Bhāgavata, or Matsya, or Agni Purāṇas having intended to represent the deluge as a mere vision. They evidently meant this narrative to be taken literally, just as much as anything else that they describe.

I shall now compare the versions of the legend given in the Mahābhārata and Purāṇas with each other, and with that quoted above from the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa.

- I. The following are the peculiarities of the narrative in the Satapatha Brahmana:
- (1.) It makes no reference to any great mundane periods, such as Kalpas or Manvantaras-

(2.) It does not speak of a dissolution of the world (pralaya), but of a flood (augha) which swept away all living creatures except Manu.

(3.) It does not fix the number of days or years after which the flood

should come.

(4.) It speaks of Manu simply, without assigning to him any patronymic, such as Vaivasvata.<sup>11</sup>

(5.) It contains no allusion to the locality in which he was when the

fish came to him.

(6.) It makes no mention of the fish being thrown into any river.

(7.) It is silent as to Manu being accompanied by any rishis when he embarked on the ship, and as to his taking any seeds along with him.

(8.) It speaks of the ship as having rested on the "Northern moun-

tain," and of a place called "Manu's Descent."

(9.) It does not say anything of any deity being incarnate in the fish.

(10.) It represents Ida as produced from Manu's oblation, and as the mother of his offspring, begotten apparently in the natural way.

It is manifest from this abstract, when compared with what follows, that the flood described in the Brahmana is distinguishable in various respects from the dissolution, or pralaya, of the later works.

II. The legend as told in the Mahabharata agrees with that of the S. P. Br. in some, and differs from it in other particulars:

(1.) It does not specify any Kalpa or Manvantara.

(2.) It speaks of a dissolution of the universe (pralaya), and of the time of its purification by water (samprakshālana-kālaḥ) having arrived.

(3.) It makes the fish declare that this event should take place speedily (achirāt), and alludes to no antecedent calamities.

<sup>71</sup> Manu Vaivasvata is however mentioned in S'. P. Br. xiii. 4, 3, 3. "Manur Vaivasvata king." He says 'Manu Vaivasvata king.' Men are his subjects." Further on, xiii. 4, 3, 6, Yama Vaivasvata is spoken of as King of the Pitris. Compare R.V. x. 14, 1; 17, 1. In the Valakhilya hymns attached to the R.V. iv. 1, Indra is mentioned as drinking Soma in the house of Manu Vivasvat (not Vaivasvata). In the Atharva-veda, viii. 10, 24, Manu Vaivasvata is spoken of as the calf of the cow Virāj (tasyā Manur Vairasvate vatsab). Yama is sinilarly spoken of in the preceding verse. In Vālakhilya, iii. 1, Indra is said to have drunk Soma in Manu Sāmvarani's house. The connection of the words Sāvarnya and Sōvarni with the word manu, "man," in R.V. x. 68, 8 f. and 11, no doubt gave rise to the idea of a Manu Sāvarni. See Wilson's Vishnu P. 4to. ed. pp. 266 ff., and Roth's remark in Journal Germ. Or. Soc. vi. 245 f., and R.V. x. 17, 2.

- (4.) It assigns to Manu the patronymic of Vaivasvata, but mentions no other Manu.
- (5.) It represents the fish as coming to him when on the banks of the Chirin river.
- (6.) It describes the fish as thrown into the Ganges before it was taken to the sea.
- (7.) It speaks of Manu as embarking on the ship with the seven rishis, and as taking with him all the seeds described by the Brāhmans.
- (8.) It declares that the ship rested on the highest peak of the Himālaya, which was thence called Naubandhana.
  - (9.) It makes the fish reveal himself as Brahmā Prajāpati.
- (10.) It describes Manu not as begetting offspring but as creating all sorts of living beings including MEN.
- III. The Matsya Parana agrees in some points, and differs in others from the above details.
- (1.) It states that Manu, whom it styles the son of the Sun (Sahas-rakiranātmaja, and Ravi-nandana), i.e. Manu Vaivasvata, practised austerity after making over his kingdom to his son (v. 12). One might have supposed that he could only have done this in his own Manvantara; but it is said further on (v. 34 f.) that he was informed by the fish that when the dissolution should come to an end, he should become a Prajāpati and lord of the Manvantara; and he receives a promise that he should be preserved during the dissolution (ii. 12), which, as appears from v. 15, was to take place at the end of the Chākshusha Manvantara. After this he was to create the world anew. We must therefore suppose the writer to have regarded Manu Vaivasvata as existing during the period of his predecessor, but as then occupying the inferior position of a king. This difficulty is, as I have already remarked, avoided in the Bhāgavata, which makes King Satyavrata the hero of the story.
- (2.) This Purina speaks of a dissolution (pralays) and yet (i. 15 ff.) represents Manu as asking and receiving from Brahma as a boon that when that dissolution should arrive, he should be the preserver of all things stationary and moving.
- (3.) It states that a hundred years and more would elapse before the dissolution, which was to be preceded by famine and various terrific phenomena.
  - (4.) It represents Manu as the son of the Sun. See under head (1.).

- (5.) It mentions Malaya (Malabar) as the scene of Manu's austerity, and of the apparition of the fish.
- (6.) It agrees with the Mahābhārata in describing the fish as thrown into the Ganges, though at so great a distance from Malabar.
- (7.) It is silent as to the seven rishis embarking on the ship, but speaks of Manu taking with him all sorts of creatures (living apparently) as well as seeds (chap. ii. v. 11).
- (8.) It does not bring the narrative to a conclusion (see above, p. 207), and thus has no opportunity of saying anything of the place where the ship rested.
- (9.) It speaks of Janardana (Vishnu) as the god who was manifested in the Fish.
- (10.) It refers to Manu as about to effect a creation (ii. 15), but also as preserving the existing animals and plants (ch. i. 15 ff., 31 f.; ii. 2, 19).
  - IV. According to the Bhagavata Purana:
- (1.) The event described was an "occasional dissolution" (naimittiko layah, see above, p. 45) at the end of a Kalpa (viii. 24, 7); and yet in contradiction with this it had previously been alluded to (i. 3, 15) as occurring at the close of the Chākshusha Manvantara.
  - (2.) See head (1.).
- (3.) The dissolution was to take place after seven days (viii. 24, 32); and no premonitory calamities are referred to.
- (4.) The hero of the story is Satyavrata, king of Dravida, who was born again in the present mahākalpa as the son of Vivasvat (vv. 10, 11, 58).
- (5.) The scene of the incidents, with which the narrative begins, was the river Kritamālā, in the country of Dravida.
- (6.) The fish is not thrown into any river after it had been once taken out of the Kritamâlä, and had grown large.
- (7.) Satyavrata is commanded to take with him into the ship the seven rishis, as well as plants, seeds, and all beings (sarva-sattvopavrinhitah).
  - (8.) Nothing is said of the place where the ship rested.
- (9.) Vishnu is the deity who took the form of a fish with the view of recovering the Vedas carried away by the Dānava Hayagrīva (vv. 9, 57).
- (10.) No mention is made in this chapter of any creation effected by Manu; but in ix. i. an account is given of his descendants.

V. The narrative in the Agni Purana agrees with that in the Bhagavata, except in its much greater conciseness, and in making Manu Vaivasvata, and not Satyavrata, the hero of the story.

SECT. IV.—Legendary Accounts of the Origin of Castes among the Descendants of Manu and Atri, according to the Puranas.

We have already seen that it is distinctly affirmed in a passage quoted above (p. 126) from the Adiparvan of the Mahabharata, verses 3138 ff., that men of all classes, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Südras were descended from Manu, a statement which is clearly at variance with the notion of their having been separately created from different members of Brahma. This tallies with the account of the origin of castes which is found in those parts of the Puranas which profess to record the history of the two royal races, the solar and the lunar, which are said to have sprung from Manu Vaivasvata and Atri.

The Vishnu Purana (which is here written in prose) makes the following statement regarding Manu's descendants:

iv. 1. 4. Sakala-jagatām anādir ādibhūtah rig-yajuh-sāmādimaya-bhagavad-Vishnumayasya Brahmano mürttirüpam Hiranyagarbho brahmandato bhagavan Brahma prag babhava | Brahmanas cha dakshinangushthajanına Dakshah prajapatih | Dakshasyapy Aditih | Aditor Vivasvan | Vivasvato Manuh | Manor Ikshvaku-Nriga-Dhrishta-Saryati-Narishyanta-Prāmśu-Nābhāganedishta-Kārūsha-Prishadhrākhyāh putrāh babhavuh | 6. Ishtim cha Mitra-Varunayor Manuh putra-kamas chakara | 7. Tatrāpahute hotur apachārād Ilā nāma kanyā babhūca | 8. Saica Mitra-Varuna-prasadat Sudyumno nama Manoh putro Maitreyant | punas cha Irvara-kopāt strī satī Soma-sūnor Budhasya āsrama-samīpe babhrāma | 9. Sānurāgas cha tanyām Budhah Purūravasam ātmajam utpādayāmāsa | 10. Jāte cha tasminn amita-tejobhih paramarshibhir ishtimayah rinmayo yajurmayah samamayo 'tharvamayah sarvamayo manomayo juanamayo 'kinchinmayo bhaqavan yajna-purusha-svarani Sudyumnasya pumsteam abhilashadbhir yathavad ishtah | tatprasadad Ila punar api Sudyumno 'bhavat |

"Before the mundane egg existed the divine Brahma Hiranyagarbha, the eternal originator of all worlds, who was the form and essence of Brahma, who consists of the divine Vishnu, who again is identical with the Rik, Yajush, Saman and Atharva-Vedas. From Brahma's right thumb12 was born the Prajapati Daksha; Daksha had a daughter Aditi; from her was born Vivasvat; and from him sprang Manu. Manu had sons called Ikshvaku, Nriga, Dhrishta, Saryati, Narishyanta, Prāmšu, Nābhāganedishta, Karūsha, and Prishadhra. Desirons of a son, Manu sacrificed to Mitra and Varuna; but in consequence of a wrong invocation through an irregularity of the hotri-priest, a daughter called Ila was born. Then through the favour of Mitra and Varuna she became to Manu a son called Sudyumna. But being again changed into a female through the wrath of Isvara (Mahadeva) she wandered near the hermitage of Budha the son of Soma (the Moon); who becoming enamoured of her had by her a son called Pururavas. After his birth, the god who is formed of sacrifice, of the Rik, Yajush, Saman, and Atharva Vedas, of all things, of mind, of nothing," he who is in the form of the sacrificial Male, was worshipped by the rishis of infinite splendour who desired that Sudyumna should recover his manhood. Through the favour of this god Ila became again Sudyumna."

Regarding the different sons of Manu the Puranas supply the following particulars:

(1.) Prishadhra. - The Vishnu Purana says:

Prishadhras tu guru-go-badhach chhūdratvam agamat |

"Prishadhra became a Sūdra in consequence of his having killed his religious preceptor's cow."

On the same subject the Harivamsa tells us, verse 659:

Prishadhro himsayitvä tu guror gäm Janamejaya | śāpāch chhūdratvam āpannah |

"Prishadhra having killed his Guru's cow, became a Sudra in consequence of his curse."

This story is variously amplified in the Markandeya Purana, section exii., and in the Bhagavata Purana ix. 2, 3-14. See Professor Wilson's note, Vishnu Purana, 4to. edit. p. 351, where the author remarks that

72 See above, p. 72 f.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Compare with this the list of Manu's sons given in the passage from the M. Bh. Adip. quoted above, p. 126. Nābhānedishṭa (not Nābhāganedishṭa) is mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaga, and Taittirīya Sashitā (see above, p. 191), and S'aryāta in the S'. P. Br. iv. 1, 5, 1. See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, p. 11 ff. The Mārk. P. cxi. 3 ff., and the Bhūg. P. ix. 1, 11 ff. treat also of Manu's sons and of the birth of Ilā. See Wilson's Vishpu P. 4to. ed. pp. 348-58, and Burnout's Bhūg. P. vol. iii. pref. lxx. ff.

<sup>11</sup> Akinchinmagah, "not consisting of anything."

"the obvious purport of this legend, and of some that follow, is to account for the origin of the different castes from one common ancestor."

(2.) Karūsha. - The Vishņu Purāņa says, iv. 1, 13:

Karūshāt Kārūshā mahābalāh Kshattriyā babhūvuh |

"From Karūsha the Karūshas, Kshattriyas of great power, were descended."

The Bhagavata Purana, ix. 2, says:

Kărūshād Mānavād āsan Kārūshāḥ Kshattra-jātayaḥ | uttarāpathagoptāro brahmaṇyā dharma-vatsalāḥ |

"From Karusha, son of Manu, came the Karushas of the Kshattriya caste, protectors of the northern region, devout, and lovers of duty."

(3.) Nābhāga. - The Vishņu Purāņa says:

Nabhago Nedishta-putras tu vaisyatam agamat |

"Nabhaga, the son of Nedishta, became a Vaisya."

The Markandeya Purana says he was the son of Dishta, and relates how he became a Vaisya, by marrying the daughter of a man of that class (section exiii. and Wilson, p. 352, note). The Bhagavata Purana, ix. 2, 23, says he became a Vaisya in consequence of his works (Nabhago Dishta-putro 'nyah karmabhir vaisyatam gatah). And yet a long list of his descendants is given, and among them occurs Marutta who was a Chakravarttin, or universal monarch (Vishnu P. iv. 1. 15-17; Bhāg. P. ix. 2, 23-28; Mark. P. exxviii.-exxxii.). He had a grandson called Dama, of whom the Markandeya Purana relates that at a Svayamvara he was chosen by the daughter of the King of Daśārna for her husband (exxxiv. 8), and that when the bride had been seized by three of his rejected rivals (verse 16) she was rescued by him after he had slain one of them and vanquished another (verse 53); that subsequently that same vanquished rival in revenge killed Dama's father, who had retired into the wilderness as an ascetic (exxxv. 18). The Purapa in one of its recensions ends with the following curious particulars;

Tataś chakara tatasya raktenaicodaka-kriyam | anrinyam prapya sa pituh punah prayat sca-mandiram | Vopushmataś cha mamsena pindadanam chakara ha | brahmanan bhojayamasa rakshah-kula-samudbhavan | evamvidha hi rajano babhuvuh surya-vamśa-jah | anye 'pi sudhiyah śuru yajvanah śastra-kovidah | vedantam pathamanams tan na sankhyatum ihotsahe |

" Dama then (after tearing out the heart of Vapushmat) performed

with blood the rites to the manes of his father; and having thus discharged his debt to his parent, he returned home. With the flesh of Vapushmat he formed the oblation which he offered, and fed the Brahmans who were of Rakshasa descent. Of such character were the kings of the Solar race. There were also others who were wise, brave, priests, and skilled in the scriptures. I am unable here to enumerate those of them who studied the Vedanta."

The Harivaıı́sa (section xi. verse 658) tells us that "two sons of Nabhagarishta, who were Vaisyas, became Brahmans" (Nabhagarishta-putrau dvau vaisyau brahmanatām gatau).

(4.) Dhrishta .- Of him the Vishnu Purana relates, iv. 2, 2:

Dhrishtasyapi Dharshtakam Kshattram samabhavat |

"From Dhrishta sprang the Dharshtaka Kshattriyas."

The Bhagavata Purana says, ix. 2, 17:

Dhrishtad Dharshtam abhut Kehattram brahma-bhuyam gatam kehitau |

- "From Drishta were descended the Dharshta Kshattriyas, who obtained Brahmanhood" on earth."
- (5.) The last-named Purăna enumerates în verses 19 ff. of the same section the descendants of Narishyanta, among whom was Agnivesya, verse 21:

Tato 'gniveśyo bhagavān Agnih svayam abhūt sutah | Kānīna iti vikhyāto Jātūkarnyo mahān rishih | tato brahma-kulam jūtam Āgniveśyāyanam nripa | Narishyantānvayah proktah |

"From him (Devadatta) sprang a son Agnivesya, who was the lord Agni himself, and who was also called Kānīna and Jātūkarnya the great rishi. From him was descended the Agnivesyayana race of

75 This quotation, which will be partly found in Prof. Wilson's note 22, p. 353, is taken from the section given separately by Prof. Banerjea at the end of his edition of this Purana from a Maithila MS, which differs from that followed in his text (see his Preface, p. 30). In verses 6 f. of section exxxvi. however, of Prof. Banerjea's text, Dama threatens to do something of the same sort as in the other recension he is described to have actually done: 6. Yad aham tasya raktena dehatthena Vapushmatah | na karomi guros triptim tat pravekshys hutās'anam | 7. Tachehhonitenodāka-karma tasya tātasya sankhys vinipūtitasya | māmsena samyag dvija-bhojanam cha na chet pravekshyāmi hutās'anam tat | "6. If I do not satiate my father with the blood from Vapushmat's body, then I shall enter the fire. 7. If I do not celebrate with his blood the obsequial rites of my father prostrated in the fray, and feed the Brāhmans with (his) flesh, I shall enter the fire."

16 The Commentator explains brahma-bhuyam by bruhmanateam, "the state of

Brahmans."

Brāhmans. The offspring of Narishyanta has been declared." That of Dishta is next taken up.

Some of the names of Manu's sons are repeated in the subsequent narrative. Thus we find a second Prānšu named among the descendants of Nābhāga (Wilson, 352). And in the Vishnu Purāṇa, iv. 2, 2, a second Nābhāga is mentioned as follows:

Nabhāgasyātmajo Nābhāgas tasya Ambarīshaḥ | Ambarīshasyāpi Virāpo'bhavat Virāpāt Prishadaśco jajne tataś cha Rathītaraḥ | tatrāyam ślokaḥ | "ete kshattra-prasūtā vai punaś chāngirasaḥ emritāḥ | Rathītarāṇām pravarāḥ kshattropetā deijātayaḥ" |

"The son of Nabhāga was Nabhāga; his son was Ambarīsha. From him sprang Virūpa; from him Prishadaśva; and from him Rathītara; regarding whom this verse is current: 'These persons sprung from a Kshattriya, and afterwards called Angirases, were the chief of the Rathītaras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya race."

The Bhagavata thus explains the circumstance, ix. 6, 2:

Rathītarasyāprajasya bhūryāyām tantave 'rthitaḥ | Angirā janayāmāsa brahmavarchasinaḥ sutān | ete kshetre prasūtā vai punas tv Āngirasāḥ smritāḥ | Rathītarāṇām pravarāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |

"Angiras being solicited for progeny, begot sons possessing Brahmanical glory on the wife of Rathītara who was childless. These persons being born of a (Kshattriya's) wife, but afterwards called descendants of Angiras, were the chief of the Rathītaras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya lineage."

It will be observed that in this last verse the Bhāgavata reads kshettre prasūtāḥ "born of the wife (of a Kshattriya)," instead of kshattra-prasūtāḥ, "sprung from a Kshattriya," and thus brings this verse into a closer conformity with the one preceding it. Professor Wilson (p. 359, note) considers that the form given to the legend in the Bhāgavata "is an afterthought, not warranted by the memorial verse cited in our text." It is difficult to determine whether or not this may be the case without knowing which of the two readings in that verse is the original one.

(6.) The Vishnu Purina next proceeds to enumerate the descendants of Ikshvaku son of Manu. The representative of his line in the twentyfirst generation was Harita, of whom it is said, iv. 3, 5:

<sup>77</sup> See Prof. Wilson's note in p. 359 on this passage.

Ambarīshasya Māndhātus tanayasya Yuvanāśvaḥ putro 'bhūt | tasmād Harito yato 'ngiraso Hāritāḥ |

"The son of Ambarîsha is son of Mandhatri was Yuvanasva. From him sprang Harita, from whom the Harita Angirases were descended."

These words are thus paraphrased by the Commentator: "from him sprang the Harita Angirases, Brahmans, chief of the family of Harita" (tasmād Hāritā Angiraso deijāķ Harita-gotra-pravarāķ).

The Linga Purana, quoted by Prof. Wilson, states the same thing:

Harito Yuvanāśvasya Hāritā yata ūtmajāḥ | ets hy Angirasaḥ pakshe
kshattropetā deijātayaḥ |

"The son of Yuvanāśva was Harita, of whom the Hāritas were sons. They were on the side of Angiras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya lineage."

And the Vayu Purana tells us with some variation :

Harito Yuvanāšvasya Hārītā bhūrayaḥ smṛitāḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ putrāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayaḥ |

"Harita was the son of Yuvanāśva: (after whom) many persons were called Hārītas. These were the sons of Angiras, twice-born men (Brāhmans) of Kshattriya race."

This may mean that they were begotten by Angiras, as is said by the Bhagavata (see above) to have been the case with Rathītara's sons. In that case, however, as Nābhaga and Ikshvaku were brothers and Rathītara was only the fifth in descent from Nābhaga, whilst Harita was the twenty-first after Ikshvaku,—Angiras (if we suppose one and the same person be meant in both cases) must have lived for sixteen generations!

Such are the remarkable notices given in the Puranas of the rise of different castes among the descendants of some of the sons of Manu Vaivasvata the legendary head of the solar line of kings. I shall now add some similar particulars connected with the lunar dynasty.

According to the Vishnu Purăna (iv. 6, 2 ff.) Atri was the son of Brahmā, and the father of Soma (the moon), whom Brahmā installed as the sovereign of plants, Brāhmans and stars (aśeshaushadhi-deijanakshtrāṇām ādhipatys 'bhyasechayat). After celebrating the rājasūya sacrifice, Soma became intoxicated with pride, and carried off Tārā

79 See Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, p. 136 ff.

<sup>78</sup> We have already had a person of this name the son of Nabhaga. See above.

(Star), the wife of Brihaspati the preceptor of the gods, whom, although admonished and entreated by Brahma, the gods, and rishis, he refused to restore. Soma's part was taken by Usanas; and Rudra, who had studied under Angiras, aided Brihaspati (Angirasascha sakasopalabdhavidyo bhagavān Rudro Brihaspateh sāhāyyam akarot). 10 A fierce conflict ensued between the two sides, supported respectively by the gods and the Daityas, etc. Brahmā interposed, and compelled Soma to restore Tara to her husband. She had, however, in the mean time become pregnant, and bore a son Budha (the planet Mercury), of whom, when strongly urged, she acknowledged Soma to be the father. Purûrayas, as has been already mentioned, was the son of this Budha by Ila, the daughter of Manu. The loves of Pururayas and the Apsaras Urvašī are related in the Satapatha Brāhmaņa, xi. 5, 1, 1; si in the Vishnu Purana, iv. 6, 19 ff.; in the Bhagavata Purana, ix. 14; st and in the Harivamsa, section 26. The Mahabharata, Adip. sect. 75, alludes to Pururavas as having been engaged in a contest with the Brahmans. This passage will be quoted hereafter. According to the Vishnu Purana, iv. 7, 1, Pururavas had six sons, of whom the eldest was Ayus. Ayus had five sons: Nahusha, Kshattravriddha, Rambha, Raji, and Anenas. The narrative proceeds (iv. 8, 1):

Kshattravriddhāt Sunahotraḥ s putro 'bhavat | Kāśa-Leśa-Gritsamadūs trayo 'syūbhavan | Gritsamadasya Suunakaś chāturvarnya-pravarttayitā, 'bhūt | Kāśasya Kāśirājas tato Dīrghatamāḥ putro 'bhavat | Dhauvantaris Dīrghatamaso 'bhūt |

"Kshattravriddha had a son Sunahotra, who had three sons, Kāśa, Leśa, and Gritsamada. From the last sprang Saunaka, who originated the system of four castes." Kāśa had a son Kāśirāja, of whom again Dīrghatamas was the son, as Dhanvantari was of Dīrghatamas."

50 This is the only mention I have ever happened to encounter of the great Mahadeva having been at school !

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> This passage is translated by Professor Müller in the Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 62 f.; and the legend has been formed on the basis of the obscure hymn in the R.V. x. 95, in which the two names of Pururavas and Urvasī occur as those of the interlocutors in a dialogue.

<sup>\*2</sup> A short quotation has been already made from this narrative. See above, p. 158.

<sup>81</sup> Both my MSS. read Sunahotra. Professor Wilson has Suhotra.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The Commentator explains the words chaturvarnya-pravarttayità by saying that the four castes were produced among his descendants (tod-vanise chateare carna abhavan). This explanation agrees with the statement of the Vaya Purana given in the text.

The Vayu Purana, as quoted by Professor Wilson (V. P. 4to. ed. p. 406), expresses the matter differently, thus:

Putro Gritsamadasya cha Sunako yasya Saunakaḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś chaiva vaiśyāḥ śūdrās tathaiva cha | etasya vamśe samudbhūtū vichitraiḥ karmabhir dvijāḥ |

"The son of Gritsamada was Sunaka, from whom sprang Saunaka. In his family were born Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras, twice-born men with various functions." 55

In like manner the Harivamsa states in section 29, verse 1520:

Putro Gritsamadasyāpi Sunako yasya Saunakāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāś chawa vaiśyāḥ śūdrās tathaiva cha |

"The son of Gritsamada was Sanaka, from whom sprang the Saunakas, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras."

Something similar is said of Gritsamati (who was the son of a Suhotra, although not the grandson of Kshattravriddha) in a following section, the 32nd of the same work, verse 1732:

Sa chāpi Vitathah putrān janayāmāsa pancha vai | Suhotram cha Suhotāram Gayam Gargam tathaiva cha | Kapilam cha mahātmānam Suhotrasya suta-dvayam | Kāšakaš cha mahāsattvas tathā Gritsamatir nripah | tathā Gritsamateh putrā brāhmanāh kshattriyāh višah |

"Vitatha was the father of five sons, Suhotra, Suhotri, Gaya, Garga, and the great Kapila. Suhotra had two sons, the exalted Kāśaka, and King Gritsamati. The sons of the latter were Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas."

The Bhagavata Purana, ix. 17, 2 f., has the following notice of Kshattravriddha's descendants:

Kshattravriddha-sutasyāsan Suhotrasyāmajās trayah | Kūśyaḥ Kuśo Gritsamadaḥ iti Gritsamadād abhūt | Sunako Saunako yasya baherichaḥ pracaro munih |

"Suhotra, son of Kshattravriddha, had three sons, Kāśya, Kuśa, and Gritsamada. From the last sprang Sunaka, and from him Saunaka, the eminent Muni, versed in the Rig-veda."

as On this Professor Wilson remarks, note, p. 406: "The existence of but one caste in the age of purity, however incompatible with the legend which ascribes the origin of the four tribes to Brahma, is everywhere admitted. Their separation is assigned to different individuals, whether accurately to any one may be doubted; but the notion indicates that the distinction was of a social or political character."

It is to be observed that this Gritsamada, who is here described as belonging to the regal lineage of Purūravas, is the reputed rishi of many hymns in the second Mandala of the Rig-veda. Regarding him the Commentator Sāyana has the following remarks in his introduction to that Mandala:

Mandala-drashtā Gritsamadah rishih | sa cha pūrvam Āngirasa-kule Sunahotrasya putrah san yajna-kūle 'surair grihītah Indrena mochitah | paśchāt tad-vachanenaiva Bhrigu-kule Sunaka-putro Gritsamada-nāmā 'bhūt | tathā chānukramanikā "Yaḥ Āngirasaḥ Saunahotro bhūtvā Bhārgavaḥ Saunako 'bhavat sa Gritsamado dvitīyam mandalam apaśyad" iti | tathā tasyaiva Saunakasya vachanam rishy-anukramane "tvam Agne" iti | "Gritsamadah Saunako Bhrigutām gataḥ | Saunahotro prakrityā tu yaḥ Āngirasa uchyats" iti | tasmād mandala-drashtā Saunako Gritsamadaḥ rishiḥ |

"The seer (i.e. he who received the revelation) of this Mandala was the rishi Gritsamada. He, being formerly the son of Sunahotra in the family of the Angirasas, was seized by the Asuras at the time of sacrifice and rescued by Indra. Afterwards, by the command of that god, he became the person named Gritsamada, son of Sunaka, in the family of Bhrigu. Thus the Anukramanikā (Index to the Rig-veda) says of him: 'That Gritsamada, who, having been an Angirasa, and son of Sunahotra, became a Bhārgava and son of Sunaka, saw the second Mandala.' So, too, the same Saunaka says in his Rishi-anukramana regarding the Mandala beginning with Thou, o Agni':—' Gritsamada son of Sunaka who is declared to have been naturally an Angirasa, and the son of Sunahotra, became a Bhrigu.' Hence the seer of the Mandala is the rishi Gritsamada son of Sunaka."

It will be noticed that (unless we are to suppose a different Gritsamada to be intended in each case) there is a discrepancy between the Puranas on the one hand, and Sāyana and the Anukramanikā on the other; as the Purānas make Gritsamada the son of Sunahotra or Suhotra, and the father of Sunaka; whilst the Anukramanikā, followed by Sāyana, represents the same personage as having been, indeed, originally the son of Sunahotra of the race of Angiras, but as having afterwards become, by what process does not appear, the son of Sunaka of the race of Bhrigu.

In his translation of the Rig-veda (ii. 207 f.) Professor Wilson refers

to a legend about King Vitahavya in the Anusasana-parvan of the Mahābhārata (verses 1944-2006) which gives a different account of Gritsamada's parentage. It begins: Srinu rājān yathā rājā Vītahavyo mahāyaśāh | rājarshir durlabham prāpto brāhmanyam loka-satkritam | "Hear, o king, how the renowned Vitahavya, the royal rishi, attained the condition of Brahmanhood venerated by mankind, and so difficult to be acquired." It happened that Divodasa, King of Kaśī (Renares) was attacked by the sons of Vītahavya, and all his family slain by them in battle. The afflicted monarch thereupon resorted to the sage Bharndvaja, who performed for him a sacrifice in consequence of which a son named Pratardana was born to him. Pratardana, becoming an accomplished warrior, was sent by his father to take vengeance on the VItahavyas. They rained upon him showers of arrows and other missiles, "as clouds pour down upon the Himālayn" "a (abhyavarshanta rājānam himacantam icambudah); but he destroyed them all, and "they lay with their bodies besmeared with blood, like kinsuka-trees 87 cut down 74 (apatan rudhirārdrāngā nikrittā iva kimsukāh). Vītahavya himself had now to fly to another sage, Bhrigu, who promised him protection. The avenger Pratardana, however, followed and demanded that the refugee should be delivered up :

Asyedānīm badhād adya bhavishyāmy anrinah pituh | tam uvācha kripāvishto Bhrigur dharma-bhritām varah | "nehāsti kshattriyah kaśchit sarve hīmo dvijātayah" | etat tu vachanam śrutvā Bhrigos tathyam Pratardanah | pūdāv upasprišya šanaih prahrishto vākyam abravīt | evam apy asmi bhagavan kritakrityo na samšayah | . . . . tyājito hi mayā jātim esha rājā Bhrigūdvaha | tatas tenābhyunujnāto yayau rājā Pratardanah | yathā-gatam mahārāja muktvā visham ivoragah | Bhrigor vachana-mātrena sa cha brahmarshitām gatah | Vītahavyo mahārāja brahmavāditvam eva cha | tasya Gritsamadah putro rāpenendra ivāparah | "Sakras tvam" iti yo daityair nigrihītah kilābhavat | rigvede varttute chāgryā śrutir yasya mahātmanah | yatra Gritsamado "brahman" brāhmanaih sa mahīyato | sa brahmachārī viprarshih śrīmān Gritsamado 'bhavat |

<sup>&</sup>quot;Pratardana says: 'By the slaughter of this (Vitahavya) I shall

sa This simile seems to indicate a familiarity with the manner in which the clouds collect, and discharge their contents on the outer range of the Himalaya.

e? The Kinsuka is a tree bearing a red blossom (Buten frondess).

now, to-day, be acquitted of my debt to my father.' Bhrigu, the most eminent of religious men, filled with compassion, answered: 'There is no Kshattriya here: all these are Brähmans.' Hearing this true assertion of Bhrigu, Pratardana was glad, and gently touching the sage's feet, rejoined: 'Even thus, o glorious saint, I have gained my object . . . . for I have compelled this King (i.s. Rājanya) to relinquish his caste.' King Pratardana then, after receiving the sage's salutations, departed, as he came, like a serpent which has discharged its poison: while Vītahavya by the mere word of Bhrigu became a Brāhman-rishi, and an utterer of the Veda. Gritsamada, in form like a second Indra, was his son; he was seized by the Daityas, who said to him, 'Thou art Sakra' (Indra). In the Rig-veda the texts (śruti) of this great rishi stand first. There Gritsamada is honoured by the Brāhmans (with the title of) 'Brāhmān.' This illustrious personage was a Brahmachārin, and a Brāhman-rishi."

According to the enumeration of Gritsamada's family, which follows here, Sunaka was his descendant in the twelfth generation, and Saunaka in the thirteenth. The story concludes with these words:

Evam vipratvam agamad Vitahavyo narādhipaḥ | Bhrigoḥ prasādād rājendra kshattriyaḥ kshattriyarshabha |

"Thus did King Vītahavya, a Kshattriya, enter into the condition of Brahmanhood by the favour of Bhrigu."

In the next chapter we shall again notice Vītahavya among the Kshattriyas who are declared by tradition to have been the authors of Vedic hymns.

King Divodāsa was the sixth in descent from Kāśa brother of Gritsamada. Of him the Harivañiśa states, section 32, verse 789 f.:

Divodāsasya dāyādo brahmarshir Mitrāyur nripah | Maitrāyanas tatah Somo Maitreyās tu tatah smritāh | ete vai samsritāh paksham kshattropetās tu Bhārgavāh |

"The son of Divodasa was the King Mitrayu a Brahman-rishi. From him sprang Soma Maitrayana, from whom the Maitreyas received their name. They, being of Kshattriya lineage, adhered as Bhargavas to the side (of the latter)."

<sup>\*\*</sup> If I have correctly interpreted this verse, and if by "first" we are to understand first in order, it does not accurately represent the state of the case: as the hymns of Gritsamada only appear in the second Mandala.

The twentieth in descent from the same Kāśa, brother of Gritsamada, was Bhārgabhūmi, of whom the Vishņu Purāṇa says, iv. 8, 9:

Bhārgasya Bhārgabhūmiḥ | tataś chāturvarnya-pravrittiḥ | ity ete Kāšayo bhūpatayaḥ kathitāḥ |

"The son of Bharga was Bhargabhumi, from whom the four castes originated. Thus have the kings called Kasis been declared."

In two passages of the Harivamsa, names identical, or nearly so, are found, but with a different progenitor in each case, in reference to which a similar statement is made. The first is in section 29, verse 1596:

Venuhotra-sutaš chāpi Bhargo nāma praješvaraķ | Vatsasya Vatsabhūmis tu Bhrigubhūmis tu Bhārgavāt | ete hy Angirasaķ putrā jūtā vainše 'tha Bhārgave | brāhmanāķ kshattriyā vaišyās trayaķ putrāķ" sahasrašaķ |

"The son of Venuhotra was King Bharga. From Vatsa sprang Vatsabhūmi, and Bhrigubhūmi from Bhūrgava. These descendants of Angiras were then born in the family of Bhrigu, Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas three (classes of) descendants in thousands."

The second passage is in the 32nd section, verse 1752:

Sukumārasya putras tu Satyaketur mahārathaḥ | suto 'bhavad mahātejā rājā parama-dhārmikaḥ | Vatsasya Vatsābhūmis tu Bhārgabhūmis tu Bhārgavāt | ete hy Angirasaḥ putrā jātā vamše 'tha Bhārgave | brāhmaṇāh kshattriyā vaišyāḥ śūdrāś eha Bharatarshabha |

"The warrior Satyaketu was the son of Sukumara, and a prince of great lustre and virtue. From Vatsa sprang Vatsabhumi, and Bhargabhumi from Bhargava. These descendants of Angiras were then born in the family of Bhrigu, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras."

The parallel passage in the Vayu Purana, as quoted by Professor Wilson, p 409, has names which are mostly different

Venuhotra-sutaś chāpi Gārgyo vai nāma višrutah | Gārgyasya Gāryabhāmis tu Vatso Vatsasya dhīmatah | brāhmanāh kshattriyāś chaira tavoh putrāh sudhārmikāh |

"The son of Venuhotra was the renowned Gargya. Gargabhūmi was the son of Gargya; and Vatsa of the wise Vatsa. Brāhmans and Kshattriyas were the virtuous sons of these two." 90

30 In regard to these passages the reader may consult the remarks of Professor

Professor Wilson, p. 410, note, gives tejoyuktāh, "glorious," instead of trayaḥ putrāḥ, as the reading either of the Brāhma Purāṇa, or of the Harivañasa, or both.

Another son of Ayus (son of Pururavas) was Rambha, of whom the Bhāgavata Purāna says, ix. 17, 10:

Rambhasya Rabhasah putro Gabhiras chākriyas tatah | tasya kshettre brahma jajne śrinu cainśam Anenasah |

"The son of Rambba was Rabhasa, from whom sprang Gabhīra and Akriya. From his wife Brahmans were born : here now the race of Anenas" (another son of Ayus).

Of the same Rambha the Vishnu Purana says (iv. 9, 8), Rambhas to anapatyo 'bharat | " Rambha was childless."

Another son of Ayus, as we have seen, Vishnu Purana, iv. 8, 1, was Nahusha. He had six sons (V. P. iv. 10, 1), of whom one was Yayati. The sons of the latter were Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu, and Puru (Ibid. iv. 10, 2).4 One of these five, Anu, had, as we are told, in the twelfth generation a son called Bali, of whom the Vishnu Purana, iv. 18, 1, relates:

Hemāt Sutapās tasmād Balir yasya kshettre Dirghatamasā Anga-Banga-Kalinga-Suhma-Pundrakhyam Baleyam kshattram ajanyata |

"From Hema sprang Sutapas; and from him Bali, on whose wife " Baleyn Kshattriyas (i.e. Kshattriyas of the race of Bali), called Anga, Banga, Kalings, Suhma, and Pundra were begotten by Dirghatamas."

Professor Wilson (p. 445, note 12) quotes from the Váyu Purāṇa a statement regarding the same person that he had "sons who founded the four eastes" ( putrân chăturcarnya-karān); and refers to a passage in the Matsya Purana, in which Bali is said to have obtained from

Wilson, p. 409, note 16, where a commentator (on the Brahma Purana, or the Harivamsa) is quoted, who says that in the passage from these works "another son of Vatsa the father of Alarka is specified, viz., Vatsabhūmi; while Bhargava is the brother of Vatsa; and that (the persons referred to were) Angirases because Galava belonged to that family, and (were born in the family) of Bhrigu, because Vis'vamitra belonged to it" (Vataasya Alarka-pituh putruntaram aha "Vatsabhumir" iti | " Bhargavad" Vatsa-bhratuh | " Angiraso" Galavasya Angirasatsat | " Bhargave" Visvāmitrasya Bhargarateot). The Vishnu Purana, iv. 8, 6, says that Yatsa was one of the names of Pratardana, son of Divodasa, a descendant of Kasa, and a remote ancestor of Bhargabhumi. See however Professor Wilson's note 13, p. 408. It is possible that the resemblance of the word Bharga to Bhargava may have occasioned the descendants of the former to be connected with the family of Bhrigu.

m These five names occur together in the plural in a verse of the Rig-veda, i. 109,

quoted above, p. 179,

on Kahettre bharyayam jatatead Baleyah | "They were called descendants of Bali because they were born of his wife."

Brahmā the boon that he should "establish the four fixed castes" (chaturo niyatān varņāms tvam sthāpayeti).

The Harivamsa gives the following account of Bali, in the course of which the same thing is stated; section 31, verses 1682 ff.:

Phenāt tu Sutapā jajne sutah Sutapaso Balih | jāto māmusha-yonau tu sa rājā kānchaneshudhih | mahāyogī sa tu Balir babhāva nripatih purā | putrān utpādayāmāsa pancha vamsa-karān bhuvi | Angah prathamato jajne Vangah Suhmas tathaiva cha | Pundrah Kalingas cha tathā Bāle-yam kahattram uchyate | Bāleyā brāhmanās chaiva tasya vamsakarā bhuvi | Bales tu Brahmanā datto varah prītena Bhārata | mahāyogitvam āyus cha kalpasya parimāṇatah | sangrāme chāpy ajeyatvam dharme chaiva pradhānatā | trailokya-darsanam chāpi prādhānyam prasave tathā | bale chāpratimatvam vai dharma-tattvārtha-darsanam | chaturo niyatān varnāms tvam cha sthāpayiteti cha | ity ukto vibhunā rājā Balih sāntim parām yayau | tasyaite tanayāh sarve kshettrajā muni-pungavāt | sambhūtā Dīrghatapasah Sudeshnāyām mahaujausah |

"From Phena sprang Sutapas; and the son of Sutapas was Bali. He was born of a human mother, this prince with the golden quiver; but King Bali was of old a great yogin. He begot five sons, who were the heads of races upon the earth. Anga was first born, then Vanga, Suhma, Pundra and Kalinga; such are the names of the Kshattriyas descended from Bali (Bāleyāh). There were also Bāleya Brāhmans, founders of his race upon the earth. By Brahma, who was pleased, the boon was granted to Bali that he should be a great yogin, should live the entire length of a Kalpa, should be invincible in battle, should have pre-eminence in virtue, should have the power of beholding the whole three worlds, should have a superiority in begetting progeny, should be unequalled in strength, and should comprehend the essential principles of duty. And being thus addressed by the Lord in these words, 'Thou shalt establish the four regulated castes,' King Bali attained supreme tranquillity. All these sons, the offspring of his wife, were begotten on Sudeshna by the glorious muni Dirghatapas." 12

M. Langlois must have found in his MS. a different reading of the last line, as he renders it otherwise. Professor Wilson remarks (V.P. pp. 444, note 12): "The Matsya calls Bali the son of Virochana, and "ayu-kalpa-pramanikah, "existing for a whole Kalpa;" identifying him, therefore, only in a different period and form, with the Bali of the Vamana Avatara" (Dwarf-incarnation). (See Wilson's Vishuu P. p. 265, note, and the Bhāgavata P. ix. sects. 15-23, and other works quoted in the 4th vol. of this work, pp. 116 ff.

Apratiratha is recorded as being a descendant of Pūru (another of Yayāti's sons), in the thirteenth generation (Wilson, p. 448). Of him it is related, Vishnu Purāṇa, iy. 19, 2:

Riteyoh Rantinārah putro 'bhūt | Tamsum Apratiratham Dhruvam cha Rantinārah putrān avāpa | Apratirathāt Kanvah | tasyāpi Medhātithih | yatah Kanvāyanā dvijā babhābhuh | Tamsor Anilas tato Dushyantādyāś chatvārah putrā babhūvuh | Dushyantāch chakravarttī Bharato 'bhavat |

"Riteyu had a son Rantināra, who had Tansu, Apratiratha and Dhruva for his sons. From Apratiratha sprang Kanva. His son was Medhātithi; from whom the Kānvāyana Brāhmans were descended. From Tansu sprang Anila, who had four sons, Dushyanta, and others. From Dushyanta sprang the emperor Bharata."

With some variations the Bhagavata Purana says, ix. 20, 1:

Pūror vam̃sam pravakshyūmi yatra jūto'si Bhūrata | yatra rūjarshayo vam̃syā brahma-vam̃syas cha jajnire | . . . 6. Riteyoḥ Rantibhūro'bhūt trayas tasyātmajā nripa | Sumatir Dhruvo'pratirathaḥ Kanvo'pratirathāmajāḥ | tasya Medhātitithis tasmāt Praskanvādyā dvijātayaḥ | putro'bhūt Sumāter Raibhyo Dushyantas tat-suto mataḥ |

"I shall declare the race of Pūru from which thou hast sprung, o Bhārata; and in which there have been born royal rishis, and men of Brahmanical family . . . . 6. From Riteyu sprang Rantibhāra; who had three sons, Sumati, Dhrava, and Apratiratha. Kanva was the son of the last; and the son of Kanva was Medhātithi, from whom the Praskanvas and other Brāhmans were descended."

A little further on, in the chapter of the Vishnu Purāṇa just quoted (iv. 19, 10), Kanva and Medhātithi are mentioned as having had a different parentage from that before assigned, viz., as being the son and grandson of Ajamīḍha, who was a descendant in the ninth generation of Tansu, the brother of Apratiratha:

Ajamīdhāt Kanvaḥ | Kanvād Medhātithir yataḥ Kanvāyanā dvijāḥ | Ajamīdhasyānyaḥ putro Brihadishuḥ |

"From Ajamīdha sprang Kanva: from Kanva Medhātithi, from whom were descended the Kānvayana Brāhmans. Ajamīdha had another son Brihadishu." \*\*

94 On this the Commentator remarks: Ajamīdhasya Kanvādir eko vamso Brihadishv-ādir aparo vamso Nītādir aparah Rikshādis zhāparah ! "Ajamīdha had one set of descendants, consisting of Kanva, etc., a second consisting of Brihadishu, etc., On this last passage Professor Wilson observes, p. 452, note: "The copies agree in this reading, yet it can scarcely be correct. Kanva has already been noticed as the son of Apratiratha." But the compiler of the Purāṇa may here be merely repeating the discordant accounts which he found in the older authorities which he had before him.

Regarding Ajamīdha the Bhāgavata says, ix. 21, 21:

Ajamîdhasya vamsyah syuh Priyamedhadayo dvijah | Ajamîdhad Brihadishuh |

"Priyamedha and other Brāhmans were descendants of Ajamīḍha. From Ajamīḍha sprang Brihadishu."

The Vishnu Purana (iv. 19, 16) gives the following account of Mudgala, a descendant of Ajamīdha in the seventh generation:

Mudgalāch cha Maudgalyāḥ kshattropetā dvijātayo babhūvuḥ | Mudgalād Bahvaśvo Bahvaśvād Divodāso 'halyā cha mithunam abhūt | Saradvato 'halyāyām S'atānando 'bhavat |

"From Mudgala were descended the Maudgalya Brāhmans of Kshattriya stock. From Mudgala sprang Bahvaśva; from him again twins, Divodāsa and Ahalyā. Satānanda was born to Saradvat by Ahalyā." Similarly the Bhāgavata Purāna says, iv. 21, 33 f.:

Mudgalād brahma nirvrittam gotram Maudgalya-sanjnitam | mithunam Mudgalād Bhārmyād Divodāsah pumān abhūt | Ahalyā kanyakā yasyām S'atānandas tu Gautamāt |

"From Mudgala sprang Bråhmans, the family called Maudgalyas. To the same father, who was son of Bharmyaśva, were born twins, Divodása, a male, and Ahalyâ, a female child, who bore Satânanda to Gautama."

The words of the Matsya Purana on the same subject, as quoted by Professor Wilson, p. 454, note 50, are:

Mudgalasyāpi Maudgalyāḥ kshattropetā dvijatāyaḥ | ete hy Angirasaḥ pakshe samsthitāḥ Kanca-Mudgalāḥ |

"From Mudgala sprang the Maudgalyas, Brühmans of Kshattriya stock. These Kanva and Mudgalas stood on the side of Angiras."

a third consisting of Nila, etc., and a fourth consisting of Riksha, etc." The last two sons of Ajamidha are mentioned further on, Nila in v. 15, and Riksha in v. 18, of the same chapter of the V. P.

95 The Commentator says this is a name of Gautama. Regarding Ahalyā and Gantama see the story extracted above, p. 121, from the Rāmāyaṇa.

The Harivamsa, section 32, verse 1781, thus notices the same family:

Mudgalasya tu dayado Maudgalyah sumahayasah | ete sarve mahatmano kshattropeta dvijatayah | ete hy Angirasah paksham samsritah Kanca-Mudgalah | Maudgalyasya suto jyeshtho brahmarshih sumahayasah |

"The renowned Maudgalya was the son of Mudgala. All these great personages were Brāhmans of Kshattriya descent. These Kāṇvas and Mudgalas adhered to the side of Angiras. Maudgalya's eldest son was a celebrated Brahman-rishi."

Regarding Kshemaka, a future descendant of Ajamīdha in the 31st generation, the Vishņu Purāṇa says, iv. 21, 4:

Tato Niramitras tasmäch eha Kshemakah | tatrāyam slokah | "brahma-kshattrasya yo yonir "vamśo rājarshi-satkritah | Kshemakam prāpya rājānam sa samsthām prāpsyate kalau |

"From him (Khandapāṇi) shall spring Niramitra; and from him Kshemaka; regarding whom this verse (is current): 'The race, consecrated by royal rishis, which gave birth to Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, shall terminate in the Kali age, after reaching King Kshemaka.'"

The corresponding verse quoted by Professor Wilson (p. 462, note 24) from the Matsya and Vayu Purānas substitutes devarshi, "divine rishis," or "gods and rishis," for the rājarshi, "royal rishis," of the Vishuu Purāna. The verse in question is there described as anuvamāa-šloko yam gito vipraih purātanaih, "a genealogical verse sung by ancient Brāhmans."

According to the details given from the Puranas in this section several persons, Gritsamada, Kanva, Medhatithi, and Priyamedha, to whom hymns of the Rig-veda are ascribed by Indian tradition as their rishis, were of Kshattriya descent.

In the line of the same Tansu, brother of Apratiratha, we find in the sixth generation a person named Garga, of whom the Vishnu Purana relates, iv. 19, 9:

Gargāt S'iniḥ | tato Gārgyāḥ S'ainyāḥ kshattropetā deijātayo babkūvuḥ |
"From Garga sprang Sini; from them were descended the Gārgyas
and Sainyas, Brāhmans of Kshattriva race."
"

on this words the Commentator has this note: Brahmanah brahmanasya Kshattrasya kshattriyasya the yorih karanam purram yathektateat | "Brahma" and "Kshattra" stand for Brahman and Kshattriya. This race is the 'source,' cause (of these), as has been declared above."

vi On this the Commentator only remarks: Tatas tabhyam Gargyah Samyai cha

Similarly the Bhagavata Purana, ix. 21, 19, says:

Gargat S'inis tato Gargyah kihattrad brahma hy avarttata |

"From Garga sprang Sini; from them Gargya, who from a Kshattriya became a Brahman." "

The Vishnu Purāna records a similar circumstance regarding the family of Mahāvīryya, the brother of Garga (iv. 19, 10):

Mahāvīryyād Urukshayo nāma putro 'bhūt | tasya Trayyaruṇa-Pushkariṇau Kapiś cha putra-trayam abhūt | tach cha tritayam api paśchād vipratām upajagāma |

"Mahavīryya had a son named Urukshaya; who again had three sons, Trayyaruna, Puskarin, and Kapi; and these three so afterwards entered into the state of Brahmans (i.s. became such)."

The Bhagavata states, ix. 21, 19 f.:

Duritakshayo Mahāvīryyāt tasya Trayyārunih Kavih | Pushkarārunir ity atra ye brāhmana-gatim gatāh |

"From Mahavīryya sprang Duritakshaya. From him were descended Trayyaruṇi, Kavi, and Puskarāruṇi, who attained to the destination of Brāhmans." 189

According to the Matsya Purana also, as quoted by Professor Wilson (451, note 22), "all these sons of Uruksha (sie) attained the state of Brahmans" (Urukshatah suta hy ete sarve brahmanatām gatāh); and in another verse of the same Purana, cited in the same note, it is added: Kāvyānām tu varā hy ete trayah proktā maharshayah | Gargāh Sankritayah Kāvyā kshattropetā dvijātayah | "These three classes of great rishis, viz. the Gargas, Sankritis, and Kāvyas, Brahmans of Kshattriya race, are declared to be the most eminent of the Kāvyas, or descendants of Kavi." The original Garga was, as we have seen, the brother of Mahavīryya, the father of Kavi, or Kapi; while, according to the

Garga-ramdyntrüt S'ini-vamisyatrüch cha samäkhyütah | kshattriyü eva kenachit küranena brühmanüs cha bubhüruh | "They were called Gürgyas and S'ainyas because they were of the race of Gürga and S'ini. Being indeed Kshattriyas they became Brühmans from some cause or other."

28 The Commentator does not say how this happened.

<sup>90</sup> Unless Professor Wilson's MSS, had a different reading from mine, it must have been by an oversight that he has translated here, "The last of whom became a Brühman."

100 On this the Commentator annotates: Ye atra kshattra-vamse brāhmana-gatim brāhmana-rēpatām gatās te [ " Who in this Kshattriya race attained the destination of Brāhmans,—the form of Brāhmans." Vishnu Purāṇa (iv. 19, 9), and Bhāgavata Purāṇa (ix. 21, 1), Sankriti was the son of Nara, another brother of Mahavīryya.

The series of passages just quoted is amply sufficient to prove that according to the traditions received by the compilers of the ancient legendary history of India (traditions so general and undisputed as to prevail over even their strong hierarchical prepossessions), Brähmans, Kshattriyas, and even Vaisyas and Sūdras, were, at least in many cases, originally descended from one and the same stock. The European critic can have no difficulty in receiving these obscure accounts as true in their literal sense; though the absence of precise historical data may leave him without any other guide than speculation to assist him in determining the process by which a community originally composed for the most part of one uniform element, was broken up into different classes and professions, separated from each other by impassable barriers. On the other hand, the possibility of this common origin of the different castes, though firmly based on tradition, appeared in later times so incredible, or so unpalatable, to some of the compilers of the Puranas, that we find them occasionally attempting to explain away the facts which they record, by statements such as we have encountered in the case of the Kings Rathītara and Băli, that their progeny was begotten upon their wives by the sages Angiras and Dirghatamas, or Dirghatapas; or by the introduction of a miraculous element into the story, as we have already seen in one of the legends regarding Gritsamada, and as we shall have occasion to notice in a future chapter in the account of Viśvāmitra.

## CHAPTER III.

ON THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF INDIAN SOCIETY ACCORDING TO THE HYMNS OF THE RIG-AND ATHARVA-VEDAS.

In the last chapter I have attempted to shew that in general the authors of the hymns of the Rig-veda regarded the whole of the Aryan people, embracing not only the priests and chiefs, but the middle classes also of the population, as descended from one common father, or ancestor, whom they designate by the name of Manu. This reference to a common progenitor excludes, of course, the supposition that the writers by whom it is made could have had any belief in the myth which became afterwards current among their countrymen, that their nation consisted of four castes, differing naturally in dignity, and separately created by Brahmā.

In that chapter I proposed to leave for further consideration any specific notices which the Rig-veda might contain regarding the different classes of which the society contemporary with its composition was made up. On this consideration I now enter. As that great collection of hymns embodies numerous references, both to the authors themselves and to the other agents in the celebration of divine worship, it may be expected to supply, incidentally or indirectly, at least, some information respecting the opinion which these ministers of religion entertained of themselves, and of the ecclesiastical and civil relations in which they stood to the other sections of the community. I shall now endeavour to shew how far this expectation is justified by an examination of the Rig-veda.

It will be understood, from what I have already (pp. 7 and 11 ff.) written on the subject of that one hymn of the Rig-veda in which the

four castes are distinctly specified, i.e. the Purusha Sükta, that in the enquiry, which I am now about to undertake, I confine myself in the first instance to those hymns which for any reason (see p. 4, above) appear to be the most ancient, leaving out of account until afterwards, all those compositions which, like the one just mentioned, are presumably of a later age.

It will, I think, be found on investigation that not only the older hymns, but the great bulk of the hymns, supply no distinct evidence of the existence of a well defined and developed caste-system at the time when they were composed.

## Sect. I.— On the signification of the words brahman, brahmana, etc., in the Rig-veda.

As the Rig-veda Sanhitā is made up almost entirely of hymns in praise of the gods, it was not to be anticipated that it should furnish any systematic or detailed explanations on the points which form the object of our enquiry. But as was natural in compositions of the early and simple age to which these hymns belong, they do not always confine themselves to matters strictly connected with their principal subject, but indulge in occasional references to the names, families, personal merits, qualifications, relations, circumstances, and fortunes of the poets by whom they were produced, or of their patrons or other contemporaries, or of their predecessors.

I have, in another volume of this work, enquired into the views which the authors of the hymns appear to have held on the subject of their own authorship. The conclusion at which I arrived was, that they did not in general look upon their compositions as divinely inspired, since they frequently speak of them as the productions of their own minds (vol. iii. pp. 128-140). But although this is most commonly the case (and especially, as we may conjecture, in regard to the older hymns), there is no doubt that they also attached a high value to these productions, which they describe as being acceptable to the gods (R.V. v. 45, 4; v. 85, 1; vii. 26, 1, 2; x. 23, 6; x. 54, 6; x. 105,

<sup>1</sup> Original Sanskrit Texts, vol. iii. pp. 116-161.

8), whose activity they stimulated (iii. 34, 1; vii. 19, 11), and whose blessing they drew down. In some of the hymns a supernatural character or insight is claimed for the rishis (i. 179, 2; vii. 76, 4; iii. 53, 9; vii. 33, 11 ff.; vii. 87, 4; vii. 88, 3 ff.; x. 14, 15; x. 62, 4, 5), and a mysterious efficacy is ascribed to their compositions (vol. iii. pp. 173 f.) The rishis called their hymns by various names, as arka, uktha, rich, gir, dhī, nītha, nivid, mantra, mati, sūkta, stoma, vāch, vachas, etc. etc.; and the also applied to them the appellation of brahma in numerous passages.3 That in the passages in question brahma has generally the sense of hymn or prayer is clear from the context of some of them (as in i. 37, 4; viii. 32, 27, where the word is joined with the verb gayata, "sing," and in vi. 69, 7, where the gods are supplicated to hear the brahma), as well as from the fact that the poets are said (in i. 62, 13; v. 73, 10; vii. 22, 9; vii. 31, 11; x. 80, 7) to have fashioned or generated the prayer, in the same way as they are said to have fashioned or generated hymns in other texts (as i. 109, 1; v. 2, 11; vii. 15, 4; viii. 77, 4; x. 23, 6; x. 39, 14), where the sense is indisputable; while in other places (iv. 16, 21; v. 29, 15; vi. 17, 13; vi. 50, 6; vii. 61, 6; x. 89, 3) new productions of the poets are spoken of under the appellation of brahma.

That brahma has the sense of hymn or prayer is also shown by the two following passages. In vii. 26, 1, it is said: Na somah Indram asuto mamāda na abrahmāno maghavānam sutāsah | tasmai uktham janaye yaj jujoshad nrīvad nacīyah śrinavad yathā nah | 2. Ukthe ukthe somah Indram mamāda nīthe nīthe maghavānam sutāsah | yad tīm sabādhah pitaram na putrāh samāna-dakshāh avase havante | "Soma unless poured out does not exhilarate Indra; nor do libations without hymns (abrahmānah). I generate for him a hymn (uktha) which he will love, so that like a man he may hear our new (production). 2. At each hymn (uktha) the soma exhilarates Indra, at each psalm (nītha) the libations (exhilarate) Maghavat, when the worshippers united, with one effort, invoke him for help, as sons do a father." Again in x. 105, 8, it is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a list of these texts and other details which are here omitted, I refer to my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society in the Vedic age," in the Journal of the Roy, As. Soc. for 1866 (from which this section is mostly borrowed).

It is clear from the context of this passage that abrahmanah means "unattended by hymns," and not "without a priest." After saying that some-libations without

said: Ava no vrijina sisthi richa vanema anrichah | na abrahma yajnah ridhag joshati tee | "Drive away our calamities. With a hymn (richa) may we slay the men who are hymnless (anrichah). A sacrifice without prayer (abrahma) does not please thee well."

I have said that great virtue is occasionally attributed by the poets to their hymns and prayers; and this is true of those sacred texts when called by the name of brahma, as well as when they receive other appellations, such as mantra. Thus it is said, iii. 53, 12, Viścāmitrasya rakshati brahma idam Bharatam janam | "This prayer (brahma) of Viśvāmitra protects the tribe of Bharata;" v. 40, 6, Gulham suryam tamasa apavratena turiyena brahmana avindad Atrih | " Atri with the fourth prayer (brahmana) discovered the sun concealed by unholy darkness;" vi. 75, 19, Brahma varma mama antaram | "Prayer (brahma) is my protecting armour;" vii. 33, 3, Eva id nu kam dāšarājne Sudāsam prūvad Indro brahmanā vo Vasishthāh | "Indra preserved Sudās in the battle of the ten kings through your prayer, o Vasishthas." In ii. 23, 1, Brahmanaspati is said to be the "great king of prayers" (jueshtharājam brahmaṇām) (compare vii. 97, 3), and in verse 2, to be the "generator of prayers" (janitā brahmanām); whilst in x. 61, 7, prayer is declared to have been generated by the gods (svadhyo ajanayan brahma devāh). Compare vii. 35, 7.

Brāhmān in the masculine is no doubt derived from the same root as brāhmān neuter, and though differing from it in accent as well as gender, must be presumed to be closely connected with it in signification, just as the English "prayer" in the sense of a petition would be with "prayer," a petitioner, if the word were used in the latter sense. As, then, brāhmān in the neuter means a hymn or prayer, brāhmān in the masculine must naturally be taken to denote the person who composes or repeats a hymn or prayer. We do not, however, find that the composers of the hymns are in general designated by the word

hymns are unacceptable to Indra, the poet does not add that he is himself a pricet, or that he is attended by one, but that he generates a hymn; and the same sense is required by what follows in the second verse. Accordingly we find that Sāyaṇa explains abrahmāṇaḥ by stotra-hīmāḥ, "destitute of hymns." The same sense is equally appropriate in the next passage cited, x. 105, 8. On iv. 16, 9, where abrahmā is an epithet of dasyu, "demon," Sāyaṇa understands it to mean "without a priest," but it may mean equally well or better, "without devotion, or prayer."

In brahman neuter the accent is on the first syllable; in brahman masculing on

the last,

brahman, the name most commonly applied to them being riski, though they are also called eipra, codhas, kavi, etc. (see vol. iii. of this work, pp. 116 ff.). There are, however, a few texts, such as i. 80, 1; i. 164, 35; ii. 12, 6; ii. 39, 1; v. 31, 4; v. 40, 8; ix. 113, 6, etc., in which the brahman may or must be understood as referred to in the capacity of author of the hymn he utters. So, too, in ii. 20, 4, and vi. 21, 8, n new composer of hymns seems to be spoken of under the appellation of nutānasya brāhmānyatah; and in ii. 19, 8, the Gritsamadas are referred to both as the fabricators of a new hymn (manma naviyah) and as (brahmanyantah) performing devotion. In three passages, vii. 28, 2; vii. 70, 5, and x. 89, 16, the brahma and brahmani, "prayer" and "prayers," or "hymn" and "hymns," of the rishis are spoken of; and in vii. 22, 9, it is said, "that both the ancient and the recent rishis have generated prayers" (ye cha purve rishayo ye cha nutnah Indra brahmani janayanta viprāh). In i. 177, 5, we find brahmāni kāroh, "the prayers of the poet." The fact that in various hymns the authors speak of themselves as having received valuable gifts from the princes their patrons, and that they do not there allude to any class of officiating priests as separate from themselves, would also seem to indicate an identity of the poet and priest at that early period.

The term brahman must therefore, as we may conclude, have been originally applied (1) to the same persons who are spoken of elsewhere in the hymns as rishi, kavi, etc., and have denoted devout worshippers and contemplative sages who composed prayers and hymns which they themselves recited in praise of the gods. Afterwards when the ceremonial gradually became more complicated, and a division of sacred functions took place, the word was more ordinarily employed (2) for a minister of public worship, and at length came to signify (3) one particular kind of priest with special duties. I subjoin a translation of the different passages in which the word occurs in the Rig-veda, and I have attempted to classify them according as it seems to bear, in each case, the first, second, or third of the senses just indicated. This, however, is not always an easy task, as in many of these texts there is nothing to fix the meaning of the term with precision, and one signi-

b In another place (x. 96, 5) Indra is said to have been lauded by former worshippers, purvebhir yājeābhih, a term usually confined (as brāhmān was frequently applied) in after times to the offerers of sacrifice.

fication easily runs into another, and the same person may be at once the author and the reciter of the hymn.

 Passages in which brāhmān may signify "contemplator, sage, or poet."

(In all these texts I shall leave the word untranslated.)

i. 80, 1. Itthā hi some id made brahmā chakāra varddhanam |

"Thus in his exhilaration from soma juice the brahman has made (or uttered) a magnifying (hymn)."

i. 164, 34. Prichhāmi teā param antam prithivyāḥ prichhāmi yatra bhuvanasya nābhiḥ | prichhāmi teā vrishno aśvasya retaḥ prichhāmi vāchaḥ pāramam vyoma | 35. Iyam vediḥ paro antaḥ prithivyāḥ ayam yajno bhuvanasya nābhiḥ ayam somo vrishno aśvasya reto brahmā ayam cāchaḥ paramam vyoma |

"I ask thee (what is) the remotest end of the earth; I ask where is the central point of the world; I ask thee (what is) the seed of the vigorous horse; I ask (what is) the highest heaven of speech. 35. This altar is the remotest end of the earth; this sacrifice is the central point of the world; this soma is the seed of the vigorous horse; this brāhmān is the highest heaven of speech."

ii. 12, 6. Yo radhrasya choditā yaḥ kṛiśasya yo brahmano nādhamānasya kīreḥ |

"He (Indra) who is the quickener of the sluggish, of the emaciated, of the suppliant brahman who praises him," etc.

vi. 45, 7. Brahmānam brahma-vāhasam girbhih sakhāyam rigmiyam | gām na dohase huce |

"With hymns I call Indra, the brāhmān,—the carrier of prayers (brāhmā-cāhasam), the friend who is worthy of praise,—as men do a cow which is to be milked."

vii. 33, 11. Uta asi Maitrāvaruņo Vasishtha Urvašyāh brahman manaso 'dhi jātaḥ | drapsam skannam brahmaṇā daivyena viśce devāḥ pushkare teā 'dadanta |

"And thou, o Vasishtha, art a son of Mitra and Varuna (or a Maitrāvaruna-priest), born, o brāhmān, from the soul of Uryašī. All the

Varddhanam = vriddhi-karain stotram (Süyana).

<sup>7</sup> Compare R.V. iii. 32, 10; x. 109, 4, below, and the words, the highest heaven of invention."

Compare R,V. x. 71 and x. 125.

gods placed in the vessel thee, the drop which had fallen through divine contemplation."

viii. 16, 7. Indro brahmā Indrah rishir Indrah puru puruhūtah | mahān mahībhih śachībhih |

"Indra is a brāhmān, Indra is a rishi, Indra is much and often invoked, great through his mighty powers."

x. 71, 11. (See the translation of the entire hymn below. The sense of brāhmān in verse 11 will depend on the meaning assigned to jātaeidyā.)

x. 77, 1. (In this passage, the sense of which is not very clear, the word brāhmān appears to be an epithet of the host of Maruts.)

x. 85, 3. Somam manyate papivān yat sampimshanti oshadhim | somam yam brahmāno vidur na tasya aśnāti kaśchana | 16. Dvo te chakre Sūrysbrahmāno rituthā viduķ | atha ekam chakram yad guhā tad addhātayaķ id viduķ | 34. . . . Sūryām yo brahmā vidyāt sa id vādhūyam arhati |

"A man thinks he has drunk some when they crush the plant (so called). But no one tastes of that which the brāhmāns know to be some (the moon). 16. The brāhmāns rightly know, Sūryā, that thou hast two wheels; but it is sages (addhātayaḥ) alone who know the one wheel which is hidden. 34. The brāhmān who knows Sūryā deserves the bride's garment." 10

x. 107, 6. Tam eva rishim tam u brahmāṇam āhur yajnanyam sāma-gām uktha-śāsam | sa šukrasya tanvo veda tisraḥ yaḥ prathamo dakshiṇayā rarādha |

"They call him a rishi, him a brahman, reverend, a chanter of Sama verses (sama-gam), and reciter of ukthan,—he knows the three forms of the brilliant (Agni)—the man who first worshipped with a largess."

Even in later times a man belonging to the Kshattriya and Vaisya castes may perform all the Vedic rites. Any such person, therefore, and consequently a person not a Brahman might, according to this verse, have been called, though, no doubt, figuratively, a priest (brahmā).

10 See Dr. Haug's Ait. Br. vol. i. Introduction, p. 20.

Different deities are called rishi, kori, etc., in the following texts: v. 29, 1; vî. 14, 2; viii. 6, 41; ix. 96, 18; ix. 107, 7; x. 27, 22; x. 112, 9.

- x. 117, 7. . . . Vadan brahmā avadato vanīyān priņann āpir apriņantam abhi syāt |
- "A brahman" who speaks is more acceptable than one who does not speak: a friend who is liberal excels one who is illiberal." 12
- x. 125, 5. Yam kāmaye tam tam ugram kriņomi tam brahmāṇam tam rishim tam sumedhām |
- "I (says Vāch) make him whom I love formidable, him a brāhman, him a rishi, him a sage."

This would seem to prove that sometimes, at least, the brahman was such not by birth or nature, but by special favour and inspiration of the goddess. In this passage, therefore, the word cannot denote the member of a caste, who would not be dependent on the good will of Vach for his position.

- II. In the passages which follow the word brahman does not seem to signify so much a "sage or poet," as a "worshipper or priest."
- i. 10, 1. Gāyanti tvā gāyatriņo archanti arkam arkiņaķ | brahmāṇas tvā S'atākrato ud vamšām iva yemiro |
- "The singers sing thee, the hymners recite a hymn, the brahmans, o Satakratu, have raised thee up like a pole." 13
- i. 33, 9. Amanyamanan abhi manyamanair nir brahmabhir adhamo dasyum Indra |
- "Thou, Indra, with the believers, didst blow against the unbelievers, with the brahmans thou didst blow away the Dasyu."14
- i. 101, 5. Yo viścasya jagatah prānatas patir yo brahmans prathamo gāh avindat | Indro yo dasyūn adharān avātirat . . .
- "Indra, who is lord of all that moves and breathes, who first found the cows for the brāhmān, who hurled down the Dasyn."
- i. 108, 7. Yad Indragni madathah see durone yad brahmani rajani va yajatra | atah pari erishanae a hi yatam atha somasya pibatam sutasya |
  - "When, o adorable Indra and Agni, ye are exhilarated in your own
- 1) The word here seems clearly to indicate an order or profession, as the silent priest is still a priest.
- 12 See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20. The contexts of the two last passages are given in my article "Miscellaneous Hymns from the R. and A. Vedas," pp. 32 f.
- 13 Compare l. 5, 8; i. 7, 1; viii. 16, 9. See Dr. Haug's remark on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p 20.
  - 14 See on this verse the remarks of M. Breal, Hercule et Caeus, etc. p. 152.

abode, or with a brahman or a rajan, so come thence, ye vigorous (deities), and then drink of the poured out soma." so

i. 158, 6. Dîrghatamāḥ Māmateyo jujurvān dašame yuge | upām artham

yatīnām brahmā bhavati sārathiķ |

"Dirghatamas, son of Mamata, being decrepit in his tenth lustre, (though) a brāhmān, becomes the charioteer of (or is borne upon) the waters which are hastening to their goal."

(Professor Aufrecht understands this to mean that Dîrghatamas is verging towards his end, and thinks there is a play on the word "charioteer" as an employment not befitting a priest.)

ii. 39, 1. . . . Gridhrā iva vriksham nidhimantam acha | brahmānā iva vidathe ukthašāsā . . . |

"Ye (Aśvins) (cry) like two vultures on a tree which contains their nest; like two brāhmāns singing a hymn at a sacrifice."

iv. 50, 7. Sa id rājā pratijanyāni višvā šushmeņa tasihāv abhi vīryena |
Brihaspatim yah subhritam bibhartti valgūyati vandate pūrva-bhājam |
8. Sa it ksheti sudhitah okasi sve tasmai ilā pinvate višvadānīm [ tasmai višah svayam eva namante yasmin brahmā rājani pūrvah eti | 9. Apratīto jayati sam dhanāni pratijanyāni uta yā sajanyā | avasyave yo varivah krinoti brahmane rājā tam avanti devāh |

"That king overcomes all hostile powers in force and valour who maintains Brihaspati in abundance, who praises and magnifies him as (a deity) enjoying the first distinction. 8. He dwells prosperous in his own palace, to him the earth always yields her increase, 17 to him the

Is A distinction of orders or professions appears to be here recognised. But in v. 64, 7, a rish and a röjan are distinguished much in the same way as a bröhmön and röjan are in i. 108, 7: Sa na j iyate Maruto na hanyute na sredhati na vyathate no rishyati | na asya rāyah upa dasyanti na ūtayah rishim cā yam rājānam vā sushūdatha | "That maa, whether rishi or prince, whom ye, o Maruts, support, is neither conquered nor killed, he neither decays nor is distressed, nor is injured; his riches do not decline, nor his supports." Compare v. 14, where it is said: Yūgam rayim marutah spūrhavīram yūyam rishim acatha sāma-virram yūyam arvantam Bharatāya cājam yūyam ahattha rājanam irushfimantam | "Ye, o Maruts, give riches with desirable men, yo protect a rishi who is skilled in hyuns; ye give a horse and food to Bharata, ye make a king prosperous." In iii. 43, 6, reference is found to Viśvāmitra, or the author, being made by Indra both a prince and a rishi (kuvid mā gopām karum jamasya kuvid rājāmam maghacama rījāshim | kuvid mā rishim papivāmsam satasya).

18 See on this verse Prof. Benfey's note, Orient and Occident, 3, 142.

<sup>13.</sup> Compare R.V. v. 37, 4£: Na sa rājā cyathate yasminn Indras tieram nomam pirati go-sakhāyam | "That king suffers no distress in whose house Indra drinks the pungent soma mixed with milk," etc.

people bow down of themselves,—that king in whose house a brāhmān walks first.<sup>18</sup> 9. Unrivalled, he conquers the riches both of his enemies and his kinsmen—the gods preserve the king who bestows wealth on the brāhmān who asks his assistance.<sup>19</sup>

iv. 58, 2. Vayam nāma pra bravāma ghritasya asmin yajne dhārayāma namobhih | upa brahmā śrinovat śasyamānam chatuh-śringo acamīd gaurah etat |

"Let us proclaim the name of butter; let us at this sacrifice hold it (in mind) with prostrations. May the brāhmān (Agni?) hear the praise which is chanted. The four-horned bright-coloured (god) has sent this forth."

v. 29, 3. Uta brahmāno Maruto me asya Indrah somasya sushutasya peyāḥ |

"And, ye Maruts, brahmans, may Indra drink of this my soma which has been poured out," etc.

v. 31, 4. Anacas te ratham aśvāya takshan Tvashtā vajram puruhūta dyumantam | brahmāṇaḥ Indram mahayanto arkair avarādhayann Ahaye hantavai u |

"The men have fashioned a car for thy (Indra's) horse, and Tvashtri a gleaming thunderbolt, o god greatly invoked. The brāhmāns, magnifying Indra, have strengthened him for the slaughter of Ahi."

v. 32, 12. Evā hi tvām rituthā yātayantam maghā viprebhyo dadatam śrinomi | kim̃ te brahmāṇo grihate sakhāyo ye tvāyāḥ nidadhuḥ kāmam Indra |

"I hear of thee thus rightly prospering, and bestowing wealth on, the sages (riprebhyah). What, o Indra, do the brākmāns, thy friends, who have reposed their wishes on thee, obtain?"

v. 40, 8. Grāvņo brahmā yuyujānah saparyan kīrinā devān namasā upašikshan | Atrih sūryasya divi chakshur ā adhāt Svarbhānor apa māyāḥ aghukshat |

"Applying the stones (for pressing soma), performing worship, honouring the gods with praise and obeisance, the brāhmān Atri placed

<sup>10</sup> See on this passage Roth's article, "On Brahma and the Brahmans," Journ. Germ. Or. Sec. i. 77 ff. See also Aitareya Brahmana, viii. 26.

Mare the Ribbus intended?

<sup>18</sup> Compare viii. 69, 4; x. 39, 11; x. 107, 5; and the word purchita, used of a ministering priest as one placed in front. Prof. Aufrecht, however, would translate the last words, "under whose rule the priest receives the first or principal portion."

the eye of the sun in the sky, and swept away the magical arts of Svarbhānu."

vii. 7, 5. Asādi vrito vahnir ājaganvān Agnir brahmā nri-shadane vidharttā |

"The chosen bearer (of oblations), Agni, the brāhmān, having arrived, has sat down in a mortal's abode, the upholder."

vii. 42, 1. Pra brahmano Angiraso nakshanta |

"The brahmans, the Angirases, have arrived," etc.

viii. 7, 20. Kea nünam sudanavo madatha erikta-barhishah | brahmā ko vaḥ saparyati |

"Where now, bountiful (Maruts), are ye exhilarated, with the sacrificial grass spread beneath you? What brahman is serving you?"

viii. 17, 2. Ā tvā brahma-yujā harī vahatām Indra kešinā | upa brahmāṇi naḥ śṛiṇu | 3. Brahmāṇas tvā vayam yujā somapām Indra sominaḥ ; sutāvanto havāmahe |

"Thy tawny steeds with flowing manes, yoked by prayer (brahmayujā), bring thee hither, Indra; listen to our prayers (brāhmāni). 3. We brāhmāns, offerers of soma, bringing oblations, continually invoke the drinker of soma."

viii. 31, 1. Yo yajāti yajāts it sunavach cha pachāti cha | brahmā id Indrasya chākanat |

"That brahman is beloved of Indra who worships, sacrifices, pours out libations, and cooks offerings."

viii. 32, 16. Na nünam brahmanăm rinam prāšūnām asti sunvatām | na somo apratā pape |

"There is not now any debt due by the active brahmans who pour out libations. Some has not been drunk without an equivalent."

viii. 33, 19. Adhah pasyasva mā upari santaram pādakau hara | mā te kasa-plakau drišan etrī hi brahmā babhūvitha |

"Look downward, not upward; keep thy feet close together; let them not see those parts which should be covered; thou, a brāhmān, hast become a woman."

viii. 45, 39. Å to etä vacho-yujä harī gribhne sumadrathā | yad īm brahmabhyaḥ id dadaḥ |

<sup>\*\*</sup>Compare viii. 45, 39, below: bruhma-ynj occurs also in i. 177, 2; iii. 35, 4; viii. 1, 24; viii. 2, 27.

"I seize these thy tawny steeds, yoked by our hymn (vacho-yuja)" to a splendid chariot, since thou didst give (wealth) to the brahmans.

viii. 53, 7. Kva sya vrishabho ywed tuvi-grīvo andnataḥ | brahmā kas tam saparyati |

"Where is that vigorous, youthful, large-necked, unconquered (Indra)? What brahman serves him?

viii. 66, 5. Abhi Gandhaream atrinad abudhneshu rajassu a | Indro brahmabhyah id vridhs |

"Indra clove the Gandharva in the bottomless mists, for the prosperity of the brāhmāns."

viii. 81, 30. Mo su brahmā iea tandrayur bhuvo cājānām pats | matsva sutasya gomataḥ |

"Be not, o lord of riches (Indra), sluggish like a brāhmān." Be exhilarated by the libation mixed with milk."

viii. 85, 5. Ā yad vajram bāhvor Indra dhatse mada-chyutam Ahave hantavai u | pra parvatāḥ anavanta pra brahmāno abhinakshanta Indram |

"When, Indra, thou seizest in thine arms the thunderbolt which brings down pride, in order to slay Ahi, the (aerial) hills and the cows utter their voice, and the brāhmāns draw near to thee."

ix. 96, 6. Brahmā devānām padavīh kavīnām rishir viprānām mahisho mrigānām | šyeno gridhrāṇām svadhitir vanānām somah pavitram ati eti rebhan |

"Soma, resounding, overflows the filter, he who is a brahman among the gods, a leader among poets, a rishi among the wise, a buffalo among wild beasts, a falcon among kites, an axe among the woods."

ix. 112, 1. Nanānām vai u no dhiyo vi vratāni janānām | takshā rishtam rutam bhishag brahmā sunvantam ichhati.

"Various are the thoughts and endeavours of us different men. The carpenter seeks something broken, the doctor a patient, the brahman some one to offer libations." "

<sup>23</sup> Compare viii. 87, 9, yunjanti harī ishiranya gāthayā uran rathe uruyuge | Indra-vāhā vachoyujā; i. 7, 2, vachoyujā; i. 14, 6, manoyujā; vi. 49, 5, ratho... manasā yujānah.

<sup>23</sup> Dr. Haug (Introd. to Ait. Br. p. 20) refers to Ait. Br. v. 34, as illustrating this reproach. See p. 376 of his translation. This verse clearly shows that the pricets formed a professional body.

<sup>24</sup> This verse also distinctly proves that the priesthood already formed a profession. Verse 3 of the same hymn is as follows: "I am a poet, my father a physician, my

ix. 113, 6. Yatra brahmā pavamāna chhandasyām vācham vadan | grāvnā some mahīyate somena ānandam janayann Indrāya Indo pari sraca |

"O pure Soma, in the place where the brāhmān, uttering a metrical hymn, is exalted at the soma sacrifice through (the sound of) the crushing-stone, producing pleasure with soma, o Indu (Soma) flow for Indra."

x. 28, 11. Tebhyo godha ayatham karshad etad ye brahmanah pratipiyanti annaih | sime ukshnah avasrishtan adanti svayam balani tanvah śrinanah | (The word brahmanah occurs in this verse, but I am unable to offer any translation, as the sense is not clear.)

x. 71, 11. (See translation of this verse below, where the entire hymn is given.)

x. 85, 29. Parā dehi śāmulyam brahmabhyo vi bhaja vasu | . . . 35.

Süryüyüh pasya rüpüni tani brahma tu sundhati |

"Put away that which requires expiation (?). Distribute money to the brāhmāns. . . . 35. Behold the forms of Sūryū. But the brāhmān purifies them."

x. 141, 3. Somam rajanom avase Agnim girbhir havamahe | Adityan

Vishnum Sûryam brahmānam cha Brihaspatim |

"With hymns we invoke to our aid king Soma, Agni, the Adityas, Vishnu, Surya, and Brihaspati, the brahman.

III. In the following passages the word brāhmān appears to designate the special class of priest so called, in contradistinction to hotri, udgātri, and adhearyu.

ii. 1, 2 (= x. 91, 10). Tava Agne hotram tava potram ritviyam tava neshtram tvam id agnid ritāyataḥ | tava praśāstram tvam adhvarīyasi brahmā cha asi grihapatiś cha no dame | 2. Tvam Agne Indro vrishabhaḥ satām asi tvam Vishņur urugāyo namasyaḥ | team brahmā rayivid Brahmanaspats tvam vidharttah sachase purandhyā |

"Thine, Agni, is the office of hotri, thine the regulated function of potri, thine the office of neshtri, thou art the agnidh of the pious man, thine is the function of prašastri, thou actest as adhvaryu, thou art the brāhmān, and the lord of the house in our abode. 2. Thou, Agni, art Indra, the chief of the holy, thou art Vishnu, the wide-stepping, the

mother a grinder of corn." (kārwe aham tato bhishey upala-prakshinī nāmā). Unfortunately there is nothing further said which could throw light on the relations in which the different professions and classes of society stood to each other.

adorable, thou, o Brahmanaspati, art the brahman, the possessor of wealth, thou, o sustainer, art associated with the ceremonial."

iv. 9, 3. Sa sadma pari nīyato hotā mandro divishţishu | uta potā ni shīdati | 4. Uta gnā Agnir adheare uta grihapatir dame | uta brahmā ni shīdati |

"He (Agni) is led round the house, a joyous holy at the ceremonies, and sits a poly i. 4. And Agni is a wife (i.e. a mistress of the house) at the sacrifice, and the master of the house in our abode, and he sits a brahman."

x. 52, 2. Aham hotā ni asīdam yajīyān višve devāh maruto mā junanti | ahar ahar Aśvinā ādhvaryavam vām brahmā samid bhavati sā ahutir vām |

(Agni says) "I have sat down an adorable hotpi; all the gods, the Maruts, stimulate me. Day by day, ye Aśvins, I have acted as your adhearyu; the brāhmān is he who kindles the fire: this is your invocation."

I shall now bring forward the whole of the texts in which the word brāhmāṇa, which, no doubt, originally meant a son, or descendant, of a brāhmāṇ, occurs in the Rig-veda. They are the following:

i. 164, 45. Chatvāri vāk parimitā padāni tāni vidur brāhmanāh ye manīshinah | guhā trīni nihitā na ingayanti turīyam vācho manushyāḥ vadanti |

"Speech consists of four defined grades. These are known by those brāhmans who are wise. They do not reveal the three which are esoteric. Men speak the fourth grade of speech."

This text is quoted and commented upon in Nirukta xiii. 9.

vi. 75, 10. Brāhmanāsah pilarah somyāsah šive no dyāvā-prithivī anehasā | Pāshā naḥ pātu duritād ritāvridhah . . . . |

"May the brahman fathers, drinkers of soma, may the auspicious, the sinless, heaven and earth, may Püshan, preserve us, who prosper by righteousness, from evil, etc."

<sup>25</sup> There are two more texts in which the word brāhmane is found, viz. i. 16, 5, and ii. 36, 5, on which see the following note. The word brahmanutra (compare Asv. S'. S. ii. 18, 13) "son of a brahman," is found in ii. 43, 2: Udgātā iea šakune sēma gāyasi brāhmā-putrah iea savaneshu šamsasi | "Thou, o bird, singest a sāma verse like an udgātri; thou singest praises like the son of a brāhmān at the libations." (Ind. Stud. ix. 342 ff.) Vēpra, used in later Sanskrit as synonymous with Brāhman, has in the R.V. the sense of "wise," "sage" assigned by Nigh. 3, 15 (=medhāvi-nāma), and in Nir. 10, 19,=medhāvinah. It is often applied as an epithet to the gods.

vii. 103, 1 (= Nirukta 9, 6). Samvatsaram śaśayānāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ vrata-chāriṇaḥ | vācham Parjanya-jinvitām pra maṇḍākāḥ avādishuḥ . . . | 7. Brāhmaṇāso atirātre na soms saro na pūrṇam abhito vadantaḥ | samvatsarasya tad ahaḥ pari shṭha yad maṇḍākāḥ prāvrishīṇam babhūva | 8. Brāhmaṇāsaḥ somino vācham akrata brahma kriṇvantaḥ parivatsarīṇam | adhvaryavo gharmiṇaḥ sishvidānāḥ āvir bhavanti guhyā na ke chit |

"After lying quiet for a year, those rite-fulfilling brāhmans the frogs have (now) uttered their voice, which has been inspired by Parjanya . . . . 7. Like brāhmans at the Atirātra soma rite, like (those brāhmans) speaking round about the full pond (or soma-bowl 7), you, frogs, surround (the pond) on this day of the year, which is that of the autumnal rains. 8. These soma-offering brāhmans (the frogs) have uttered their voice, performing their annual devotion (brahma); these adhvaryu priests sweating with their boiled oblations (or in the hot season) come forth from their retreats like persons who have been concealed."

x. 16, 6. Yat te krishnah śakunah ātutoda pipīlah sarpah uta vā ścāpadah | Agnis tad viśvād agadam karotu Somas cha yo brāhmanān āviveśa |

"Whatever part of thee any black bird, or ant, or serpent, or wild beast has mutilated, may Agni cure thee of all that, and Soma who has entered into the brahmans." \*\*\*

\*\* In the Nighantus, iii. 13, these words brāhmaṇāḥ erata-chūriṇaḥ are referred to as conveying the sense of a simile, though they are unaccompanied by a particle of similitude. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 126, Roth thus remarks on this passage: "This is the only place in the first nine mandalas of the R.V. in which the word Brāhmaṇa is found with its later sense, whilst the tenth mandala offers a number of instances. This is one of the proofs that many of the hyunns in this book were composed considerably later (than the rest of the R.V.). The word brāhmaṇa has another signification in i. 15, 5; ii. 36, 5; and vi. 76, 10." (In the first of these texts, Roth assigns to the word the sense of the Brāhman's soma-vessel. See his Lexicon, s.e. It does not appear what meaning he would give to the word in vi. 75, 10. He has in this passage overlooked R.V. i. 164, 45, which, however, is duly adduced in his Lexicon). See Wilson's translation of the hymn; as also Müller's, in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 494 f.

<sup>37</sup> Saras. See R.V. viii. 66, 4, quoted in Nirukta, v. 11, where Yaska says, "The ritualists inform us that at the mid-day oblation there are thirty aktha platters destined for one deity, which are then drunk at one draught. These are here called saras." (Compare Roth's Illustrations on the passage. See also R.V. vi. 17, 11, and

viii. 7, 10, with Sayana's explanations of all three passages).

<sup>20</sup> Compare A.V. vii. 115, 1 f.; xii. 5, 6.

x. 71, 1.39 Brihaspate prathamam vācho agram yat prairata nāmadheyam dadhanah | yad ceham śreshtham yad aripram asit prena tad ezham nihitam guhā avih | 2. (= Nirukta iv. 10) Saktum iva titaunā punanta yatra dhirāh manasā vācham akrata | atra sakhāyah zakhyāni jānate bhadrā eshām lakshmīr nihitā adhi vāchi | 3. Yajnena vāchah padavīyam āyan tām anv avindann rishishu pravishtām | tām ābhritya vi adadhuh purutrā tām sapta rebhāh abhi sam nacante | 4. (= Nir. i. 19) Uta tvah pasyan na dadarsa vācham uta tvah śrinvan na śrinoti enām | uto trasmai tantam vi sasre jāyā iva patye ušati suvāsāh | 5. (= Nir. i. 20) Ula team sakhye sthirapītam āhur na enam hincanty api cājineshu | adhenvā charati māyayā esha vācham susruvān aphalām apushpām | 6. Yas tityāja sachi-vidam sakhāyam na tasya vāchi api bhāgo asti | yad Im śrinoti alakam śrinoti na hi praveda sukritasya pantham | 7. Akshanvantah karnacantah sakhayo manojaveshu asamah babhuvuh | adaghnasah upakakshasah u teo hradah iea snateah u teo dadrisro | 8. (= Nir. xiii. 13) Hridā tashteshu manaso javeshu yad brāhmanāh zamyajante zakhayah | atra aha tvam vi jahur vedyabhir ohabrahmano vi charanti u tve | 9. Ime ye na arvañ na paras charanti na brahmanāso na sute-karāsah | te ete vācham abhipadya pāpayā sirīs tantram tanvate aprajajnayah | 10. Sorve nandanti yasasa agatena sabha-sahena sakhya sakhayah | kilbisha-sprit pitu-shanir hi esham aram hito bhavati rājināya | 11. (= Nir. i. 8) Richām trak poskam āste pupuskrān gāyatram tvo gäyati sakvarishu | brahmā tvo vadati jāta-vidyām yajnasya mātram vi mimīte u tvah |

When, o Brihaspati, men first sent forth the earliest utterance of speech, giving a name (to things), then all that was treasured within them, most excellent and pure, was disclosed through love. 2. Whereever the wise,—as if cleansing meal with a sieve,—have uttered speech with intelligence, there friends recognize acts of friendliness; good fortune dwells in their speech. 3. Through sacrifice they came upon

I cannot pretend that I am satisfied with some parts of the translation I have attempted of this very difficult hymn; but I give it such as it is, as the interpretation of the Vedic poems is still to a certain extent tentative. Verses 4 and 5 are explained in Sāyana's Introduction to the Rig-veda, pp. 30 f. of Müller's edition. I am indebted here, as elsewhere, to Prof. Anfrecht for his suggestions.

av I quote here, as somewhat akin to this hymn, another from the A.V. vi. 108, being a prayer for wisdom or intelligence: 1. Team no medhe prathamā gobhir as vebhir ā gahi | team xūryasya raśmibhis team no asi yajniyā | 2. Medhūm aham prathamām

the track of speech, and found her entered into the rishis. Taking, they divided her into many parts: 91 the seven poets celebrate her in concert. 4. And one man, seeing, sees not speech, and another, hearing, hears her not; 33 while to a third she discloses her form, as a loving well-dressed wife does to her husband. 5. They say that one man has a sure defence in (her 33) friendship; he is not overcome even in the conflicts (of discussion). But that person consorts with a barren delusion who has listened to speech without fruit or flower. 6. He who abandons a friend who appreciates friendship, has no portion whatever in speech. All that he hears, he hears in vain, for he knows not the path of righteousness. 7. Friends gifted both with eyes and ears have proved unequal in mental efforts. Some have been (as waters) reaching to the face or armpit, while others have been seen like ponds in which one might bathe. 8. When brahmans who are friends strive (?) together in efforts of the mind produced by the heart, M they leave one man behind through their acquirements, whilst others walk about boasting to be brahmans. (This is the sense Professor Aufrecht suggests for the word ohabrahmanah. Professor Roth a.v. thinks it may mean "real priests." The author of Nirukta xiii. 13, explains it as meaning "reasoning priests," or "those of whom reasoning is the sacred science.") 9. The men who range neither near nor far, who are neither (reflecting) brahmans nor yet pious worshippers at libations, -these, having acquired speech, frame their web imperfectly, (like) female

brahmanyatīm brahma-jūtām riehishtutām | prapītām brahmachārībhir devānām avase huve | 3. Yām medhām Ribhavo vidur yām medhām anurāh viduh | riehayo bhadrām medhām yām vidus tām mayy ā vei ayāmasi | 4. Yām riehayo bhūta-krito medhām medhāvino viduh | tayā mām adya medhayā Agne medhāvinam krinu | 5. Medhām sāyam medhām prātar medhām madhyandinam pari | medhām sāryanya rasmibhir varhasā "veia-yāmahs 1. "Come to us, wisdom, the first, with cown and horses; (come) thou with the rays of the sun; thou art to us an object of worship. 2. To (obtain) the succour of the gods, I invoke wisdom the first, full of prayer, inspired by prayer, praised by rishis, imbibed by Brahmachārins. 3. We introduce within me that wisdom which Ribhus know, that wisdom which divino beings (asurāh) know, that excellent wisdom which rishis know. 4. Mako me, o Agni, wiso to-day with that wisdom which the wise rishis — the makers of things existing — know. 5. We introduce wisdom in the evening, wisdom in the morning, wisdom at noon, wisdom with the rays of the sun, and with speech " (vachasā). Regarding the rishayo bhūtakritah see above, p. 37, note.

at Compare x. 125, 3; i. 164, 45; (x. 90, 11); and A.V. xii. 1, 45.

<sup>#</sup> Compare Isaiah vi. 9, 10; and St. Matthew xiii. 14, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Vak-sakhye, Yaska.

<sup>24</sup> Compare i, 171, 2; ii. 35, 2; vi. 16, 47.

weavers, being destitute of skill. 10. All friends rejoice at the arrival of a renowned friend who rules the assembly; for such a one, repelling evil, and bestowing nourishment upon them, is thoroughly prepared for the conflict (of discussion). 11. One man possesses a store of verses (richām); a second sings a hymn (gāyatra) during (the chanting of) the śakrarīs; one who is a brāhmān declares the science of being (jāta-ridyām), whilst another prescribes the order of the ceremonial." 30

R.V. x. 88, 19 (= Nir. vii. 31). Yāvan-mātram ushaso na pratīkam suparnyo vasate Mātariśvaḥ | tāvad dadhāti upa yajnam āyan brāhmaņo hotur avaro nishīdan |

"As long as the fair-winged Dawns do not array themselves in light, o Mātariśvan, so long the brāhman coming to the sacrifice, keeps (the fire), sitting below the hotri-priest."

(See Professor Roth's translation of this verse in his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 113).

x. 90, 11 (= A.V. xix. 5, 6; Vaj. S. xxxi.). See above, pp. 8-15.

x. 97, 22. Oshadhayah samvadante Somena saha rājnā | yasmai krinoti brāhmaṇas tam rājan parayāmasi |

"The plants converse with king Soma," (and say), for whomsoever a brahman acts (krinoti, officiates), him, o king, we deliver."

x. 109, 1. Te'vadan prathamāḥ brahma-kilbishe akūpāraḥ salilo Mātariśvā | vīļuharās tapa ugro mayobhūr āpo devīr prathamajāḥ ritena | Soma rājā prathamo brahma-jūyām punaḥ prāyachhad ahrinīyamānaḥ | anvartitā Varuņo Mitraḥ āsīd Agnir hotā hastagrihya nināya | 3. Hastena eva grāhyaḥ ādhir asyāḥ "brahma-jāyā iyam" iti cha id avochan | na dūtāya prahye tasthe eshā tathā rūshtram gupitam kshattriyasya | 4. Devāḥ etasyām avadanta pūrve sapta rishayas tapase ye nisheduḥ | bhīmā jāyā brāhmaṇasya upanītā durāhām dadhāti parame vyoman |

<sup>.</sup> Such is the sense which Prof. Aufrecht thinks may, with probability, be assigned to serie, a word which occurs only here.

<sup>\*\*</sup> According to Yaska (Nir. i. 8), these four persons are respectively the hotri, udgātri, brahmon, and adhearym priests. The brahmon, he says, being possessed of all science, ought to know everything; and gives utterance to his knowledge as occasion arises for it (jūte jūte). See Dr. Haug's remarks on this verse, Ait. Br. Introd. p. 20.

Compare oshadhīḥ Soma-rājnīh, "the plants whose king is Some," in verses 18 and 19 of this hymn.

5. Brahmachārī charati vevishad vishah sa devānām bhavati ekam angam |
tena jāyām anv avindad Brihaspatih Somena nītām juhvam na devāh |
6. Punar vai devāh adaduh punar manushyāh uta | rājānah satyam
krinvānāh brahma-jāyām punar daduh | 7. Punardāya brahma-jāyām
kritvī devair nikilbisham | ūrjam prithivyāh bhaktvāya urugāyam upāsate |

"These (deities), the boundless, liquid Mātariśvan (Air), the fiercelyflaming, ardently-burning, beneficent (Fire), and the divine primeval Waters, first through righteonsness exclaimed against the outrage on a brāhmān. 2. King Soma, to unenvious, first gave back the brāhmān's wife; Varuna and Mitra were the inviters; Agni, the invoker, brought her, taking her hand. 3. When restored, she had to be received back by the hand, and they then proclaimed aloud, 'This is the brahman's wife; ' she was not committed to a messenger to be sent: -in this way it is that the kingdom of a ruler (or Kshattriya) remains secured to him. 4. Those ancient deities, the Rishis, who sat down to perform austerities, spoke thus of her, 'Terrible is the wife of the brahman; when approached, she plants confusion in the highest heaven." 5. The Brahmachārin 41 (religious student) continues to perform observances. He becomes one member 4 of the gods. Through him Brihaspati obtained his wife, as the gods obtained the ladle which was brought by Soma. 6. The gods gave her back, and men gave her back; kings, performing righteousness, gave back the brahman's wife. 7. Giving back the brahmān's wife, delivering themselves from sin against the gods, (these kings) enjoy the abundance of the earth, and possess a free range of movement. 75

Sompare R.V. x. 85, 39 ff. (= A.V. xiv. 2, 2 ff.) Funah patnīm Agnir adād āynahā saha varchasā | dirghāyur asyāh yah patir jīvāti saradah setam | 40. Somāh prathamo vivide Gandharvo vivide uttarah (the A.V. reads: Somanya jūyā prathamam Gandharvas te 'parah patih) | tritīyo Agnish te patis turīyas te mannshyajāh | Somo dadad Gandharvāya Gandharvo dadad Agnaye | royfān cha putrāña chādād Agnir mahyum atho imām | "Agni gave back the wife with life and splendour: may he who is her husband live to an old age of 100 years! Soma was thy first, the Gandharva was thy second, Agni thy third, husband; thy fourth is one of human birth. Soma gave her to the Gandharva, the Gandharva to Agni, Agni gave me wealth and sons, and then this woman." The idea contained in this passage may possibly be referred to in the verse before us (x. 109, 2).

<sup>30</sup> I am judebted to Prof. Aufrecht for this explanation of the verse.

<sup>40</sup> See R.V. i. 164, 34, 35, above.

<sup>43</sup> See my paper on the Progress of the Vedic Religion, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 374 if.

a See A.V. x. 7, 1 ff.; 9, 26.

This hymn is repeated in the Atharva-veda with the addition of ten more verses which I shall quote in the next section.

I shall here state summarily the remarks suggested by a perusal of the texts which I have quoted, and the conclusions which they appear to authorize regarding the relation of the Vedic poets and priests to the other classes of the Indian community at the time when the earlier hymns of the Rig-veda were composed.

First: Except in the Purusha Sükta (translated above in pp. 9 ff.) there is no distinct reference in the hymns to any recognised system of four castes.

Second: In one text (iii. 34, 9, see p. 176) where mention is made of the Āryan "colour," or "race," all the upper classes of the Indian community are comprehended under one designation, as the Kshattriyas and Vaisyas as well as the Brāhmans were always in after-times regarded as Āryas (see above, p. 176.)

Third: The term brāhmāṇa occurs only in eight hymns of the Rigveda, besides the Purusha Sūkta, whilst brāhmān occurs in forty-six. The former of these words could not therefore have been in common use at the time when the greater part of the hymns were composed. The term rājanya is found only in the Purusha Sūkta; and kshattriya in the sense of a person belonging to a royal family, a noble, occurs only in a few places, such as x. 109, 3.4 The terms Vaiśya and Sūdra are only found in the Purusha Sūkta, although viś, from which the former is derived, is of frequent occurrence in the sense of "people" (see p. 14, above).

Fourth: The word brahman, as we have seen, appears to have had at first the sense of "sage," "poet;" next, that of "officiating priest;" and ultimately that of a "special description of priest."

Fifth: In some of the texts which have been quoted (particularly i. 108, 7; iv. 50, 8 f.; viii. 7, 20; viii. 45, 39; viii. 53, 7; viii. 81, 80; ix. 112, 1; x. 85, 29) brāhmān seems to designate a "priest by profession."

Sixth: In other places the word seems rather to imply something peculiar to the individual, and to denote a person distinguished for

<sup>43</sup> This text is quoted above. In viii. 104, 13, Kshattriya is perhaps a neuter substantive: Na vai a Somo vrijinam hinoti na kshattriyam mithuyā dhārayantam | "Soma does not prosper the sinner, nor the man who wields royal power deceitfully."

genins or virtue (x. 107, 6), or elected by special divine favour to receive the gift of inspiration (x. 125, 5).

Seventh: Brāhmāṇa appears to be equivalent to brāhmā-putra, "the son of a brāhmān" (which, as we have seen, occurs in ii. 43, 2), and the employment of such a term seems necessarily to presuppose that, at the time when it began to become current, the function of a brāhmān, the priesthood, had already become a profession.

The Rig-veda Sanhită contains a considerable number of texts in which the large gifts of different kinds bestowed by different princes on the authors of the hymns are specified, and these instances of bounty are eulogized.

Of these passages R.V. i. 125; i. 126; v. 27; v. 30, 12 ff.; v. 61, 10; vi. 27, 8; vi. 45, 31 ff.; vi. 47, 22 ff. may be consulted in Prof. Wilson's translation; and a version of R.V. x. 107, which contains a general encomium on liberality will be found in the article entitled "Miscellaneous Hymns from the Rig- and Atharva-vedas," in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, p. 32 f. The following further texts, which describe the presents given by different princes to the rishis, viz. vii. 18, 22 ff.; viii. 3, 21 ff.; viii. 4, 19 ff.; viii. 5, 37 ff.; viii. 6, 46 ff.; viii. 19, 36 f.; viii. 21, 17 f.; viii. 24, 29 f.; viii. 46, 21 ff.; viii. 54, 10 ff.; viii. 57, 14 ff.; x. 33, 4 ff.; x. 62, 6 ff.; x. 93, 14 f. are translated in the article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian Society in the Vedic age" in the same Journal for 1866, pp. 272 ff., to which I refer.

On the other hand the hymns of the Rig-veda contain numerous references to persons who, if not hostile, were at least indifferent and inattentive to the system of worship which the rishis professed and inculcated; and niggardly in their offerings to the gods and their gifts to the priests. The article to which I have just referred contains (pp. 286 ff.) a long list of such passages, from which I extract the following:

i. 84, 7. Yaḥ ekaḥ id vidayate vasu marttāya dāśushe | īśāno apratish-kutaḥ Indro anga | 8. Kudā martyam arādhasam padā kshumpam ivo sphurat | kadā naḥ śuśruvad giraḥ Indro anga |

"Indra, who alone distributes riches to the sacrificing mortal, is lord and irresistible. 8. When will Indra crush the illiberal man like a bush with his foot? when will he hear our hymns?"

- i. 101, 4. . . . vilos chid Indro yo asunvato vadhah . . . |
- "Indra, who is the slayer of him, however strong, who offers no libations."
- i. 122, 9. Jano yo Mitrā-varunāv abhidhrug apo na vām sunoti akshnayādhruk | svayam sa yakshmam hridays ni dhatte āpa yad īm hotrābhir ritāvā |
- "The hostile man, the malicious enemy, who pours out no libations to you, o Mitra and Varuna, plants fever in his own heart, when the pious man has by his offerings obtained (your blessing)."
- i. 125, 7. Mā priņanto duritam enaḥ ā aran mā jārishuḥ sārayaḥ suvratāsaḥ | anyas teshām paridhir astu kaš chid apriņantam abhi sam yantu śokāḥ |
- "Let not the liberal suffer evil or calamity; let not devout sages decay; let them have some further term; let griefs befall the illiberal (oprigantam).
- 182, 3. Kim atra dasrā krinuthah kim āsāthe jano yah kaśchid ahavir mahīyate | ati kramishţam juratam paner asum jyotir viprāya krinutam vachasyave |
- "What do yo here, o powerful (Asvins)? why do yo sit (in the house of) a man who offers no oblation, and (yet) is honoured? Assail, wear away the breath of the niggard, and create light for the sage who desires to extol you."
- ii. 23, 4. Sunītibhir nāyasi trāyase janam yas tubhyam dāšad na tam amho aśnavat | brahma-dviskas tapano manyumīr asi Brihaspate mahi tat te mahitvanam |
- "By thy wise leadings thou guidest and protectest the man who worships thee; no calamity can assail him. Thou art the vexer of him who hates devotion (brahma-deishah), and the queller of his wrath: this, o Brihaspati, is thy great glory."
- iv. 25, 6. . . . na asusheer āpir na sakhā na jāmir dushprāvyo avahantā id avāchaḥ | 7. Na revatā paṇinā sakhyam Indro asunvutā sutapāḥ sam grinīte | ā asya vedaḥ khidati hanti nagnam vi sushvaye paktays kevalo 'bhūt |
- "Indra is not the relation or friend or kinsman of the man who offers no libations; he is the destroyer of the prostrate irreligious man.

  7. Indra, the soma-drinker, accepts not friendship with the wealthy niggard who makes no soma-libations; but robs him of his riches, and

slays him when stripped bare, whilst he is the exclusive patron of the man who pours out soma and cooks oblations."

vi. 44, 11. . . . jahi asushetn pra vriha aprinatah |

"Slay (o Indra) those who offer no libations; root out the illiberal."

viii. 53, 1. Ut tvā mandantu stomāḥ kṛiṇushva rādho adrivaḥ | ava brahma-dvisho jahi | pādā paṇīn arādhaso ni badhasva mahān asi | na hi tvā kašchana prati |

"Let our hymns gladden thee; give us wealth, o thunderer. Slay the haters of devotion. 2. Crush with thy foot the niggards who bestow nothing. Thou art great; no one is comparable to thee."

It seems evident, then, from these texts (and there are many more of the same tenor), that the irreligious man, the parcus deorum cultor et infrequens, was by no means a rare character among the Aryas of the Vedic age, and that the priests often found no little difficulty in drawing forth the liberality of their contemporaries towards themselves and in enforcing a due regard to the ceremonials of devotion. we consider, on the other hand, that the encomiums on the liberality of different princes to the poets and priests which are contained in the passages to which I before adverted, are the production of the class whose pretensions they represent, and whose dignity they exalt, we shall, no doubt, see reason to conclude that the value of the presents bestowed has been enormously exaggerated, and make some deduction from the impression which these texts are calculated to convey of the estimation in which the priests were held at the time when they were composed. But after every allowance has been made for such considerations, and for the state of feeling indicated by the complaints of irreligion and illiberality of which I have cited specimens, it will remain certain that the brahman, whether we look upon him as a sage and poet, or as an officiating priest, or in both capacities, was regarded with respect and reverence, and even that his presence had begun to be considered as an important condition of the efficacy of the ceremonial. Thus, as we have already seen, in i. 164, 35, the brahman is described as the highest heaven of "speech;" in x. 107, 6, a liberal patron is called a rishi and a brahman, as epithets expressive of the most distinguished eulogy; in x. 125, 5, the goddess Vach is said to make the man who is the object of her special affection a brahman and a rishi; in vi. 45 7; vii. 7, 5; viii. 16, 7; and ix. 96, 6, the term brahman is applied

honorifically to the gods Indra, Agni, and Soma; in iv. 50, 8, 9, great prosperity is declared to attend the prince by whom a brāhmān is employed, honoured, and succoured; and in iii. 53, 9, 12; v. 2, 6; vii. 33, 2, 3, 5; and vii. 83, 4, the highest efficacy is ascribed to the intervention and intercession of this class of functionaries.

Again, whatever exaggeration we may suppose in the texts which eulogize the liberality of princely patrons, in regard to the value of the presents bestowed, there is no reason to doubt that the ministers of public worship, who possessed the gift of expression and of poetry, who were the depositaries of all sacred science, and who were regarded as the channels of access to the gods, would be largely rewarded and honoured.\*\*

\*\* It is to be observed that, in these culogies of liberality, mention is nowhere made of Brahmans as the recipients of the gifts. In two places, viii. 4, 20, and x. 33, 4, a rishi is mentioned as the receiver. In later works, such as the S'atapatha Brahmana, on the contrary, the presents are distinctly connected with Brühmans. Thus it is said in that work, ii. 2, 2, 6: Desyah cai devah devah aha ees devah atha ye brūhmanāh luiruvāmso 'nūchānās te manushya-devāh | teshām dvedhā vibhaktah eva yajnah ahutnyah wa devanam dakshinah manushya-devanam brahmananam susrusushām anūchānānām | āhutībhir eva devān prīnāti dakshinābhir manushya-devān brāhmanan energenebo 'nückanan i to enam ubhaye devah pritah sudhayam dadhati i "Two kinds of gods are gods, viz. the gods (proper), whilst those Brahmans who have the Vedic tradition, and are learned, are the human gods. The worship (pajno) of these is divided into two kinds. Oblations constitute the worship offered to the gods, and presents (dakshisa) that offered to the human gods, the Brahmans, who possess the Vedic tradition and are learned. It is with oblations that a man gratifies the gods, and with presents that he gratifies the human gods, the Brahmans, who possess the Vedic tradition, and are learned. Both these two kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of happiness" (andhayam); (or "convey him to the heavenly world," as the expression is varied in the parallel passage of the same work, iv. 3, 4, 4). It is similarly said in the Taitt, Sanh. i. 7, 3, 1: Paroksham par anye devah ijyante pratyaksham anye 1 yad yajate ye eeu devah puroksham iiyante tan eva tad yajati | yad anvähäryam äharaty etr esi deväh pratyaksham yad brühmanäs tän era tena prināti | atho dakshiņā era asya eshā | atho yajnasya era ehhidram apidadhāti yad vei yajnasya krūram yad vilishtam tad anvāhāryena anvaharati | tad anvähäryanya anvähäryatvam | devadutäh vai ete yad ritvijo yad anvähäryam äharati devadutan era prinati | " Some gods are worshipped in their absence, and others in their presence. It is to those gods who are worshipped in their absence that the sucrificer offers the oblation which he presents. And it is these gods who are visible, i.e. the Brahmans, whom he gratifies with the annuharya (present of cooked rice) which he afterwards brings. Now this anedharys is the present (dekshina) connected with it (the sacrifice). Then he covers over the faults of the sacrifice. Whatever in it is excessive or defective, that he removes by means of the anvaharya. In this consists the nature of that offering. These officiating priests are the messengers of the gods; and it is the messengers of the gods whom the sacrificer gratifies with this aneaharya gift which he presents."

It is further clear, from some of the texts quoted above (ii. 1, 2; iv. 9, 8; x. 52, 2), as well as i. 162, 5, and from the contents of hymns ii. 36; ii. 37; ii. 48; and x. 124, 1, that in the later part of the Vedic era, to which these productions are probably to be assigned, the ceremonial of worship had become highly developed and complicated, and that different classes of priests were required for its proper celebration.40 It is manifest that considerable skill must have been required for the due performance of these several functions; and as such skill could only be acquired by early instruction and by practice, there can be little doubt that the priesthood must at that period have become a regular profession. The distinction of king or noble and priest appears to be recognized in i. 108, 7, as well as in iv. 50, 8, 9; whilst in v. 47, 7, 14, a similar distinction is made between king and rishi; and it is noticeable that the verse, in other respects nearly identical, with which the 36th and 37th hyrons of the eight mandala respectively conclude, ends in the one hymn with the words, "Thou alone, Indra, didst deliver Trasndasyu in the conflict of men, magnifying prayers" (brahmani cardhayan); whilst in the other the last words are, "magnifying (royal) powers" (kshattrani vardhayan), as if the former contained a reference to the functions of the priest, and the latter to those of the prince. (Compare viii. 35, 16, 17.)

While, however, there thus appears to be every reason for supposing that towards the close of the Vedic period the priesthood had become a profession, the texts which have been quoted, with the exception of the verse in the Purusha Sükta (x. 90, 12), do not contain anything which necessarily implies that the priests formed an exclusive easte, or, at least, a caste separated from all others by insurmountable barriers, as in later times. There is a wide difference between a profession, or even a hereditary order, and a caste in the fully developed Brahmanical scuse.

40 See Prof. Müller's remarks on this subject, Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 485 ff.; and Dr. Haug's somewhat different view of the same matter in his lutrod to Ait. Br. pp. 11 ff.

<sup>6</sup> See also i. 94, 6, where it is said: "Thou (Agni) art an adheavyn, and the earliest hotei, a prasastri, a potri, and by nature a purchita. Knowing all the priestly functions (arteijya) wise, thou nourishest us," etc. (team adheavyne nta hota 'si purvyah prasasta pota jamusha purchitah | sisea eidvan artijya dhira pushyasy Agne ity ādi).

G In regard to the great importance and influence of the priests, see Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 485 ff.

Even in countries where the dignity and exclusive prerogatives of the priesthood are most fully recognized (as in Roman Catholic Europe), the clergy form only a profession, and their ranks may be recruited from all sections of the community. So, too, is it in most countries, even with a hereditary nobility. Plebeians may be ennobled at the will of the sovereign. There is, therefore, no difficulty in supposing that in the Vedic era the Indian priesthood-even if we suppose its members to have been for the most part sprung from priestly families -may have often admitted aspirants to the sacerdotal character fromother classes of their countrymen. Even the employment of the word brahmana in the Rig-veda does not disprove this. This term, derived from brahman, "priest," need not, as already intimated, signify anything further than the son or descendant of a priest (the word brahmaputra, "son of a priest," is, as we have seen, actually used in one text), -just as the rajanya means nothing more than the descendant of a king or chief (rajan), a member of the royal family, or of the nobility.

The pancity of the texts (and those, too, probably of a date comparatively recent) in which the word brahmana occurs, when contrasted with the large number of those in which brahman is found, seems, as I have already observed, to prove conclusively that the former word was but little employed in the earlier part of the Vedic era, and only came into common use towards its close. In some of these passages (as in vii. 103, 1, 7, 8; x. 88, 19) there is nothing to shew that the Brahman is alluded to as anything more than a professional priest, and in vii. 103, the comparison of frogs to Brahmans may seem even to imply a want of respect for the latter and their office. In other places (i. 164, 45, and x. 71, 8, 9) a distinction appears to be drawn between intelligent and unintelligent Brahmans, between such as were thoughtful and others who were mere mechanical instruments in carrying on the ceremonial of worship, which, certainly points to the existence of a sacerdotal class. In another passage (x. 97, 22) the importance of a Brahman to the proper performance of religious rites appears to be clearly expressed. In x. 109, where the words brahman (passim) and brah-

<sup>48</sup> See Müller's remarks on this hymn in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 494,

as In R.V. viii. 50, 9, it is said: "Whether an unwise or a wise man, o Indra, has offered to thee a hymn, he has gladdened (thee) through his devotion to thee (aripro ea yad aridhad ripro va Indra te cacha) | sa pra mamandat traya ity adi)."

mana (in verse 4) seem to be used interchangeably—the inviolability of Brāhman's wives, the peril of interfering with them, and the blessing attendant on reparation for any outrage committed against them, are referred to in such a way as to shew at once the loftiness of the claim set up by the Brāhmans on their own behalf, and to prove that these pretensions were frequently disregarded by the nobles. In x. 16, 6, the Brāhmans are spoken of as inspired by Soma, and in vi. 75, 10, the manes of earlier Brāhmans are reckoned among those divine beings who have power to protect the suppliant. But in none of these texts is any clear reference made to the Brāhmans as constituting an exclusive caste or race, and nothing whatever is said about their being descended from an ancestor distinct from those of the other classes of their countrymen.

Sect. II.—Quotations from the Rig-veda, the Nirukta, the Mahabharata, and other works, to shew that according to ancient Indian tradition, persons not of priestly families were authors of Vedic hymns, and exercised priestly functions.

But in addition to the negative evidence adduced in the preceding section, that during the age to which the greater part of the hymns of the Rig-veda are referable, the system of castes had, to say the least, not yet attained its full development, we find also a considerable amount of proof in the hymns themselves, or in later works, or from a comparison of both, that many of the hymns either were, or from a remote antiquity were believed to be, the productions of authors not of sacerdotal descent; and that some of these persons also acted as priests. The most signal instance of this kind is that of Visvāmitra; but from the abundance of the materials which exist for its illustration I shall reserve it for the next chapter, where I shall treat of the contests between the Brāhmans and the Kshattriyas.

In later times, when none but Brühman priests were known, it seemed to be an unaccountable, and—as contradicting the exclusive sacurdotal pretensions of the Brühmans—an inconvenient circumstance, that priestly functions should have been recorded as exercised by persons whom tradition represented as Rajanyas; and it therefore became necessary to explain away the historical facts, by inventing miraculous legends to make it appear that these men of the royal order had been

in reality transformed into Brahmans, as the reward of their superhuman merits and austerities-an idea of which we shall meet with various illustrations in the sequel. The very existence, however, of such a word as rājarshi, or "royal rishi," proves that Indian tradition recognized as rishis or authors of Vedic hymns persons who were considered to belong to Rajanya families. A number of such are named (though without the epithet of rajarshi) in the Anukramanika or index to the Rig-veda; but Sayana, who quotes that old document, gives them this title. Thus, in the introduction to hymn i. 100, he says: Atraanukramyate "sa yo vrishā 'ekonā Vārshāgirāh Rijrāśvāmbarisha-Sahadera-Bhayamāna-Surādhasah'' iti | Vrishāgiro mahārājasya putrabhūtāh Rijrāśvādayah pancha rūjarshayah sadeham sūktam dadrišuh | atas to asya nūktasya rishayah | uktam hy ūrshūnukramanyūm " sūktam sa yo crishety etat pancha Värshägiräh viduh | niyuktäh nämadheyaih svair api ' chaitat tyad' iti richi" iti | "It is said in the Anukramanikā, 'Of this hymn (the rishis) are Rijrāśva, Ambarīsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, and Suradhas, sons of Vrishagir.' Rijrasva and others, sons of King Vrishagir, in all five rajarshis, saw this hymn in a bodily form. Hence they are its rishis (or seers). For it is declared in the Arsha Anukramani: The five sons of Vrishagir, who are mentioned by name in the verse beginning "this praise" (the 17th), know this hymn." The 17th verse is as follows: Etat tyat to Indra vrishne uktham Varshagirah abhi grinanti radhah | Rijrascah prashtibhir Ambarishah Sahadevo Bhayamanah Surādhāh | "This hymn the Vārshāgiras, Rijrāśva, with his attendants, and Ambarīsha, Sahadeva, Bhayamāna, and Surādhas, utter to thee, the vigorous, o Indra, as their homage;" on which Sayana repeats the remark that these persons were rujarshis (etad uktham stotram radhah samradhakam teat-priti-hetum Varshagirah Vrishagiro rājnah putrāh Rijrāśvādayo 'bhi grinanti ābhimukhyena vadanti | . . . . Rijrāšva h etat-sanjno rājarshih prashtibhih pāršva-sthair anyair rishibhih saha Indram astaut | ko to pärśva-sthah | Ambarishadayaś chatvaro rajarshayah). Ambarisha is also said to be the rishi of ix. 98. Again, "Trasadasyu, son of Purukutsa, a Rajarshi," is said by Sayana on R.V. iv. 42, to be the rishi of that hymn (Purukutsasya putras Trasadasyuh rājarshiḥ | . . . . atrānukramaņikā 'mama dvitā' daša Trasadasyuḥ Paurukutsyah). In the 8th and 9th verses Trasadasyu is thus mentioned: Asmākam atra pitaras te āsan sapta rishayo Daurgahe badhyamāne | te ā

ayajanta Trasadasyum asyah Indram na crittraturam arddhadevam | 9. Purukutsanī hi vām adāšad havyebhir Indrā-varuņā namobhih | atha rājānam Trasadasyum asyāh vrittrahanam dadathur arddhadevam | 8. "These seven rishis were our fathers. When the son of Durgaha was bound they gained by sacrifice for her (Purukutsani) a son Trasadasyu, a slayer of foes, like Indra, a demigod. 9. Purukutsanī worshipped you, o Indra and Varuna, with salutations and obeisances; then ye gave her king Trasadasyu, a slayer of enemies, a demigod." I give Sayana's note on these verses: "Purukutsasya mahishi Daurgahe bandhana-sthite | patyae arājakam drishtvā rāshtram putrasya lipsayā | yadrichhayā samāyātān saptarshin paryapūjayat i to eha pritāh punah prochur 'yajendrā-varunau bhrisam' | sā chendra-varunāv ishtvā Trasadosyum ajījanat | itihāsam imam jänann rishir brūte riehāc iha" | atha asmākam atra asminn arājake dese asyam prithicyām vā pitarah pālayitārah utpādakās to āsann abhavan | ete saptarshayah prasiddhāh Daurgahe Durgahasya putre Purukutse badhyamāne dridham pāśair yasmād avyāk asyai Purukutsānyai Trasadasyum ayajanta pradur Indra-Varunayor anugrahat | " The queen of Purukutsa, when her husband, the son of Durgaha, was imprisoned, seeing the kingdom to be destitute of a ruler, and desirous of a son, of her own accord paid honour to the seven rishis who had arrived. And they, again, being pleased told her to sacrifice to Indra and Varuna. Having done so she bore Trasadasyu. Knowing this story, the rishi utters these two verses; " which Sayana then explains. Similarly Sayana says on v. 27: "Tryaruna son of Trivrishna, Trasadasyu son of Purukutsa, and Asvamedha son of Bharata, these three kings conjoined, are the rishis of this hymn; or Atri is the rishi" (Atranukramanika | "Anascantā shat Traicrishna-paurukutsyau deau Tryaruna-Trasadasyā rājānau Bharatas cha Ascamedhah | . . . . 'na ātmā ātmane dadyād' iti sarvāsv Atrim kechit" . . . Trivrishnasya putras Tryarunah Purukutsasya putras Trasadasyur Bharatasya putro'ścamedhah eto trayo'pi rajanah sambhuya asya sūktasya rishayah | yadvā Atrir eca rishih). The Anukramanikā, however, adds that according to some, as "no one would give gifts to himself, none of the princes mentioned as donors could be the author; but Atri must be the rishi." As the hymn is spoken by a fourth person, in praise of the liberality of these kings, it is clear they cannot well be its authors. And a similar remark applies to iv. 42, 8 f. However, the Hindu tradition, being such as it is, is good proof that kings could, in

conformity with ancient opinion, be rishis. Trasadasyu and Trayaruna are also mentioned as the rishis of ix. 110.50 The rishis of iv. 43 and iv. 44 are declared by Sāyana, and by the Anukramanikā, to be Purumīļha, and Ajamīļha, sons or descendants of Suhotra (iv. 43, Atrāmekramanikā 'kah u šaśvat' sapta Purumīlhājamīlhau Sauhotrau to Aśvinam hi | iv. 44, Purumilhājamīlhāv eva rishī). Though these persons are not said by either of these authorities to be kings, yet in the Vishnu and Bhagavata Puranas the latter is mentioned as being of royal race, and a tribe of Brahmans is said to have been descended from him (see above p. 227). In the sixth verse of iv. 44, the descendants of Ajamīlha are said to have come to the worship of the Asvins (nare yad câm Aśvinā stomam avan sadhastutim Ajamīlhaso agman). The following hymns, also, are said by tradition to have had the undermentioned kings for their rishis, viz.: vi. 15, Vītahavya (or Bharadvāja); x. 9, Sindhudvīpa, son of Ambarīsha (or Triśiras, son of Tvashtri); x. 75, Sindhukshit, son of Priyamedha; x. 133, Sudās, son of Pijavana; x. 134, Măndhătri, son of Yuvanăśva (see above, p. 225); x. 179, Sibi, son of Usinara, Pratardana, son of Divodasa and king of Kaši (see above, p. 229), and Vasumanas, son of Rohidasva; and x. 148 is declared to have had Prithī Vainya as its rishi. In the fifth verse of that hymn it is said : S'rudhi havam Indra kura Prithyah uta stavaso Venyasya arkaih | "Hear, o heroic Indra, the invocation of Prithi; and thou art praised by the hymn of Venya." In viii. 9, 10, also, Prith! Vainya is mentioned at the same time with three rishis: Yad vām Kakshīvān uta yad Vyasvah rishir yad vām Dirghatamāh juhāva | Prithi yad vam Vainyah sadaneshu eva id ato Aświna chetayetham | "Whatever oblation (or invocation) Kakshīvat has made to you, or the rishi Vyaśva, or Dīrghatamas, or Prithī, son of Vena, in the places of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> In the Vishnu Purana, as we have seen above, p. 287, Trayyaruna, Pushkarin, and Kapi are said to have been sons of Urukshaya, and all of them to have become Brahmana; and in the Bhagavata Purana, Trayyaruni, Pushkararuni, and Kapi are said to have all become Brahmana.

as The S'. P. Br. v. 3, 5, 4, refers to Prithi zs "first of men who was installed as a king" (Prithi ha vsi Vainyo wanushyanam prathamo 'bhishishiche). I extract from Dr. Hall's edition of Prof. Wilson's Vishnu Parana, vol. iii. the following verse, adduced by the editor from the Vaya Parana about royal rishis: Manava Vainava (?) vamác Aide vainác cha ye nripūh | Aidā Aikshvākā Nābhāgā jneyā rājarshayas ta te | "Kings in the race of Manu, Vena (?), and Ida, the descendants of Ida, Ikshvāku, and Nabhāga are to be known as having been rājarshis."

sacrifice, take notice of that, o Aśvins." Here Sāyana refers to Prithī as "the royal rishi of that name."

From the details I have supplied it is clear that in many cases the evidence is against the supposition that the princes to whom the hymns are ascribed were in reality their authors. The only instances in which the authorship seems to be established by the tenor of the hymns themselves are those of the Värshagiras, or, at all events, that of Prithī. But, as has been already remarked, the fact that ancient Hindu tradition recognizes royal rishis as the authors of hymns is sufficient to prove that such cases were not unknown. Even if we were to suppose that flattery had any share in the creation of these traditions, it no doubt proceeded upon the belief of those who put them into circulation, that in earlier times the distinction between the priests and other classes was not so sharply defined as in their own day.

I proceed, however, to the case of Devapi, in which the materials for forming a judgment are more adequate and satisfactory, and prove that he was not merely a rishi but an officiating priest.

In the Anukramanika, R.V. x. 98 is ascribed to him as its author; and Yaska states as follows in the Nirukta, ii. 10:

Tatra itihāsam āchakshate | Devāpiš cha Ārshtishenah S'antanuš cha Kauravyau bhrātavau babhāvatuh | sa S'antanuh kanīyān abhishechayān-chakre | Devāpis tapah pratipedo | tatah S'antanoh rājyo dvāduša varshāni devo na vacarsha | tam ūchur brāhmanāh "adharmas tvayā charīto jyeshtham bhrātavam antaritya abhishechitam | tasmāt to devo na varshati" iti | sa S'antanur Devāpim šišiksha rājyena | tam uvācha Devāpih "purohitas to 'sāni yājayāni cha tvā'' iti | tasya etad varsha-kāma-sūktam | tasya eshā bhavati |

"Here they relate a story. Devâpi son of Rishtishena, and Santanu, belonged to the race of Kuru and were brothers. Santanu, who was the younger, caused himself to be installed as king, whilst Devâpi betook himself to austere fervour. Then the god did not rain for twelve years of Santanu's reign. The Brahmans said to him: 'Thou hast practised unrighteousness in that, passing by thy elder brother, thou hast caused thyself to be installed as king. It is for this reason that the god does not rain.' Santanu then sought to invest Devâpi with the sovereignty; but the latter said to him: 'Let me be thy

purchita and perform sacrifice for thee.' This hymn, expressing a desire of rain, is his. The following verse is part of it."

Yāska then quotes a verse of R.V. x. 98, the whole of which is as follows:

Brihaspate prati me decatām ihi Mitro vā yad Varuno vā azi Pūzhā | Adityair va yad Vasubhir Marutvan sa Parjanyam S'antanave vrishaya | 2. A devo dūto ajiras chikitvān tvad Devāpe abhi mām agachhat | pratichinah prati mām ā vavritsva dadhāmi te dyumatim vācham āsan | 3. Asme dhehi dyumatim vächam äsan Brihaspate anamivam ishiram | yaya vrishtim S'antanave vanava divo drapso madhuman a vivesa | 4. A no drapsah madhumanto visantu Indra dehi adhiratham sahasram | ni shīda hotram 32 rituthā yajasva devān Devāpe havishā saparya | 5. Ārshțisheno hotram rishir nishidan Devapir deva-sumatim chikitcan | sa uttarasmād adharam samudram apo divyah asrijad varshyāh abhi | 6. Azmin samudre adhi uttarasmin apo decebkir nicritah atishthan | tah adragann Arshtishenena srishtah Devapina preshitah mrikshinishu | 7. Yad Devapih S'antanave purchito hotrāya vritah kripayann adīdhet | deva-śrutañ vrishti-vanim rarano Brihaspatir vacham asmai ayachhat | 8. Yam tva Decapih świechano Agne Arshtisheno manushyah samidhe | viśvebhir devair anumadyamanah pra Parjanyam iraya vrishtimantam | 9. Team pūree rishayo girbhir ayan team adheareshu puruhata eisee | sahasran; adhirathani asme a no yajnam rohidasea upa yahi. | 10. Etani Agni naeatir nava tee ühutüni adhiratha sahasra | tebhir vardhosva tanvah śūra parete dico no vrishțim ishito rivihi | 11. Etani Agne navatim sahasră zam pra yachha crishne Indraya bhagam | videan pathah rituso devayanan apy aulanam divi deveshu dhehi | 12. Agne badhasva vi mridho vi durgahā apa amīsām apa rakshāmsi sedha | asmāt samudrād brihato divo no apām bhūmānam upa nah srija iha |

"Approach, Brihaspati, to my worship of the gods, whether thou art Mitra, Varuna, Püshan, or art attended by the Adityas, Vasus, or Maruts: cause Parjanya to rain for Santanu. 2. The god, a rapid messenger, has become aware, and has come from thee, o Devāpi, to me, (saying) 'approach towards me; I will place a brilliant hymn

as Compare R.V. ii. 1, 2.

as It looks as if Agni were here to be understood by Brihaspati, see verses 9-12. In R.V. ii. 1, 4 ff. Agni is identified with Varuna, Mitra, Aryaman, Amsa, Tvashtri, Rudra, Pūshan, Savitri, Bhaga.

in thy mouth.' 3. Place in our mouth, o Brihaspati, a brilliant hymn, powerful, and spirited, whereby we two may solicit rain for Santanu. The drop full of sweetness has descended on us from the sky. 4. May the drops full of sweetness come down upon us: give us, o Indra, a thousand waggon-loads (of them?). Perform the function of a hotri, sacrifice in due form, worship the gods with an oblation, o Devāpi. 5. The rishi Devapi, son of Rishtishena, performing the function of a hotri, knowing (how to gain) the goodwill of the gods, has discharged from the upper to the lower ocean those waters of the sky which fall in rain. 6. The waters remained shut up by the gods in this upper ocean: they rushed forth when released by the son of Rishtishens, when discharged by Devāpi into the torrents.34 7. When Devāpi, placed in front of Santanu (as his purchita), chosen for the office of hotri, fulfilling his function, kindled (the fire), -then, granting the prayer for rain which was heard by the gods, Brihaspati gave him a hymn. 8. Do thou, o Agni, whom the man so Devapi the son of Rishtishens has inflamed and kindled,-do thou, delighted, with all the the gods, send hither the rain-bearing Parjanya. 9. Former rishis have approached thee with their hymns; and all (approach) thee, o god, much-invoked, in their sacrifices: give us thousands of waggon-loads: come, thou who art borne by red horses, 35 to our sacrifice. 10. These ninety-nine thousands of waggon-loads (of wood and butter?) have been thrown into thee, o Agni, as oblations. Through them grow, hero, to (the bulk of) thy former bodies; or and stimulated, grant us rain from the sky. 11. (Of) these ninety thousands give, o Agni, a share to the vigorous Indra. Knowing the paths which rightly lead to the gods, convey the oblation (?) to the deities in the sky. 12. Overcome, o Agni, our enemies, our calamities; drive away sickness, and rakshases. From this great ocean of the sky discharge upon us an abundance of waters."

The fact of Devāpi being reputed as the author of this hymn, and as the purchita and hotri of his brother, seems to have led the legendary writers to invent the story of his becoming a Brāhman, which (as men-

<sup>34</sup> So the word mrikehing is explained in Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon.

<sup>25</sup> Or, "descendant of Manush" (manushya).

<sup>24</sup> This is a common epithet of Agal,

of This means, I suppose, "burst forth into vast flames."

tioned by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, i. p. 203) is recorded in the Salya-parvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 2281 ff. where he is there said to have attained this distinction at a certain place of pilgrimage called Prithūdaka; where Sindhudvīpa and Viśvāmitra also were received into the higher caste:

Tetrārshţishenah Kauravya brāhmanyam samsita-vratah | tapasā mahatā rājan prāptavān rishi-sattamah | Sindhudvīpas cha rājarshir Devāpis cha mahātapāh | brāhmanyam labdhavān yatro Visvāmitras tathā munih | mahātapasvī bhagavān ugra-tejāh mahātapāh | . . . 2287. Purā krita-yuge rajann Ārshṭisheno dvijottamah | vasan guru-kule nityam nityam adhyayano ratah | tasya rājan guru-kule vasato nityam evo eka | samāptim nāgamad vidyā nāpi vedāh visāmpate | sa nirvinnas tato rājams tapas teps mahātapāh | tato vai tapasā tena prāpya vedān annttamanān | su vidvān veda-yuktas cha sidāhas chāpy rishi-sattamah | . . . | evam sidāhah sa bhagavān Ārshṭishenah pratāpavān | tasminn eva tadā tīrthe Sindhudvīpah pratāpavān | Devāpis cha mahārāja brāhmanyam prāpatur mahat |

2281. "There the most excellent rishi Arshtishena, constant in his observances, obtained Brāhmanhood by great austere fervour; as did also the royal rishi Sindhudvīpa, 3 and Devāpi great in austere fervour, and the glorious muni Viśvamitra, of great austere fervour and fiery vigour." Some other particulars of Arshtishena are given further on: 2287. "Formerly in the Krita age the most excellent Brāhman Ārshtishena dwelt constantly in his preceptor's family, devoted to incessant study; but could not complete his mastery of science or of the vedas. Being in consequence discouraged, he betook himself to intense austere fervour. By this means he acquired the incomparable Vedas, and became learned and perfect. . . . . At the same place of pilgrimage the majestic Sindhudvīpa and Devāpi obtained the great distinction of Brāhmanhood."

It will be observed that here Arshtishena is, in opposition to the authority of the Nirukta, made a distinct person from Devapi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> This prince also, as we have seen above, is mentioned among those Rajanyas who composed Vedic hymns.

<sup>58</sup> The Vedas are here spoken of in the plural, although Arshtishena is said to have lived in the Krita age. But the M. Bh. itself says elsewhere (see above, p. 145) that there was then but one Veda.

In a note to his (French) translation of the Rig-veda, M. Langlois (vol. iv. 502) supposes that the hymn above translated (x. 98), like the Purusha Sükta, is very much posterior in date to the other hymns in the collection. The names of Deväpi and Säntanu indicate, he thinks, as the date of its composition, a period not far preceding that of the great war of the Mahābhārata. Professor Weber, on the other hand, considers (Indische Studien, i. 203) that the Säntanu and Deväpi mentioned in that work (Ådi-parvan, 3750 f.) cannot be the same as the persons alluded to in the Rigveda, because their father was Pratīpa, not Rishtishena; and because he thinks it doubtful whether a prince who preceded the Pāṇḍavas by only two generations could have been named in the Rig-veda, and appear there as an author of hymns.

The verses of the Adi-parvan just referred to are as follows:

Pratīpasya trayah putrāh jajnire Bharatarshabha | Devāpih S'āntanuś chaiva Vāhtīkas mahārathah | Devāpis cha pracavrāja teshām dharmahitepsayā | S'āntanus cha mahīm lebhe Vāhtīkas cha mahārathah |

"Three sons were born to Pratīpa, viz. Devāpi, Sāntanu, and Vāhlīka the charioteer. Of these Devāpi, desiring the benefits of religious excellence, became an ascetie; whilst Sāntanu and Vāhlīka obtained (the rule of) the earth."

The Harivamsa gives a different story about the same Devapi, verse 1819:

Pratīpo Bhīmasenāt tu Pratīpasya tu S'āntanuḥ | Dovāpir Vāhlikas chaiva trayaḥ eva mahārathāḥ | . . . 1822. Upādhyāyas tu devānām Devāpir abhavad muniḥ | Chyavanasya kritaḥ putraḥ ishṭas chāsīd mahātmanah |

"Prātīpa sprang from Bhīmasena; and Sāntanu, Devāpi, and Vāhlika were the three chariot-driving sons of Pratīpa. . . . . 1822. Devāpi became a muni, and preceptor of the gods, being the adopted son of Chyavana, by whom he was beloved."

The Vishnu Purana (iv. 20, 7 ff.) concurs with the preceding authorities in making Devapi and Santanu to be sons of Pratipa, and descendants of Kuru, and his son Jahnu. It repeats the legend given in the Nirukta of the country of Santanu being visited by a drought of twelve years duration, in consequence of his having assumed the royal authority while his elder brother lived. And although, as will be seen, the sequel of the story is widely different from that recorded by the

Nirukta, the earlier incidents in the two narratives are so similar, that it would appear to have been the intention of the Puranic writer to identify the Devāpi and Sāntanu whose history he relates with the persons of the same names, although of different parentage, mentioned in Yāska's work. He may, however, possibly have transferred an older legend to more recent personages. The passage of the Vishnu Purāṇa is as follows:

Rikshād Bhīmasenas tatas cha Dilīpak | Dīlipāt Pratīpas tasyāpi Devāpi Santanu-Vāhlīka-saninās trayah putrāh babhūvuh | Decāpir bālah eva aranyam viveša | S'āntanūr avanīpatir abhacat | ayam cha tasya ślokah prithivyam giyate " yam yam karabhyam spriśati jirnam yauvanam eti sah | śantim chapnoti yenagryam karmana tena S'antanuh" | tasya Santanoh rashtro dvadaša varshani devo na vavarsha | tataścha aśesha-räshtra-vināśam avekshya asau rājā brāhmanān aprichhad "bhoh kasmād asmin rāshtre devo na varshati | ko mama aparādhah" iti | to tam üchur "agrajasya to'rhā iyam avanis teayā bhujyate parivettā tvam" | ity uktah sa punas tān aprichhat "kim mayā vidheyam" iti | tena tam üchur " yavad Devapir na patanadibhir doshair abhibhuyate tāvat tasya arham rājyam | tad alam etena tasmai dīyatām" | ity ukto tasya mantri-pravarena Asmasarina tatra aranye tapasvino vedavāda-virodha-vaktārah prayojitāh | tair ati-riju-mater mahīpati-putrasya buddhir veda-virodha-mārgānusāriny akriyata | rājā cha S'antanur dvijavachanot panna-paricedana-śokas tān brūhmanān agranīkritya agraja-rājyapradānāya aranyam jagāma | tad-āśramam upagatāś cha tam avanīpatiputram Decapim upatasthuh | to brahmanah veda-vadanueriddhani vachāmsi " rājyam agrajena karttavyam" ity arthavanti tam ūchuh | asāv api veda-väda-virodha-vukti-düshitam aneka-prakaram tan aha | tatas te brāhmanāh S'āntanum ūchur "āgachha bho rājann alam atra ati-nirbandhena | praśantuh eva asav anavrishti-doshah | patito 'yam anadikala-mahita-veda-vachana-dushanochcharanat | patito cha agrajo naiva pärivettryam bhavati" | ity uktah S'antanuh ma-puram agatya rajyam akarot | veda-vada-virodhi-vachanochcharana-dushite cha jyeshthe 'smin bhratari tishthaty api Devapav akhila-sasya-nishpattaye vavarsha bhagaran Parjanyah |

"From Riksha sprang Bhīmasena; from him Dilīpa; from him Pratīpa, who again had three sons called Devāpi, Santanu, and Vahlīka. Devāpi while yet a boy retired to the forest; and Santanu became

king. Regarding him this verse is current in the world: 'Every decrepit man whom he touches with his hands becomes young. He is called Santanu from that work whereby he obtains supreme tranquility (śanti).' The god did not rain on the country of this Santanu for twelve years. Beholding then the ruin of his entire realm, the king enquired of the Brahmans: 'Why does not the god rain on this country; what is my offence?' The Brahmans replied: 'This earth, which is the right of thy elder brother, is now enjoyed by thee; thou art a parieettri (one married before his elder brother).' Receiving this reply, he again asked them: 'What must I do?' They then answered: 'So long as Devapi does not succumb to declension from orthodoxy and other offences, the royal authority is his by right; to him therefore let it be given without further question.' When they had so said, the king's principal minister Asmasarin employed certain ascetics propounding doctrines contrary to the declarations of the Vedas to proceed into the forest, by whom the understanding of the very simpleminded prince (Devāpi) was led to adopt a system at variance with those sacred books. King Santanu being distressed for his offence in consequence of what the Brahmans had said to him, went, preceded by those Brahmans, to the forest in order to deliver over the kingdom to his elder brother. Arriving at the hermitage, they came to prince Devāpi. The Brahmans addressed to him statements founded on the declarations of the Veda, to the effect that the royal authority should be exercised by the elder brother. He, on his part, expressed to them many things that were vitiated by reasonings contrary to the tenor of the Veda. The Brahmans then said to Santanu, 'Come hither, o king: there is no occasion for any excessive hesitation in this affair: the offence which led to the drought is now removed. Your brother has fallen by uttering a contradiction of the words of the Veda which

This is illustrated by Mann iii, 171 f.: Dörägnihotra-sañyogañ kurute yo'graje sthile | parivettă sa vijneyah parivitis tu pürvojah | 172. Parivitih parivettă yayû cha parividyate | sarve te narakañ yönti dūtri-yōjaka-panchamāh | "171. He who, while his elder brother is unwedded, marries a wife with the nuptial fires, is to be known as a parivettri, and his elder brother as a pariviti. 172. The pariviti, the parivettri, the female by whom the offence is committed, he who gives her away, and fifthly the officiating priest, all go to hell." The Indian writers regard the relation of a king to his realm as analogous to that of a husband to his wife. The earth is the king's bride.

have been revered from time without beginning; and when the elder brother has fallen, the younger is no longer chargeable with the offence of pārivettrya (i.e. of marrying before his elder brother).' When he had been so addressed, Santanu returned to his capital, and exercised the royal authority. And although his eldest brother Devāpi continued to be degraded by having uttered words opposed to the doctrines of the Veda, the god Parjanya rained in order to produce a harvest of all sorts of grain.'

Can the compiler of the Purana have deviated from the conclusion of this history as found in the Nirukta, and given it a new turn, in order to escape from the conclusion that a Rajanya could officiate as a purchita?

The same story is briefly told in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 22, 14-17. In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, on the other hand, Devāṇi's virtues and orthodoxy are extolled in the highest terms, and his exclusion from the throne is ascribed solely to his being a leper, v. 5054:

Devāpis tu mahātejās tvag-doshī rāja-sattamaḥ | dhārmikaḥ satya-vādī cha pituḥ śuśrūshaṇs rataḥ | paura-jānapadānām cha sammataḥ sādhu-vatkṛitaḥ | sarveshām bāla-vṛiddhānām Devāpir hṛidayangamaḥ | vadān-yaḥ satyasandhaś cha sarva-bhūta-hite rataḥ | varttamānaḥ pituḥ śāstre brāhmaṇāmām tathaiva cha | . . . . | tam brūhmaṇāś cha vṛiddhāś cha paura-jānapaduih saha | sarve nivārayāmāsur Devāper abhisechanam | sa tach chhrutvā tu nṛipatir abhisheka-nivāraṇam | aśru-kaṇṭho 'bhavad rājā paryaśochata chātmajam | evam vadānyo dharmajnaḥ satyasandhaś cha so 'bhavat | priyaḥ prajānām api sa tvag-dosheṇa pradūshitaḥ | "hīnāngam prithivīpālam nābhinandanti devatāḥ" | iti kṛitvā nripa-śreshṭham pratyasheḍhan dvijarshabhūḥ | . . . . | nivāritam nripam dṛishṭvā Devāpiḥ samśrito vanam |

"But the glorious Devāpi, a most excellent prince, righteous, veraeious, and obedient to his father, was a leper. He was esteemed by
the inhabitants both of town and country, honoured by the good, beloved by all, both young and old, eloquent, true to his engagements,
devoted to the welfare of all creatures, and conformed to the commands
of his father, and of the Brāhmans." [The king his father grew old
and was making preparations for the investiture of his successor; but
public opinion was opposed to the devolution of the royal authority on

a leper, however virtuous]. "The Brahmans and aged men, together with the dwellers both in town and country, all restrained him from the investiture of Devāpi. The king, learning their opposition, was choked with tears, and bewailed his son's fate. Thus Devāpi was eloquent, acquainted with duty, true to his promise, and beloved by the people, but vitiated by leprosy. The Brāhmans forbade the king (to make Devāpi his successor), saying, 'the gods do not approve a king who labours under any corporeal defect.' . . . . Perceiving that the king (his father) was hindered (from carrying out his wishes) Devāpi retired to the forest."

On the same subject, the Matsya Purana, 49, v. 39 f., states as follows:

Dilīpasya Pratīpastu tasya putrās trayaḥ smṛitāḥ | Devāpiḥ S'antanuś chaiva Bāhlīkaś chaiva to trayaḥ | Bāhlīkasya tu dāyādāḥ sapta Bāhlīś-varāḥ nṛipāḥ | Devāpis tu apadhvastaḥ prajābhir abhavad muniḥ | rishayaḥ ūchhuḥ | prajābhis tu kimartham vai apadhvasto janeścaraḥ | ke doshāḥ rājaputrasya prajābhiḥ samudāhritāḥ | Sūta uvācha | kilāsīd rājaputras tu kushṭī tam nābhyapūjayan | ko'rthān vai atra (? vetty atra) devānām kshattram prati dvijotlamāḥ |

"The son of Dilīpa was Pratīpa, of whom three sons are recorded, Devāpi, Săntanu, and Bāhlīka. The sons of the last were the seven Bāhlīśvara kings. But the Muni Devāpi was rejected by the people. The rishis enquired: 'why was that prince rejected by the people?' what faults were alleged against him?' Sūta replied: 'the prince was leprous, and they paid him no respect. Who knows the designs of the gods towards the Kshattriya race?'"

No more is said of Devāpi in this passage. The Vishnu Purāna has the following further curious particulars regarding him, iv. 24, 44ff.:

Devāpiḥ Pauravo rājā Maruś chekshvāku-vamšajaḥ | mahāyoga-balopetau Kalāpa-grāma-samšrayau | krito yugo ihāgatya kshattra-prāvarttakau hi tau | bhavishyato Manor vamše vīja-bhūtau vyavasthitau | etena krama-yogena Manu-putrair vasundharā | krita-tretādi-sanjnāni yugāni trīni bhujyate | Kalau tu vīja-bhūtās to kechit tishṭhanti bhūtale | yathaiva Devāpi-Marū sāmpratam samavasthitau |

"King Devapi of the race of Puru," and Maru of the family of

a See Prof. Wilson's note, 4to, ed. p. 458.

<sup>10</sup> In the twentieth chapter, as we have seen, he is said to be of the race of Kuru.

Ikshvāku, filled with the power of intense contemplation (mahāyoga) are abiding in the village of Kalāpa, continuing to exist as seeds in the family of Manu; they shall come hither in the (next) Krita age, and re-establish the Kshattriya race. According to this order the earth is enjoyed by the sons of Manu throughout the three ages called Krita, Tretā, and Dvāpara. But during the Kali certain persons remain upon earth as seeds (of a future race), as Devāpi and Maru now exist."

According to the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 22, 17, it is the lunar race, which had perished in the Kali age, that Devāpi is to restore in the future Krita (soma-vamés kalau nashte kritādau sthāpayishyati).

I shall quote here from the 132nd section of the Matsya Purana, entitled *Manvantara-varnanam* (a description of the Manvantaras) some of the particulars about the rishis with which it concludes:

98. Bhriguh Kāśyah Prachetāś cha Dadhicho hy Atmavan api 99. Aurvo 'tha Jamadagnis cha Kripah Saradvatas tatha | Arshtisheno Yudhajich cha Vitahavya-Suvarchasau | 100. Vainah Prithur Divodaso Brahmāśvo Gritsa-Saunakau | ekonavińsatir hy ete Bhrigavo mantrakrittamāh | 101. Angirāh Vedhasas chaiva Bharadçajo Bhalandanah | Ritabadhas tato Gargah Sitih Sankritir eva cha | 102. Gurudhiras cha Mandhata Ambarishas tathaiva cha | Yuvanasvah Puruh Kutsah Pradyumnah Sravanasya cha | 103. Ajamidho 'tha Haryaśvas Takshapah Kavir eva cha | Prishadasvo Virupas cha Kanvas chaivatha Mudgalah | 104. Utathyaś cha Saradvām's cha tatha Vajaśrava iti | Apaśyo 'tha Suvittas cha Vāmadevas tathaiva cha | 105. Ajito Brihadukthas cha rishir Dîrghatamā api | Kakshīvāīnš cha trayastrimšat smritā hy Angiraso parah | 106. Ete mantra-kritah sarve Kasyapams tu mibodhata | . . . | 111. Viśvāmitraś cha Gādheyo Devarājas tathā Balah | tathā vidvān Madhuchhandah Rishabhas chaghamarshanah | 112. Ashtako Lohitas chaiva Bhritakilas eha tav ubhau | Vedasravah Devaratah Puranasvo Dhananjayah | 113. Mithilas cha mahatejah Salankayana eva cha | trayodaśaite vijneyāh brahmishthāh Kauśikāh varāh | . . . . | 115. Manur Vaicascatas chaica Ido rajā Purūracāh | Kshattriyānām carāh hy etc vijneyah mantra-vadinah | 116. Bhalandas chaica Vandyas cha Sankirttis's chaica to trayah | ete mantra-krito jneyāk Vaisyānām pracarāk sadā | 117. Ity eka-navatih proktāh mantrāh yais cha bahih kritah |

a Various readings-Bhalandakai cha Vosai cha Sankalaicha.

brühmanāh kshattriyāh vaiśyāh rishiputrān nibodhata | 118. Rishīkāṇām sutāh hy ete rishi-putrāh śrutarshayah | 64

"98. Bhrigu, Kāśya, Prachetas, Dadhicha, Atmavat, (99) Aurva, Jamadagni, Kripa, S'aradvata, Arshtishena, Yudhajit, Vitahavya, Suvarchas, (100) Vaina, Prithu, Divodasa, Brahmasva, Gritsa, Saunaka, these are the nineteen & Bhrigus, composers of hymns. 101. Angiras, Vedhasa, Bharadvaja, Bhalandana, Ritabadha, Garga, Siti, Sankriti, Gurudhīra, 47 Māndhātri, Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva, Purukutsa, 68 Pradyumna, S'ravapasya, Ajamīdha, Haryasva, Takshapa, Kavi, Prishadaśva, Virūpa, Kanva, Mudgala, Utathya, Saradvat, Vājaśravas, Apaśya, Suvitta, Vāmadeya, Ajita, Brihaduktha, Dīrghatamas, Kakshīvat, are recorded as the thirty-three eminent Angirases. These were all composers of hymns. Now learn the Kāśyapas. . . . . 111. Viśvāmitra, son of Gadhi, Devaraja, Bala, the wise Madhuchhandas, Rishabha, Aghamarshana, (112) Ashtaka, Lohita, Bhritakīla, Vedaśravas, Devarāta, Purānāśva, Dhananjaya, the glorious (113) Mithila, Sālankayana, these are to be known as the thirteen devout and eminent Kusikas.79 . . . . 115. Manu Vaivasvata, Ida, king Pururavas, these are to be known as the eminent utterers of hymns among the Kshattriyas. 116. Bhalanda, Vandya, and Sankīrtti, 71 these are always to be known as the three eminent persons among the Vaisyas who were composers of hymns, 117. Thus ninety-one" persons have been declared, by whom hymns have been given forth, Brähmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaisyas. Learn the sons of the rishis. 118. These are the offspring of the rishtkas, sons of rishis, secondary rishis (śrutarshis)."

The section ends here.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted for an additional copy of this section of the Matsya Purāņa (of which some account is given by Prof. Aufrecht in his Catalogue, p. 41), to the kindness of Mr. Griffith, Principal of Queen's College, Benares, who, at my request, has caused it to be collated with various other MSS. existing in Benares. I have not thought it necessary to exhibit all the various readings in the part I have quoted.

to The number of nineteen is only obtained by making Vaina and Prithu two persons.

ss Instead of this word, one Benares MS, has Lakshmana,

Two MSS, have Turavita. This word is divided into two in the MS.

Two MSS, have, instead, Svasravas and Tamasyavat.

<sup>70</sup> Unless some of the words I have taken as names are really epithets, fifteen persons are enumerated here.

<sup>71</sup> Some MSS, have Bhalandaka, Vandha or Vasas, and Sankala or Sankirna.

<sup>72</sup> This is the total of several lists, some of which I have omitted.

It will be observed from a comparison of this extract with the details previously given, that some of the rajarshis, or rishis of royal blood, such as Ārshṭishena, Vīṭahavya, Prithu (the same as Prithī) are spoken of as belonging to the family of Bhṛigu, while others of the same class, such as Māndhāṭri, Ambarīsha, Yuvanāśva, Purukutsa, are reckoned among the Angirases. Viśvāmitra and his descendants are merely designated as Kuśikas without any specific allusion to their Rājanya descent; but Manu, Iḍa, and Purūravas, are distinctly recognized as being as once authors of hymns and Kshattriyas; and, what is more remarkable, three Vaiśyas are also declared to have been sacred poets. These traditions of an earlier age, though scanty in amount, are yet sufficient to show that in the Vedic times the capacity for poetical composition, and the prerogative of officiating at the service of the gods, was not regarded as entirely confined to men of priestly families.

## Sect. III.—Texts from the Atharea-veda illustrating the progress of Brühmanical pretensions.

I have already quoted (in pp. 21 and 22) three short passages from the Atharva-veda regarding the origin of the Brühman and Kshattriya castes. I shall now bring forward some other texts from the same collection which show a much greater development of the pretensions of the priests to a sacred and inviolable character than we meet in any part of the Rig-veda, if the 109th hymn of the tenth book (cited above) be excepted.

I shall first adduce the 17th hymn of the fifth book, to which I have already alluded, as an expansion of R.V. x. 109.

Atharva-veda v. 17. (Verses 1-3 correspond with little variation to verses 1-3 of R.V. x. 109). 4. Yam ahus "täraka esha vikeśi" iti duchehhunam gramam avapadyamanam | sa brahma-jaya vi dunoti rashtram yatra prapadi sasah ulkushiman | (verses 5 and 6 = verses 5 and 4 of R.V. x. 109). 7. Ya garbhah avapadyante jagad yach chapalupyate | virah ye trihyante mitho brahma-jaya hinasti tan | 8. Uta yat patayo dasa striyah purve abrahmanah | brahma ched hastam agrahit sa eva patir ekadha | 9. Brahmanah eva patir na rajanyo na vaisyah | tat saryah prabruvann eti panchabhyo manavebhyah | (Verses 10 and 11 = verses 6 and 7 of R.V. x. 109). 12. Nasya jaya satavahi kalyani talpam

ā šaye | yasmin rāshtre nirudhyate brahma-jāyā achittyā | 13. Na vikarnah prithuširās tasmin vešmani jāyate | yasminn ityādi | 14. Nāsya kshattā nishka-grīvah sūnānām eti agratah | yasminn ityādi | 15. Nāsya śvetah krishna-karno dhuri yukta mahīyate | yasminn ityādi | 16. Nāsya kehettre pushkaranī nāndīkam jāyate visam | yasminn ityādi | 17. Nāsmai prišnim vi duhanti ye 'syāh doham upāsate | yasminn ityādi | 18. Nāsya dhenuh kalyānī nānadvān sahate yugam | vijānir yatra brāhmano rātrim vasati pāpayā |

" . . . . . 4. That calamity which falls upon the village, of which they say, 'this is a star with dishevelled hair,' is in truth the brahman's wife, who ruins the kingdom; (and the same is the case) wherever (a country) is visited by a hare attended with meteors. . . . . . 7. Whenever any miscarriages take place, or any moving things are destroyed, whenever men slay each other, it is the brahman's wife who kills them. 8. And when a woman has had ten former husbands not brāhmāns, if a brāhmān take her hand (i.e. marry her), it is he alone who is her husband. 9. It is a Brahman only that is a husband, and not a Rajanya or a Vaisya. That (truth) the Sun goes forward proclaiming to the five classes of men (panchabhyo mānacebhyaḥ), . . . . . 12. His (the king's) wife does not repose opulent (satarāhī) and handsome upon her bed in that kingdom where a brahman's wife is foolishly shut up. 13. A son with large ears (vikarnah) and broad head is not born in the house in that kingdom, etc. 14. A charioteer with golden neekchain does not murch before the king's hosts " in that kingdom, etc. 15. A white horse with black cars does not make a show voked to his (the king's) chariot in that kingdom, etc. 16. There is no pond with blossoming lotuses 74 in his (the king's) grounds in that kingdom where, etc. 17. His (the king's) brindled cow is not milked by his milkmen in that kingdom, etc. 18. His (the king's) milch cow does not thrive, nor does his ox endure the yoke, in that country where a Brahman passes the night wretchedly without his wife."

This hymn appears to show that, however extravagant the pretensions of the Brahmans were in other respects, they had, even at the comparatively late period when it was composed, but little regard to

The word here in the original is sūnōnōm, with which it is difficult to make any sense. Should we not read sesūnōm ?

<sup>74</sup> Compare R.V. x. 107, 10.

the purity of the sacerdotal blood, as they not only intermarried with women of their own order, or even with women who had previously lived single, but were in the habit of forming unions with the widows of Rājanyas or Vaiśyas,<sup>73</sup> if they did not even take possession of the wives of such men while they were alive.<sup>70</sup> Even if we suppose these women to have belonged to priestly families, this would only show that it was no uncommon thing for females of that class to be married to Rājanyas or Vaiśyas—a fact which would, of course, imply that the caste system was either laxly observed, or only beginning to be introduced among the Indians of the earlier Vedic age. That, agreeably to ancient tradition, Brühmans intermarried with Rājanya women at the period in question, is also distinctly shewn

That the remarriage of women was customary among the Hindus of those days is also shewn by A.V. ix. 5, 27 f., quoted in my paper on Yama, Jour. R. A. S. for 1865, p. 299.

70 This latter supposition derives a certain support from the amphasis with which the two verses in question (A. V. v. 17, 8, 9) assert that the Brahman was the only true husband. Whence, it may be asked, the necessity for this strong and repeated asseveration, if the Rajanya and Vaisya husbands were not still alive, and prepared to claim the restoration of their wives? The verses are, however, explicable without this supposition.

It is to be observed, however, that no mention is here made of S'udras as a class with which Brahmans intermarried. S'adres were not Aryas, like the three upper classes. This distinction is recognised in the following verse of the A.V. xix. 62, 1: "Make me dear to gods, dear to princes, dear to every one who beholds me, both to S'udra and to Arya." (Unless we are to suppose that both here and in xix. 32, 8. ărya = a Vaisya, and not arya, is the word). In S'atapatha Brahmana, Kanva Sākhā (Adhvara Kānda, i. 6), the same thing is clearly stated in these words (already partially quoted above, p. 176), for a copy of which I am indebted to Prof. Müller: Tan na sarva eva prapadyeta na hi decah sarvenaiva sangachhante | arya eva brahmano vā kshattriyo vā vais yo vā te hi yajniyāh | no eva sarvenaiva samvadeta na hi devāh varcenaica samvadante aryenaica brahmanena va kuhattriyena ca vaiiyena ca te hi yajniyah | yady enam i'udrena samvado vindel "ittham enam nichakshoa" ity anyom bruyad esha dikshitasyopacharsh. "Every one cannot obtain this (for the gods do not associate with every man), but only an Arya, a Brahman, or a Kshattriya, or a Vaisya, for these can sacrifice. Nor should one talk with everybody (for the gods do not talk with every body), but only with an Arya, a Brahman, or a Kshattriya, or a Vaisya, for these can sacrifice. If any one have occasion to speak to a S'adra, let him say to another person, 'Tell this man so and so.' This is the rule for an initiated man."

In the corresponding passage of the Madhyandina S'akha (p. 224 of Weber's edition) this passage is differently worded.

From Manu (ix. 149-167; x. 7 ff.) it is clear that Brahmans intermarried with Sudra women, though the offspring of those marriages was degraded.

by the story of the rishi Chyavana and Sukanyā, daughter of king Saryāta, narrated in the Satapatha Brāhmana, and quoted in my paper entitled "Contributions to a Knowledge of Vedic Mythology," No. ii., in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1866, pp. 11 ff. See also the stories of the rishi Syāvāśva, who married the daughter of king Rathavīti, as told by the commentator on Rig-veda, v. 61, and given in Professor Wilson's translation, vol. iii. p. 344.

The next hymn, from the same work, sets forth with great liveliness and vigour the advantages accruing to princes from the employment of a domestic priest.

Atharva-veda, iii. 19, 1. Samsitam me idam brahma samsitam viryam balam | samsitam kshattram ajaram astu jishnur (? jishnu) yesham asmi purohitah | 2. Sam aham eshām rāshtram syāmi sam ojo vīryam balam | vrišckāmi šatrūnām bāhūn anena havishā aham | 3. Nīchaih padyantam adhare bhavantu ye nah surim maghavanam pritanyan kshināmi brahmanā 'mitrān unnayāmi svān aham | 4. Tīkshnīyāmsah parašor agnes tikshnatarāh uta | Indrasya vajrāt tikshnīyāmso yeshām asmi purohitah | 5. Eshām aham ayudha sam syami eshām rashtram suvīram vardhayāmi | eshām kəhattram ajaram astu jishmu eshām chittam visce avantu devāh | 6. Uddharshantām Maghavan vājināni ud vīrānām jayatam etu ghoshah | prithagghoshah ululayah ketumantah udiratam | devāh Indra-jyeshthāh Maruto yantu senayā | 7. Preta jayata narah ugrāh vah santu bāhavah | tīkshneshavo abala-dhanvāno hata ugrāyudhāh abalān ugra-bāhavah | 8. Avasrishtā parā pata saravye brahma-samsite jayamitran pra padyasva jahy esham varam-varam ma 'misham mochi kaśchana |

"1. May this prayer of mine be successful; may the vigour and strength be complete, may the power be perfect, undecaying, and victorious of those of whom I am the priest (purohita). 2. I fortify their kingdom, and augment their energy, valour, and force. I break the arms of their enemies with this oblation. 3. May all those who fight against our wise and prosperous (prince) sink downward, and be prostrated. With my prayer I destroy his enemies and raise up his friends. 4. May those of whom I am the priest be sharper than an axe, sharper than fire, sharper than Indra's thunderbolt. 5. I strengthen their weapons; I prosper their kingdom rich in heroes. May their power be undecaying and victorious. May all the gods foster their designs.

6. May their valorous deeds, o Maghavat, burst forth; may the noise of the conquering heroes arise; may their distinct shouts, their clear yells, go up; may the gods, the Maruts, with Indra as their chief, march forward with their host. 7. Go, conquer, ye warriors; may your arms be impetuous. Ye with the sharp arrows, smite those whose bows are powerless; ye whose weapons and arms are terrible (smite) the feeble. 8. When discharged, fly forth, o arrow, sped by prayer. Vanquish the foes, assail, slay all the choicest of them; let not one escape."

The two following hymns from the same collection declare the guilt, the peril, and disastrous consequences of oppressing Brühmans, and robbing them of their property. The threats and imprecations of haughty sacerdotal insolence could scarcely be expressed more energetically.

Atharva-veda, v. 18. 1. Naitām te devāh adadus tubhyam nripate attave | mā brāhmanasya rājanya gām jighatso anādyām | 2. Akshadrugdho rajanyo papah atma-parajitah | sa brahmanasya gam adyad " adya jîvanî ma śvah" | 3. Avishtita agha-visha pridakur iva charmana | mā brāhmaṇasya rājanya trishtā eshā gaur anādyā | 4. Nir vai kehattram nayati hanti carcho agnir arabdho vi dunoti sarcam | yo brahmanam manyate annam eva sa vizhasya pibati taimatasya | 5. Yah enam hanti mṛidum manyamāno deva-pīyur dhana-kāmo na chittāt | sam tasya Indro hridaye agnim indhe ubbe enam dvishto nabhasi charantam | 6. Na brāhmano himsitavyo agnih priyatanor iva | Somo hi asya dāyādah Indro asyābhiśastipāḥ | 7. Satāpāshṭhām ni girati tām na śaknoti niḥkhidam | annam yo brāhmanām malvah svādu admīti manyate | 8. Jihoā jyā bhavati kulmalam vän nädīkāh dantās tapasā 'bhidagdhāh | tebhir brahmā vidhyati deca-piyan hrid-balair dhanurbhir deca-jutaih | 9. Tikehneshavo brāhmanāh hetimanto yām asyanti saravyām na sā mrishā | anuhāya tapasă manyună cha uta durăd aca bhindanti enam | 10. Ye sahasram arājann āsan daša-šatā uta | te brāhmaņasya gām jagdhvā Vaitahavyāh parabhavan | 11. Gaur eva ton hanyamana Vaitahavyan avatirat | ye Kesaraprābandhāyā's charamājām apechiran | 12. Eka-satain tāh janatah yah bhamir vyadhanuta | prajam himsitva brahmanim asambhacyam parabhavan | 13. Deva-piyus charati marttyeshu gara-girno bhavati asthi-bhayan | yo brahmanam deva-bandhum hinasti na sa pitriyanam apyeti lokam | 14. Agnir vai nah padavayah Somo dayada uchyato |

hantābhiśastā Indras tathā tad vedhaso viduh | 15. Ishur iva digdhā nripats pridākūr ica gopate | sā brāhmaṇasya ishur ghorā tayā vidhyati pīyatah |

"I. King, the gods have not given thee (this cow) to cat. Do not, o Rājanya (man of royal descent), seek to devour the Brāhman's cow, which is not to be eaten. 2. The wretched Rajanya, unlucky in play, and self-destroyed, will cat the Brahman's cow, saying, 'Let me live to-day, (if I can) not (live) to-morrow.' 3. This cow, clothed with a skin, contains deadly poison, like a snake. Beware, Rajanya, of this Brahman's (cow); she is ill-flavoured, and must not be eaten. 4. She takes away his regal power, destroys his splendour, consumes him entire like a fire which has been kindled. The man who looks upon the Brahman as mere food to be eaten up, drinks serpent's poison. 5. Indra kindles a fire in the heart of that contemner of the gods who smites the Brahman, esteeming him to be inoffensive, and foolishly covets his property. Heaven and earth abhor the man who (so) acts. 6. A Brahman is not to be wronged, as fire (must not be touched) by a man who cherishes his own body. Soma is his (the Brühman's) kinsman, and Indra shields him from imprecations. 7. The wicked (?) man who thinks the priests' food is sweet while he is eating it, swallows (the cow) bristling with a hundred sharp points, but cannot digest her. 8. The priest's tongue is a bow-string, his voice is a barb, and his windpipe is arrow-points smeared with fire. With these god-directed, and heartsubduing bows, the priest pierces the scorners of the gods. 9. Brahmans bearing sharp arrows, armed with missiles, never miss their mark when they discharge a shaft. Shooting with flery energy and with anger, they pierce (the enemy) from afar. 10. The descendants of Vitahavya, who ruled over a thousand men, and were ten hundred in number, were overwhelmed after they had eaten a Brahman's cow." 11. The cow herself, when she was slaughtered, destroyed them,-those men who cooked the last she-goat of Kesaraprabandha. 12. Those hundred persons whom the earth shook off, after they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner. 13. He lives among mortals a hater of the gods; infected with poison he becomes reduced to a skeleton; he who wrongs a Brahman the kins-

<sup>77</sup> I am not aware whether any traces of this story are discoverable in the Puranas or Mahabharata. See the first verse of the hymn next to be quoted.

man of the deities, fails to attain to the heaven of the Forefathers.

14. Agni is called our leader; Soma our kinsman. Indra neutralizes imprecations (directed against us); this the wise understand.

15. Like a poisoned arrow, o king, like a serpent, o lord of cows,—such is the dreadful shaft of the Brahman, with which he pierces his enemies."

Atharva-veda, v. 19, 1. Atimātram avardhanta nod iva divam asprišan | Bhrigum himsitva Srinjayah Vaitahavyah parabhavan | 2. Brihatsamānam Angirasam ārpayan brāhmaṇam janāh | petras teshām ubhayādam avis tokany avayat | 3. Ye brahmanam pratyashthivan ye va 'smin suklam îshire | asnas te madhye kulyāyāḥ kešān khādanta āsate | 4. Brahmagavī pachyamānā yāvat sā 'bhi vijangaho | tejo rāshtrasya nirhanti na vīro jāyate vrishā | 5. Krūram asyāh āšasanam trishtam pišitam asyate | kshīram yad asyāh pīyats tad vai pitrishu kilbisham | 6. Ugro rājā manyamano brahmanam yaj jighatsati | para tat sichyate rashtram brūhmaņo yatra jiyate | 7. Ashtūpadī chaturakshī chatuh-śrotrā chaturhanuh | deyāsyā dvijihvā bhūtvā sā rāshtram avadhūnute brahmajyasya | 8. Tud vai rāshtram āsravati nāvam bhinnām isodakam | brāhmānam yatra himsanti tad rashtram hanti duchchhuna | 9. Tam vrikshah apa sedhanti "chhāyām no mopa gāh" iti | yo brāhmanasya saddhanam abhi Narada manyate | 10. Visham etad deva-kritam roja Varuno abravit | na brāhmanasya gām jagdheā rāshtre jāgāra kašchana | 11. Navaiva tāh navalayo yāh bhūmir vyadhūnuta | projām himsitvā brāhmanīm asambhavyam parabhaean | 12. Yam mritayanubadhnanti kudyam padayopanim | tad vai brahmajya te devāh upastaranam abruvan | 13. Aśrūni kripomānasya yāni jītasya vāvrituķ | tam vai brahmajya te decāķ apām bhāgam adhārayan | 14. Yena mritam snapayanti śmaśrūni yena undate | tam vai brahmajya te devāh apām bhāgam adhārayan | 15. Na varsham Maitravarunam brahmajyam abhi varshati | nasmai samitih kalpate na mitram nayate rasam |

"1. The Srinjayas, descendants of Vitahavya, waxed exceedingly; they almost touched the sky; but after they had injured Bhrigu, they were overwhelmed. 2. When men pierced Brihatsaman, a Brahman descended from Angiras, a ram with two rows of teeth swallowed their children. 3. Those who spit, or throw filth (?) upon a Brahman, sit eating hair in the midst of a stream of blood. 4. So long as this Brahman's cow is cut up (?) and cooked, she destroys the glory of the kingdom; no vigorous hero is born there. 5. It is cruel to

slaughter her; her ill-flavoured flesh is thrown away. When her milk is drunk, that is esteemed a sin among the Forefathers. 6. Whenever a king, fancying himself mighty, seeks to devour a Brahman, that kingdom is broken up, in which a Brahman is oppressed. Becoming eight-footed, four-eyed, four-eared, four-jawed, two-faced, two-tongued, she (the cow) shatters the kingdom of the oppressor of Brahmans. 8. (Ruin) overflows that kingdom, as water swamps a leaky boat: calamity smites that country in which a priest is wronged. 9. Even trees, o Nărada, repel, and refuse their shade to, the man who claims a right to the property of a Brahman. This (property), as king Varuna hath said, has been turned into a poison by the gods. No one who has eaten a Brahman's cow continues to watch (i.e. to rule) over a country. 11. Those nine nineties (of persons) whom the earth shook off, when they had wronged the priestly race, were overwhelmed in an inconceivable manner (see verse 12 of the preceding hymn). 12. The gods have declared that the cloth wherewith a dead man's feet are bound shall be thy pall, thou oppressor of priests. 13. The tears which flow from a persecuted man as he laments, -such is the portion of water which the gods have assigned to thee, thou oppressor of priests. 14. The gods have allotted to thee that portion of water wherewith men wash the dead, and moisten beards. 15. The rain of Mitra and Varuna does not descend on the oppressor of priests. For him the battle has never a successful issue; nor does he bring his friend into subjection."

The attention of the reader is directed to the intensity of contempt and abhorrence which is sought to be conveyed by the coarse imagery contained in verses 3, and 12-14, of this last hymn.

There is another section of the same Veda, xii. 5, in which curses similar to those in the last two hymns are fulminated against the oppressors of Brahmans. The following are specimens:

Atharva-veda, xii. 5, 4. Brahma padaväyam brāhmano 'dhipatiḥ |
5. Tām ādadānasya brahma-gavīm jinato brūhmanān kshattriyasya |
6. Apa krāmati sūnritā vīryam punyā lakshmīḥ | 7. Ojašcha tejaš cha
sahaš cha balam cha vāk cha indriyam cha śrīś cha dharmaś cha |
8. Brahma cha kshattram cha rūshṭram cha višaš cha tvishiš cha yašaš cha
varchaš cha dravinam cha | 9. Āyuš cha rūpam cha nāma cha kīrttiš cha
prānaš cha apānaš cha chakshuś cha śrotram cha | 10. Payaš cha rasaš

cha annam cha annādyam cha ritam cha satyam cha ishṭam cha pūrttam cha prajā cha paśavaś cha | 11. Tāni sarvāni apa krāmanti brahma-gavīm ādadānasya jinato brāhmanam kshattriyasya | 12. Sā eshā bhīmā brahma-gavī agha-vishā . . . . | 13. Sarvāny asyām ghorāni sarve cha mritya-vaḥ | 14. Sarvāny asyām krūrāni sarve purusha-vadhāḥ | 15. Sā brahma-jyam deva-pīyum brahmagaeī ādīyamānā mrityoḥ paḍbīśe ā dyati |

"4. Prayer (brāhmān) is the chief (thing); the Brāhman is the lord (adhipati). 5. From the Kshattriya who seizes the priest's cow, and oppresses the Brāhman, (6) there depart piety, valour, good fortune, (7) force, keenness, vigour, strength, speech, energy, prosperity, virtue, (8) prayer (brāhmān), royalty, kingdom, subjects, splendour, renown, lustre, wealth, (9) life, beauty, name, fame, inspiration and expiration, sight, hearing, (10) milk, sap, food, eating, righteousness, truth, oblation, sacrifice, offspring, and cattle;—(11) all these things depart from the Kshattriya who seizes the priest's cow. 12. Terrible is the Brāhman's cow, filled with deadly poison. . . . 13. In her reside all dreadful things, and all forms of death, (14) all cruel things, and all forms of homicide. 15. When seized, she binds in the fetters of death the oppressor of priests and despiser of the gods."

A great deal more follows to the same effect, which it would be tiresome to quote.

I subjoin some further texts, in which reference is made to brahmans. In xix. 22, 21 (= xix. 23, 30) it is said:

Brahma-jyeshthä sambhritä viryäni brahmägre jyeshtham divam ätatäna | bhütänäm brahmä prathamo ha jajne tenärhati brahmanä eparddhitum kah |

"Powers are collected, of which prayer (or sacred science, brāhmān) is the chief. Prayer, the chief, in the beginning stretched out the sky. The priest (brāhmān) was born the first of beings. Who, then, ought to vie with the brāhmān.

A superhuman power appears to be ascribed to the brāhmān in the following passages,—unless by brāhmān we are to understand Brihaspati:—

xix. 9, 12. Brahmā Prajāpatir Dhātā lokāḥ vedāḥ sapta-rishayo 'gnayaḥ | tair me kritam svastyayanam Indro me śarma yachhatu brahmā me śarma yachhatu | "May a prosperous journey be granted to me by prayer, Prajāpati, Dhātri, the worlds, the Vedas, the seven rishis, the fires; may Indra grant me felicity, may the brāhmān grant me felicity."

xix. 43, 8. Yatra brahma-vido yānti dlkshayā tapasā saha | brahmā mā tatra nayatu brahmā brahma dadhātu me | brahmane svāhā.

"May the brāhmān conduct me to the place whither the knowers of prayer (or of sacred science) go by initiation with austerity. May the brāhmān impart to me sacred science. Svāhā to the brāhmān."

The wonderful powers of the Brahmacharin, or student of sacred science, are described in a hymn (A.V. xi. 5), parts of which are translated in my paper on the progress of the Vedic Religion, pp. 374 ff.

And yet with all this sacredness of his character the priest must be devoted to destruction, if, in the interest of an enemy, he is seeking by his ceremonies to effect the ruin of the worshipper.

v. 8, 5. Yam amī paro dadhire brahmāṇam apabhūtaye | Indra sa me adhaspadam tam pratyasyāmi mrityaee |

"May the brahman whom these men have placed in their front (as a purohita) for our injury, fall under my feet, o Indra; I hurl him away, to death (compare A.V. vii. 70, 1 ff.).

Sect. IV. — Opinions of Professor R. Roth and Dr. M. Haug regarding the origin of caste among the Hindus.

I shall in this section give some account of the speculations of Prof. R. Roth and Dr. M. Hang on the process by which they conceive the system of castes to have grown up among the Indians.

The remarks which I shall quote from Prof. Roth are partly drawn from his third "Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Veda," p. 117, and partly from his paper on "Brahma and the Brahmans," in the first volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society. He says in the latter essay: "The religious development of India is attached through the course of three thousand years to the word brahma. This conception might be taken as the standard for estimating the progress of thought directed to divine things, as at every step taken by the latter, it has gained a new form, while at the same time

78 The reader who is unacquainted with German will find a fuller account of this article in the Benares Magazine for October 1851, pp. 823 ff.

it has always embraced in itself the highest spiritual acquisition of the nation. . . . The original signification of the word brahma, as we easily discover it in the Vedic hymns, is that of prayer; not praise or thanksgiving, but that invocation which, with the force of the will. directed to God, seeks to draw him to itself, and to receive satisfaction from him. . . . . From this oldest sense and form of brahma (neuter) was formed the masculine noun brahma, which was the designation of those who pronounced the prayers, or performed the sacred ceremonies; and in nearly all the passages of the Rig-veda in which it was thought that this word must refer to the Brahmanical caste, this more extended sense must be substituted for the other more limited one. . . . From this sense of the word brahma, nothing was more natural than to convert this offerer of prayer into a particular description of sacrificial priest: so soon as the ritual began to be fixed, the functions which were before united in a single person, who both prayed to the gods and sacrificed to them, became separated, and a priesthood interposed itself between man and God." 70

Then further on, after quoting R.V. iv. 50, 4 ff. (see above, p. 247), Prof. Roth continues: "In this manner here and in many places of the liturgical and legal books, the promise of every blessing is attached to the maintenance of a priest by the king. Inasmuch as he supports and honours the priest, the latter ensures to him the favour of the gods. So it was that the caste of the Brahmans arose and attained to power and consideration: first, they were only the single domestic priests of the kings; then the dignity became hereditary in certain families; finally a union, occasioned by similarity of interests, of these families in one larger community was effected; and all this in reciprocal action with the progress made in other respects by theological doctrine and religious worship. Still the extension of the power which fell into the hands of this priestly caste would not be perfectly comprehensible

<sup>19</sup> In his third Dissertation on the Literature and History of the Veda, Prof. Roth remarks: "In the Vedic age, access to the gods by prayer and sacrifice was open to all classes of the community; and it was only the power of expressing devotion in a manner presumed to be acceptable to the deities, or a readiness in poetical diction, that distinguished any individual or family from the mass, and led to their being employed to conduct the worship of others. The name given to such persons was purchita, one 'put forward;' one through whose mediation the gods would receive the offering presented. But these priests had as yet no especial sanctity or exclusive prerogative which would render their employment imperative."

from this explanation alone. The relation of spiritual superiority in which the priests came to stand to the kings was aided by other historical movements."

Professor Roth then proceeds: "When-at a period more recent than the majority of the hymns of the Rig-veda-the Vedic people, driven by some political shock, advanced from their abodes in the Punjab further and further to the south, drove the aborigines into the hills, and took possession of the broad tract of country lying between the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Vindhya range; the time had arrived when the distribution of power, the relation of king and priest, could become transformed in the most rapid and comprehensive manner. Principalities separated in such various ways, such a division into tribes as had existed in the Punjab, were no longer possible here, where nature had created a wide and continuous tract with scarcely any natural boundaries to dissever one part from another. Most of those petty princes who had descended from the north with their tribes must here of necessity disappear, their tribes become dissolved, and contests arise for the supreme dominion. This era is perhaps portrayed to us in the principal subject of the Mahabharata, the contest between the descendants of Pandu and Kuru. In this stage of disturbance and complication, power naturally fell into the hands of those who did not directly possess any authority, the priestly races and their leaders, who had hitherto stood rather in the position of followers of the kings, but now rose to a higher rank. It may easily be supposed that they and their families, already honoured as the confidential followers of the princes, would frequently be able to strike a decisive stroke to which the king would owe his success. If we take further into account the intellectual and moral influence which this class possessed in virtue of the prerogative conceded to, or usurped by, them, and the religious feeling of the people, it is not difficult to comprehend how in such a period of transition powerful communities should arise among the domestic priests of petty kings and their families, should attain to the highest importance in every department of life, and should grow into a caste which, like the ecclesiastical order in the middle ages of Christianity, began to look upon secular authority as an effluence from the fulness of their power, to be conferred at their will; and how, on the other hand, the numerous royal families should

sink down into a nobility which possessed, indeed, the sole right to the kingly dignity, but at the same time, when elected by the people, required inauguration in order to their recognition by the priesthood, and were enjoined above all things to employ only Brāhmans as their counsellors."

In order to render the probability of this theory still more apparent, Professor Roth goes on to indicate the relations of the other eastes to the Brahmans. The position which the three superior classes occupied in the developed Brahmanical system was one of gradation, as they differed only in the extent of their religious and civil prerogatives, the Kshattriya being in some respects less favoured than the Brahman, and the Vaisya than the Kshattriya. With the Sudras, on the other hand, the case was quite different. They were not admitted to sacrifice, to the study of the Vedas, or to investiture with the sacred cord. From this Professor Roth concludes that the three highest castes stood in a closer connection with each other, whether of descent, or of culture, than any of them did to the fourth. The Indian body politic, moreover, was complete without the Sudras. The Brahman and Kshattriva were the rulers, while the Vaisyas formed the mass of the people. The fact of the latter not being originally a separate community is confirmed by the employment assigned to them, as well as by their name Vaisya, derived from the word Vis, a word which in the Veda designates the general community, especially considered as the possessor of the pure Aryan worship and culture, in contradistinction to all barbarian races. Out of this community the priesthood arose in the manner above described, while the Kshattriyas were the nobility, descended in the main from the kings of the earlier ages. The fourth caste, the Sudras, consisted, according to Prof. Roth, of a race subdued by the Brahmanical conquerors, whether that race may have been a branch of the Arian stock which immigrated at an earlier period into India, or an autochthonous Indian tribe.

In his tract on the origin of Brahmanism, from which I have already quoted (see above, pp. 11 and 14), Dr. Haug thus states his views on this question: "It has been of late asserted that the original parts of the Vedas do not know the system of caste. But this conclusion was prematurely arrived at without sufficiently weighing the evidence. It is true the caste system is not to be found in such a developed state;

the duties enjoined to the several castes are not so clearly defined as in the Law Books and Puranas. But nevertheless the system is already known in the earlier parts of the Vedas, or rather presupposed. The barriers only were not so insurmountable as in later times." (p. 6). This view he supports by a reference to the Zend Avesta, in which he finds evidence of a division of the followers of Abura Mazda into the three classes of Atharvas, Rathaesthas, and Vastrya fshuyans, which he regards as corresponding exactly to the Brahmans, Kshattrivas, and Vaisyas of India. The Atharvas, or priests, in particular formed a class or even a caste; they had secrets which they were prohibited from divulging; they were the spiritual guides of their nation, and none but the son of a priest could become a priest-a rule which the Parsis still maintain. From these facts, Dr. Haug deduces the conclusion that the nation of which both the Indo-Arians and the Perso-Arians originally formed a part had been divided into three classes even before the separation of the Indians from the Iranians; and he adds (p. 7): "From all we know, the real origin of caste appears to go back to a time anterior to the composition of the Vedic hymns, though its development into a regular system with insurmountable barriers can be referred only to the latest period of the Vedic times."

I shall furnish a short analysis of some other parts of Dr. Haug's interesting tract. He derives (p. 7) the word brāhmana from brāhmān (neuter), which originally meant "a sacred song, prayer," as an offusion of devotional feeling. Brahma was the "sacred element" in the sacrifice, and signified "the soul of nature, the productive power." The Brahmanic sacrifices had production as their object, and embraced some rites which were intended to furnish the sacrificer with a new spiritual body wherewith he might ascend to heaven, and others calculated to provide him with cattle and offspring (p. 8). The symbol of this brahma, or productive power, which must always be present at the sacrifice, was a bunch of kuśa grass, generally called Veda (a word alternating with brahma), which, at the sacrifice, was passed from one priest to another, and given to the sacrificer and his wife. The corresponding symbol of twigs used by the Parsis was called in Zend baresma, which Dr. Haug considers to have been originally the same as , brāhmā (p. 9). As it was essential to the success of these sacrifices

that every portion of the complicated ceremonial should be accurately performed, and as mistakes could not be avoided, it became necessary to obviate by an atonement (prayaśchitti) the mischief which would otherwise have ensued; and the priest appointed to guard against or . expiate such mistakes, when committed by the other priests-the hotri, adheavyu, and udgatri-was called, "from the most ancient times," the brahman (masculine), who was a functionary pre-eminently supplied with brahma (neuter) or sacred knowledge, and thereby connected " with the soul of nature, the cause of all growth, the last cause of all sacrificial rites" (p. 10). The office of brahman was not one to which mere birth gave a claim, but had to be attained by ability and study. The descendants of these brahman priests were the Brahmans, and the speculations of the most eminent brahman priests on divine things, and especially on sacrificial rites, are contained in the works called Brahmanas (p. 12). Dr. Haug considers that no such a class as that of the brahman priests existed at the early period when the ancestors of the Hindus separated from those of the Parsis in consequence of religious differences. The few rites preserved by the Parsis as relies of the remotest antiquity closely resemble those of the Brahmans. Dr. Hang finds that in the Homa ritual of the former (corresponding to the Soma ceremony of the latter) only two priests, called Zota and Raspi or Rathwi, are required, whom he recognises as corresponding to the Hotri and Adhvaryu of the latter. So long as the rites were simple, no brahman priest was wanted; but when they became complicated and multiform, the necessity for such a functionary arose. And it was only then that the sons of the brahmans, i.e. the Brahmans, could rise through the possession of sucred knowledge, derived from their fathers, to great power, and form themselves into a regular caste. The development of these ceremonies out of their primitive simplicity into the complexity and multiformity which they ultimately assumed must, Dr. Haug thinks, have been the work of many centuries. This transformation must have taken place in the region bordering on the Sarasvatī, where the expansion of the Brahmanical system, and the elevation of the Brahmans to full spiritual supremacy, is to be sought, before the Indo-Arians advanced southeastwards into Hindostan proper (p. 14). The ascendancy of the Brahmans was not however attained without opposition on the part of the kings (p. 18). Dr. Haug concludes by relating the reception . of Viśvāmitra into the order of Brāhmans, and by giving some account of the rishis and the several classes into which they were divided.

As the question is generally stated by Dr. Haug in pages 6 and 12 ff., the difference between him and other European scholars is one of age and not of principle, for neither party admits any distinction of race or congenital diversity between the three superior castes or classes.

## CHAPTER IV.

## EARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN THE BRAHMANS AND KSHATTRIYAS.

I proceed to give some legendary illustrations of the struggle which no doubt occurred in the early ages of Hindu history between the Brahmans and the Kshattriyas, after the former had begun to constitute a fraternity exercising the sacerdotal profession, but before the respective provinces of the two classes had been accurately defined by custom, and when the members of each were ready to encroach on the prerogatives claimed as their own exclusive birthright by the other.

SECT. I .- Manu's Summary of refractory and submissive monarchs.

I shall begin with the following passage, which we find in the Institutes of Manu, vii. 38 ff., regarding the impious resistance, as the lawgiver considered it, of certain monarchs to the legitimate claims of the priests, and the dutiful behaviour of others.

38. Vriddhāms cha nityam seveta viprān veda-vidah suchīn | vriddha-sevī hi satatam rakshobhir api pūjyate | 39. Tebhyo 'dhigachhed vina-yam vimītātmā 'pi nityasah | vinītātmā hi nripatir na vinasyati karchi-chit | 40. Bahavo 'vinayād nashtāh rājānah sa-parichhadāh | vanasthāh api rājyāni vinayāt pratipedire | 41. Veno vinashto 'vinayād Nahushas chaiva pārthivah | Sudāh Paijavanas chaiva Sumukho Nimir eva cha | 42. Prithus tu vinayād rājyam prāptavān Manur eva cha | Kuveras cha dhanaisvaryyam brāhmanyam chaiva Gādhijah |

"Let the king constantly reverence ancient Brāhmans skilled in the Vedas, and pure in conduct; for he who always respects the aged is honoured even by the Rākshāses. 39. Let him, even though humble-

so In support of this reading, see M. Loiseleur Deslongehamps's and Sir G. C. Haughton's notes on the passage.

minded, be continually learning submissiveness from them: for a submissive monarch never perishes. 40. Through want of this character many kings have been destroyed with all their possessions; whilst by humility even hermits have obtained kingdoms. 41. Vena perished through want of submissiveness, and king Nahusha, and Sūdas the son of Pijavana, and Sumukha, and Nimi. 42. But through submissiveness Prithu and Manu attained kingly power, Kuvera the lordship of wealth, and the son of Gūdhi (Viśvāmitra) Brūhmanhood." 81

Vena is again referred to in Manu ix. 66 f.: Ayam dvijair hi vidvadbhih pasudharmo nigarhitah | manushyānām api prokto Vene rājyam prašāsati | 67. Sa mahīm akhilām bhunjan rājarshi-pravarah purā | varnānām sankaram chakre kāmopahata-chetanah |

"This custom (of raising up seed to a deceased brother or kinsman by his widow) fit only for cattle, was declared to be (law) for men also, when Vena held sway. This eminent royal rishi, who in former times ruled over the whole earth, having his reason destroyed by lust, occasioned a confusion of castes."

The legendary history of nearly all the kings thus stigmatized or celebrated can be traced in the Puranas and other parts of Indian literature. I shall supply such particulars of the refractory monarchs as I can find.

It will be observed that Manu is spoken of as an ordinary prince; and that even Kuvera, the god of wealth, is said to have attained his dignity by the same species of merit as the other persons whom the writer eulogizes. I am not aware whether any legends exist to the same effect. Something of a contrary tendency is found with regard to the deity in question in the passage of the Mahābhārata, of which an extruct is given above, in p. 140, note 249.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Kullüka remarks on this passage: Gādhi-putro Viiramitras' cha kahattriyah saña tenaira dehena brūhmanyam prāptavān | rājya-lābhūcasare brūhmanya-prāptir aprastutā 'pi vinayetkarshūrtham uktā | ūdriso 'yañ sāstrānushthāna-nishiddha-varjana-rūpa-rinayodayena kshattriyo 'pi durlabham brūhmanyam lebhe | "Viirāmitra, the son of Gādhi, being a Kshattriya, obtained Brūhmanhood in the same body (i.e. without being again born in another body). The attainment of Brahmanhood by one who at the time held kingly authority, although an unusual occurrence, is mentioned to show the excellence of submissiveness. Through that quality, as exhibited in the observance of scriptural injunctions, and in abstinence from things forbidden, he, being a Kshattriya, obtained Brahmanhood, so difficult to acquire."

I have not met with any story of Sumukha's contest with the Brahmans. Some MSS, read Suratha instead of Sumukha.

The name of Sudas, the son of Pijavana, occurs in several parts of the Rig-veda. I shall return to him in relating the contest between Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra. I begin with the story of Vena.

## SECT. II .- Legend of Vena.

According to the Vishnu Purāṇa, i. 13, Veṇa was the son of Anga, and the descendant in the ninth generation of the first Mann, Svāyambhuva; the line of ancestors from the latter downwards being as follows: Uttānapāda, Dhruva, Slishti, Ripu, Chākshusha, the sixth Manu called Chākshusha, Uru, Anga (see Wilson's Vishnu P. vol. i.). Veṇa thus belongs to a mythical age preceding by an enormous interval that of the descendants of Manu Vaivasvata mentioned in the preceding chapter of this volume; five Manvantaras, or periods of 308,571 years each, having intervened in the present Kalpa between the close of the Svāyambhuva, and the beginning of the existing, or Vaivasvata, Manvantara.

Vishnu Purana, i. 13, 7: Parāšara uvācha | Sunīthā nāma yā kanyā Mrityoh prathama-jā 'bhavat | Angasya bhāryyā sa dattā tasyām Venas to ajāyata | 8. Sa mātāmaha-doshena tena Mrityoh sutūtmajah | nisargād iva Maitreya dushtah eva vyajāyata | 9. Abhishikto yadā rājye sa Venah paramarshibhih | ghoshayamasa sa tada prithivyam prithivipatih | "na yashtavyam na datavyam hotavyam na kadachana | bhokta yajnasya kas te anyo hy aham yajna-patih sada | 10. Tatas tam rishayah sarve sampūjya prithivīpatim | ūchuh sāmakalam samyan Maitreya samupasthitāh | rishayah uchuh | 11. " Bho bho rajan śrinushva tvam yad vadamas tava prabho | rajya-dehopakare yah prajanam cha hitam param | 12. Dirghasattrena deveśam sarva-yajneśvaram Harim | pūjayishyūmo bhadram te tatrāmšas te bhavishyati | 13. Yajnena yajna-purusho Vishnuh samprīnito vibhuh | asmābhir bhacatah kāmān sarvān eva pradāsyati | yajnair yajnešvaro yeshām rāshtre sampūjyate Harih | teshām sarvepsitāvāptim dadati nripa bhubhujam" | Venah weacha | "mattah ko bhyadhiko nyo 'sti kaś charadhyo mamaparah | ko 'yam Harir iti khyato yo vo yajneśvaro matah | Brahmā Janardano Rudrah Indro Vayur Yamo Ravih |

Hutabhug Varuno Dhātā Pūshā Bhūmir Nišākarah | ete chānye cha ye devāh śāpānugraha-kāriņah | nripasya te śarīra-sthāh sarva-devamayo nripah | etaj jnatea maya "jnaptam yad yatha kriyatam tatha | na "datavyam na hotavyam na yashtuvyam cha vo dvijah | 14. Bharttuh śuśrūshanam dharmo yathā strīnām paro matah | mamājnā-pālanam dharmo bhavatām cha tathā dvijāh" | rishayah achuh | "dehy anujnām mahārāja mā dharmo yatu sankshayam | havishām parināmo 'yam yad etad akhilam jagat | 15. Dharme cha sankshayam yate kehiyate chakhilam jagat" | Parāśarah uvācha | iti vijnāpyamāno 'pi sa Venah paramarshibhih | yada dadati nanujnam proktah proktah punah punah | tatas te munayah sarve kopāmarsha-samanvitāh | " hanyatam hanyatām pāpah" ity üchus te parasparam | 16. "Yo yajna-purusham decam anādi-nidhanam prabhum | vinindaty adhamāchāro na sa yogyo bhweah patih" | ity ukteā mantra-pūtais to kušair muni-ganāh nripam | nirjaghnur nihatam pūrvam bhagavan-nindanādinā | tataš cha munayo renum dadrišuh sarvato deija | "kim etad" iti chasannam paprachhus te janam tada | 17. Akhyūtam cha janais teshām "chaurībhūtair arūjake rūshtre tu lokair arabdham para-svadanam aturaib | 18. Tesham udirna-veganam chaurānām muni-sattamāh | sumahān drišyate renuh para-vittāpahārinām" | tatah sammantrya to sarve munayas tasya bhūbhritah | mamanthur urum putrartham anapatyasya yatnatah | mathyatas cha samuttasthau tasyoroh purushah kila | dagdha-sthunapratikasah kharvatasyo 'tihrascakah | 19. Kim karomiti tan sarean vipran aha sa chaturah | nishīdeti tam ūchus te nishādas tena so 'bhavat | 20. Tatas tat-sambhavāh jātāh Vindhya-saila-nivāsinah | nishādāh muni-sardāla pāpa-karmopalakshanah | 21. Tena doarena nishkrantam tat papam tasya bhupateh | nishādās te tathā jātāh Vena-kalmasha-sambhavāh | 22. Tato 'sya dakshinam hastam mamanthus te tadă dvijāh | mathyamane cha tutrābhūt Prithur Vainyah pratapavan | dipyamanah wa-vapusha sakshad Agnir ivejjvalan | 23. Adyam ājagavam nāma khāt papāta tato dhanuh | śarāś cha divyāh nabhasah kavacham cha papāta ha | tasmin jāte tu bhūtānī samprahrishtani sarvasah | satputrena cha jatena Veno 'pi' tridivam yayan | pun-nāmno narakāt trātah sa tena sumahātmanā |

"7. The maiden named Sunīthā, who was the first-born of Mrityu (Death) was given as wife to Anga; and of her Vena was born.

8. This son of Mrityu's daughter, infected with the taint of his ma-

<sup>83</sup> See above, p. 124, and note 230.

ternal grandfather, was born corrupt, as if by nature. 9. When Vena was inaugurated as king by the eminent rishis, he caused this proclamation to be made on the earth: 'Men must not sacrifice, or give gifts, or present oblations. Who else but myself is the enjoyer of . sacrifices? I am for ever the lord of offerings,' 10. Then all the rishis approaching the king with respectful salutations, said to him in a gentle and conciliatory tone: 11. 'Hear, o king, what we have to say: 12. We shall worship Hari, the monarch of the gods, and the lord of all sacrifices, with a Dirghasattra (prolonged sacrifice), from which the highest benefits will accrue to your kingdom, your person, and your subjects. May blessings rest upon you! You shall have a share in the ceremony. 13. Vishnu the lord, the sacrificial Male, being propitiated by us with this rite, will grant all the objects of your desire. Hari, the lord of pacrifices, bestows on those kings in whose country he is honoured with oblations, everything that they wish.' Vena replied: 'What other being is superior to me? who else but I should be adored? who is this person called Hari, whom you regard as the lord of sacrifice? Brahma, Janardana, Rudra, Indra, Vayu, Yama, Ravi (the Sun), Agni, Varuna, Dhatri, Pushan, Earth, the Moon,these and the other gods who curse and bless are all present in a king's person: for he is composed of all the gods. \*\* Knowing this, ye must

89 The orthodox doctrine, as stated by Manu, vii. 3 ff., coincides very nearly with Vena's estimate of himself, although the legislator does not deduce from it the same conclusions: 3. Rokshārtham asya sarvasya rajānam asrijat probhub | 4. Indrānilayamārkāņām Agnei cha Varunasya cha | Chandra-Vitteiayoi chaiva mātrāh nirhritya nascotih | 5. Yannad esham surendranam matrabhyo nirmito nripah | tannad abhibhavaty eska sarva-bhūtūni tejasā | 6. Tapaty āditya-vach chaiska chakshūnishi cha manamii cha | na chainam bhuvi saknoti kaichid apy abhivikshitum | 7. So 'gnir bhavati Vayud cha so 'rkah Somah sa Dharmarat | sa Kuverah sa Varsmah sa Mahendrah prabhavatah | 8. Balo pi nasamantaryo "manushyah" iti bhicmipah | mahati decata hy caha nara-rupena tishthati | "3. The lord created the king for the preservation of this entire world, (4) extracting the eternal essential particles of Indra, Vayu, Yama, Surya, Agni, Varuna, Chandra, and Kuvera. 5. Inasmuch as the king is formed of the particles of all these gods, he surpasses all beings in brilliancy. 6. Like the Sun, he distresses both men's eyes and minds; and no one on earth cun ever gaze upon him. 7. He is Agni, Vayu, Sürya, Soma, Yama, Kuvera, Varuna, and Indra, in majesty. 8. Even when a child a king is not to be despised under the idea that he is a mere man; for he is a great deity in human form."

In another passage, ix. 303, this is qualified by saying that the king should imitate the functions of the different gods: Indrasyarkasya Vayoscha Yamasya Varuuanya cha | Chandrasyogneh Prithivyas cha tejo crittans nripas charet | This expanded in

the next verses.

act in conformity with my commands. Brahmans, ye must neither give gifts, nor present oblations nor sacrifices. 14. As obedience to their husbands is esteemed the highest duty of women, so is the obser-,vance of my orders incumbent upon you.' The rishis answered: 'Give permission, great king: let not religion perish: this whole world is but a modified form of oblations. 15. When religion perishes the whole world is destroyed with it.' When Vena, although thus admonished and repeatedly addressed by the eminent rishis, did not give his permission, then all the munis, filled with wrath and indignation, cried out to one another, 'Slay, slay the sinner. 16. This man of degraded life, who blasphemes the sacrificial Male, the god, the lord without beginning or end, is not fit to be lord of the earth.' So saying the munis smote with blades of kuśa grass consecrated by texts this king who had been already smitten by his blasphemy of the divine Being and his other offences. The munis afterwards beheld dust all round, and asked the people who were standing near what that was. 17. They were informed: 'In this country which has no king, the people, being distressed, have become robbers, and have begun to seize the property of others. 18. It is from these robbers rushing impetuously, and plundering other men's goods, that this great dust is seen? Then all the munis, consulting together, rubbed with force the thigh of the king, who was childless, in order to produce a son. From his thigh when rubbed there was produced a man like a charred log, with flat face, and extremely short. 19. 'What shall I do?' cried the man, in distress, to the Brahmans. They said to him, 'Sit down' (nishida); and from this he became a Nishada. 20. From him sprang the Nishādas dwelling in the Vindhya mountains, distinguished by their wicked deeds. 21. By this means the sin of the king departed out of him; and so were the Nishadas produced, the offspring of the wickedness of Vena. 22. The Brahmans then rubbed his right hand; and from it, when rubbed, sprang the majestic Prithu, Vena's son, resplendent in body, glowing like the manifested Agni. 23. Then the primeval bow called Ajagava fell from the sky, with celestial arrows, and a coat of mail. At Prithu's birth all creatures rejoiced. And through the birth of this virtuous son, Vena, delivered from the hell called Put 84 by this eminent person, ascended to heaven."

at This alludes to the funciful derivation of pattra, "son," from put + tra.

The Harivamsa (sect. 5) relates the same story thus, with little variation from the Vishnu Purana:

Vaišampāyanah uvācha | Āsīd dharmanya goptā vai pūrvam Atri-samah prabhuh | Atri-caméa-samutpannas to Ango nama projapatih | tasya putro 'bhavad Veno nātyartham dharma-kovidah | jāto Mrityu-sutāyām vai Sunithäyam prajapatih | sa matamaha-doshena tena kalatmajatmajah | sva-dharman prishthatah kritea kamal lobheshe avarttata | maryadam sthāpayāmāsa dharmāpetām sa pārthivah | veda-dharmān atikramya so 'dharma-nirato'bharat | nih-scādhyāya-vashatkārās tasmin rājani śāsati | pravarttan na papuh somam hutam yajneshu devatah | " na yashtavyam na hotavyam" iti tasya prajapateh | asit pratijna krureyam vinake samupasthite | aham ijyaś cha yashta cha yajnaś cheti kurūdzaha | "mayi yajnah vidhatavyah mayi hotavyam" ity api | tam atikrantamaryadam adadanam asampratam | uchur maharshayah sarre Marichipramukhās tadā | "vayam dikshām pravekshyāmah samvatsara-ganān bahun | adharmam kuru ma Vena naisha dharmah sanatanah | ancaye 'treh prasutas team prajupatir asamsayam | 'prajus cha pulayishye 'ham' iti te samayah kritah" | tams tatha bruvatah sarvan maharshin abravīt tadā | Venah prahosya durbuddhir imam artham anartha-vit | Venah uvācha | " srashtā dharmasya kaš chānyah śrotavyam kasya vā mayā | śruta-vīrya-tapaḥ-satyair mayā vā kaḥ samo bhuvi | prabhavam sarea-bhūtānām dharmānām cha višeshatah | sammādhāh na vidur nūnam bhavanto mām achetasah | ichhan daheyam prithivim plāvayeyam jalais tathā | dyām bhuvam chaiva rundheyam nātra kāryā vichāraņā" | yadā na śakyato mohād avalepāch cha pārthivah | anunetum tadā Venas tatah kruddhah maharshayah | nigrihya tam mahatmano visphurantam mahabalam | tato 'sya savyam ürum to mamanthur jäta-manyavah | tasmims tu mathyamane vai rajnah uran vijajnivan | hrasvo 'timatrah purushah krishnas chapi babhava ha | sa bhitah pranjalir bhatva sthitavan Janamejaya | tam Atrir vihvalam drishtva nishtdety abravit tada | nishadavamisa-kartta 'sau babhava vadatām vara | dhīvarān asrijach chāpi Venakalmasha-sambhavan | ye chanye Vindhya-nilayas Tukharas Tumburas tathā | adharma-ruchayas tāta viddhi tān Vena-sembhavān | tatoh punar mahatmanah panim Venasya dakshinam | aranim ica samrabahah mamanthur jūta-manyavah | Prithus tasmāt samuttasthau karāj įvalana-sannibhah | dipyamanuh sva-vapushā sākshād Agnir iva jealan |

"There was formerly a Prajapati (lord of creatures), a protector of

righteousness, called Anga, of the race of Atri, and resembling him in power. His son was the Prajapati Vena, who was but indifferently skilled in duty, and was born of Sunitha, the daughter of Mrityu. This son , of the daughter of Kala (Death), owing to the taint derived from his maternal grandfather, threw his duties behind his back, and lived in covetousness under the influence of desire. This king established an irreligious system of conduct: transgressing the ordinances of the Veda, he was devoted to lawlessness. In his reign men lived without study of the sacred books and without the vashatkara, and the gods had no Soma-libations to drink at sacrifices. 'No sacrifice or oblation shall be offered,'-such was the ruthless determination of that Prajapati, as the time of his destruction approached. 'I,' he declared, 'am the object, and the performer of sacrifice, and the sacrifice itself: it is to me that sacrifice should be presented, and oblations offered.' This transgressor of the rules of duty, who arrogated to himself what was not his due, was then addressed by all the great rishis, headed by Marichi: 'We are about to consecrate ourselves for a ceremony which shall last for many years: practise not unrighteousness, o Vena: this is not the eternal rule of duty. Thou art in very deed a Prajapati of Atri's race, and thou hast engaged to protect thy subjects.' The foolish Vena, ignorant of what was right, laughingly answered those great rishis who had so addressed him: 'Who but myself is the ordainer of duty? or whom ought I to obey? Who on earth equals me in sacred knowledge, in prowess, in austere ferrour, in truth? Ye who are deluded and senseless know not that I am the source of all beings and duties. Hesitate not to believe that I, if I willed, could burn up the earth, or deluge it with water, or close up heaven and earth.' When owing to his delusion and arrogance Vena could not be governed, then the mighty rishis becoming incensed, seized the vigorous and struggling king, and rubbed his left thigh. From this thigh, so rubbed, was produced a black man, very short in stature, who, being alarmed, stood with joined hands. Seeing that he was agitated, Atri said to him 'Sit down' (nishīda). He became the founder of the race of the Nishādas, and also progenitor of the Dhivaras (fishermen), who sprang from the corruption of Vena. So too were produced from him the other inhabitants of the Vindhya range, the Tukhāras, and Tumburas, who are prone to lawlessness. Then the mighty sages, excited and incensed, again rubbed the right hand of Vena, as men do the arani wood, and from it arose Prithu, resplendent in body, glowing like the manifested Agni."

Although the Harivamsa declares Vena to be a descendant of Atri, yet as the Prajapati Atri is said in a previous section to have adopted. Uttānapāda, Vena's ancestor, for his son (Hariv. sect. 2, verse 60, Uttānapādam jagrāha putram Atrih prajāpatih) there is no contradiction between the genealogy given here and in the Vishnu Purāna.

The story of Vena is told in the same way, but more briefly, in the Mahabharata, Santip. sect. 59. After narrating the birth of Prithu, the writer proceeds, verse 2221:

Tatas tu prānjalir Vuinyo maharshīms tān uvācha ha | 11 susūkshmā me samutpannā buddhir dharmārtha-daršinī | anayā kim mayā kāryyum tad me tattvena śamsata | yad mām bharanto vakshyanti kāryam arthasamanvitam | tad aham cai karishyami natra karya cicharana" | tam achus tattra devas te te chaica paramarshayah | " niyato yattra dharmo vai tvam ašankah samāchara | priyopriye parityajya samah sarveshu jantushu | kāma-krodhau cha lobham cha mānam chotsrijya dūratah | yas cha dharmāt parichalel loke kaśchana mānavah | nigrāhyās te sva-bāhubhyām śaśvad dharmam avekshatā | pratijnām chādhirohawa manasā karmanā girā | 'pālayishyāmy aham bhaumam brahma' ity eca chāsakrit | . . . . adandyāh me dvijāš cheti pratijānīhi he vibho | lokam cha sankarāt kritsnam trātāsmīti parantapa" | Vainyas tatas tān uvācha devān rishi-purogamān ! "brāhmaṇāh me mahābhāgāḥ namasyāḥ purusharshabhāḥ" | "evam aste" iti Vainyas tu tair ukto brahmavādibhih | purodhāś chābhavat tazya Sukro brahmamayo nidhih | mantrino Bālakhilyāś cha Sārazvatyo ganas tathā | maharshir bhagavān Gargas tasya sāmeatsaro 'bhacat |

"The son of Vena (Prithu) then, with joined hands, addressed the great rishis: 'A very slender understanding for perceiving the principles of duty has been given to me by nature: tell me truly how I must employ it. Doubt not that I shall perform whatever you shall declare to me as my duty, and its object.' Then those gods and great rishis said to him: 'Whatever duty is enjoined perform it without hesitation, disregarding what thou mayest like or dislike, looking on all creatures with an equal eye, putting far from thee lust, anger, cupidity, and pride. Restrain by the strength of thine arm all those men who swerve from righteousness, having a constant regard to duty. And in thought, act, and word take upon thyself, and continually renew, the

engagement to protect the terrestrial Brāhmān (Veda, or Brāhmans?)
... And promise that thou wilt exempt the Brāhmans from punishment, and preserve society from the confusion of castes.' The son of Vena then replied to the gods, headed by the rishis: 'The great Brāhmans, the chief of men, shall be reverenced by me.' 'So be it,' rejoined those declarers of the Veda. Sukra, the depository of divine knowledge, became his purohita; the Bālakhilyas and Sārasvatyas his ministers; and the venerable Garga, the great rishi, his astrologer."

The character and conduct of Prithu, as pourtrayed in the last passage presents a strong, and when regarded from a Brahmanical point of view, an edifying, contrast to the contempt of priestly authority and disregard of Vedic observances which his predecessor had shewn.

In legends like that of Vena we see, I think, a reflection of the questions which were agitating the religious world of India at the period when the Puranas in which they appear were compiled, viz., those which were then at issue between the adherents of the Veda, and the various classes of their opponents, Bauddha, Jaina, Charvaka, etc. These stories were no doubt written with a purpose. They were intended to deter the monarchs contemporary with the authors from tampering with those heresies which had gained, or were gaining, circulation and popularity, by the example of the punishment which, it was pretended, had overtaken the princes who had dared to deviate from orthodoxy in earlier times. Compare the account given of the rise of heretical doctrines in the Vishnu Purana (pp. 209 ff. vol. jii. of Dr. Hall's edition of Professor Wilson's translation), which the writer no doubt intended to have something more than a merely historical interest.

The legend of Vena is told at greater length, but with no material variation in substance, in the Bhagavata Purana, iv. sections 13-15. See also Professor Wilson's note in his Vishnu Purana, vol. i. in loco.

In ascribing to Vena an irreligious character and a contempt for the priests, the Purăṇas contradict a verse în the Rig-veda x. 93, 14, în which (unless we suppose a different individual to be there meant) Vena is celebrated along with Duhslma, Prithavana, and Rama for his conspicuous liberality to the author of the hymn (pra tad Duhsime Prithavane Vene pra Rame vocham asure maghavateu | ye yukteāya pancha śatā asmayu pathā viśrāvi eshām). The two other passages,

viii. 9, 10, and x. 148, 5, in which he is alluded to as the father of

Prithu have been quoted above, p. 268.

I observe that a Vena, called Bhargava (or a descendant of Bhrigu), is mentioned in the list of traditional authors of hymns, given at the end of Professor Aufrecht's Rig-veda, vol. ii., as the rishi of R.V. ix. 85, and x. 123.

## SECT. III .- Legend of Pururavas.

Pururavas has been already alluded to (in pp. 158, 221, 226, 268, and 279 f.) as the son of Ida (or Ida), and the grandson of Manu Vaivasvata; as the author of the triple division of the sacred fire; and as a royal rishi. We have also seen (p. 172) that in Rig-veda i. 31, 4, he is referred to as sukrite, a "beneficent," or "pious," prince. Rig-veda x. 95 is considered to contain a dialogue between him and the Apsaras Urvašī (see above, p. 226). In verse 7 of that hymn the gods are alluded to as having strengthened Pururavas for a great conflict for the slanghter of the Dasyus (make yat toù Pururava randya avarddhayan dasyu-hatyāya devāḥ); and in the 18th verse he is thus addressed by his patronymic: Iti toù devāh ime āhur Aila yathā im etad bhavasi mrityubandhuh | prajā te devān havishā yajāti evarge u tram api mādayāse | "Thus say these gods to thee, o son of Ila, that thou art indeed nothing more than a kinsman of death: (yet) let thy offspring worship the gods with an oblation, and thou also shalt rejoice in heaven."

It thus appears that in the Vedic hymns and elsewhere Pururavas is regarded as a pious prince, and Manu does not include him in his list of those who resisted the Brahmans. But the M. Bh., Adiparvan 3143 speaks of him as follows:

Purūravās tato vidvān Ilāyām samapadyata | sā vai tasyābhavad mātā pilā chaiveti naḥ śrutam | trayodaśa samudrasya dvipān aśnan Purūravāḥ | amūnushair vritaḥ sarvair mānushaḥ san mahāyaśāḥ | vipraiḥ sa vigraham chakre viryyonmattaḥ Purūravāḥ | jahāra cha sa viprāṇām ratnāny utkrośatām api | Sanatkumāras tam rājan Brahma-lokād upetya ha | anudarśam tataś chakre pratyagrihṇād na chāpy asau | tato maharshihhiḥ kruddhaiḥ sadyaḥ śapto vyanaśyata | lobhānvito bala-madād nashṭa-sanjao narūdhipaḥ | sa hi gandharca-loka-sthān Urvaśyā sahito virūṭ | ānināya kriyārtho 'gnīn yathāvad vihītāms tridhā |

"Subsequently the wise Purūravas was born of Ilā, who, as we have heard, was both his father and his mother. Ruling over thirteen islands of the ocean, and surrounded by beings who were all superhuman, himself a man of great renown, Purūravas, intoxicated by his prowess, engaged in a conflict with the Brāhmans, and robbed them of their jewels, although they loudly remonstrated. Sanatkumāra came from Brahmā's heaven, and addressed to him an admonition, which, however, he did not regard. Being then straightway cursed by the incensed rishis, he perished, this covetous monarch, who, through pride of power, had lost his understanding. This glorious being (rirāt), accompanied by Urvaśī, brought down for the performance of sacred rites the fires which existed in the heaven of the Gandharvas, properly distributed into three." (See Wilson's Vishņu Purāṇa, 4to. ed. pp. 350 and 394 ff. with note p. 397.)

I cite from the Harivamsa another passage regarding Pururavas, although no distinct mention is made in it of his contest with the Brahmans:

Harivamás 8811. Pitā Budhasyottama-vīrya-karmā Purūravāh yasya suto nri-devah | prāṇāgnir īdyo 'gnim ajījanad yo nashtam śamī-garbha-bhavam bhavātmā | tathaiva paśchāch chakame mahātmā purorvaśīm apsorasām varishthām | pītaḥ purā yo 'mrita-sarva-deho muni-pravīrair vara-gātri-ghoraiḥ | nripaḥ kuśāgraiḥ punar eva yaś cha dhīmān krito 'gnir divi pūjyate cha |

"He (the Moon) was the father of Budha (Mercury), whose son was Purăravas, a god among men, of distinguished heroic deeds, the vital fire, worthy of adoration, the generator, who begot the lost fire which sprang from the heart of the śamī-wood, the great personage, who, placed to the west, loved Urvasī, the paragon of Apsarases, who was placed to the east. This king with his entire immortal body was formerly swallowed up with the points of Kuśa grass by the munis terrible with their resplendent forms; but was again made wise, and is worshipped in heaven as fire."

## SECT. IV .- Story of Nahusha.

The legend of Nahusha, \*\* grandson of Pururavas (see above, p. 226),

85 The name of Nahush occurs in the Rig-veda as that of the progenitor of a race.

the second prince described by Manu as having come into hostile collision with the Brahmans is narrated with more or less detail in different parts of the Mahabharata, as well as in the Puranas. The following passage is from the former work, Adip. 3151:

Āyusho Nahushah putro dhīmān satya-parākramah | rājyam šašāsa sumahad dharmena prithivīpate | pitrīn decān rishīn viprān gandharvo-raga-rākshasān | Nahushah pālayāmāsa brahma kshattram atho višah | sa hatvā dasyu-sanghātān rishīn karam adāpayat | pašuvach chaiva tān prishīhs vāhayāmāsa vīryyavān | kārayāmāsa chendratvam abhibhūya divaukasah | tejasā tapasā chaiva vikramenaujasā tathā |

"Nahusha the son of Ayus, wise, and of genuine prowess, ruled with justice a mighty empire. He protected the pitris, gods, rishis, wise men, gandharvas, serpents (uraga), and rākshasas, as well as Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, and Vaiśyas. This energetic prince, after slaying the hosts of the Dasyus, compelled the rishis to pay tribute, and made them carry him like beasts upon their backs. After subduing the celestials he conquered for himself the rank of Indra, through his vigour, austere fervour, valour and fire."

The story is thus introduced in another part of the same work, the Vanaparvan, section 180. Yudhishthira found his brother Bhīmasena seized by a serpent in a forest (see above, p. 133). This serpent, it appears, was no other than king Nahusha, who on being questioned thus relates his own history:

Nahusho nāma rājā'ham āsam pūreas tavānagha | prathitah panchamah Somād Āyoh putro narādhipa | kratubhis tapasā chaiva svādhyāyena damena cha | trailokyaiśvaryam avyagram prāpto'ham vikramena cha | tad aiśvaryyam samāsādya darpo mām agamat tadā | sahasram hi dvijātīnām uvāha śivikām mama | aiśvaryya-madu-matto'ham avamanya tato dvijān | imām Agastyena daśām ânītah prīthivīpate | . . . aham hi divi divyena vimānena charan purā | abhimānena mattah san kunchid nānyam achintayam | brahmarshi-deva-gandharva-yakaha-rākshasa-pannagāh | karān mama prayachhanti sarve trailokya-vāsinah | chakshushā yam prapasyāmi prāninam prīthivīpate | tasya tejo harāmy āśu tad hi drishter balam mama | maharshīnām sahasram hi uvāha śivikām mama |

See above, p. 165, note 7, and pp. 179 f. Nahusha Mānava îs the traditional rishi of Rig-veda ix. 101, verses 7-9, and Yayāti Nāhusha of verses 4-6 of the same hymn. See list of rishis in Professor Aufrecht's Rig-veda ii. 464 ff. sa mām apanayo rājan bhramšayāmāsa vai śriyah | tatra hy Agastyah pādena vahan sprishto mayā munih | Agastyena tato'umy ukto dhvamsa sarpeti vai rushā | tatas tasmād vimānāgryāt prachyutaś chyuta-lakshanah | prapatan bubudhe "tmānam vyālībhūtam adhomukham | ayācham tam aham vipram "śāpasyānto bhaved" iti | "pramādāt sampramūdhasya bhagavan kshantum arhasi" | tatah sa mām uvāchedam prapatantam kripānvitah | "Yudhishthiro dharma-rājah šāpāt tvām mochayishyati" | . . . . ity uktvā "jagaram deham muktvā na Nahusho nripah | divyam vapuh samāsthāya gatas tridivam eva cha |

"I was a king called Nahusha, more ancient than thou, known as the son of Ayus, and fifth in descent from Soma. By my sacrifices, austere fervour, sacred study, self-restraint, and valour, I acquired the undisturbed sovereignty of the three worlds. When I had attained that dominion, pride took possession of my soul: a thousand Brühmans bore my vehicle. Becoming intoxicated by the conceit of my lordly power, and contemning the Brahmans, I was reduced to this condition by Agastya." The serpent then promises to let Bhīmasena go, if Yudhishthira will answer certain questions (above referred to in p. 133 ff.). Yudhishthira afterwards enquires how delusion had happened to take possession of so wise a person as their conversation shewed Nahusha to be. The latter replies that he had been perverted by the pride of power, and proceeds: "Formerly, as I moved through the sky on a celestial car, intoxicated with self-conceit, I regarded no one but myself. All the inhabitants of the three worlds, brahmanical rishis, gods, gandharvas, yakshas, rākshasas, pannagas, paid me tribute. Such was the power of my gaze that on what creature soever I fixed my eyes, I straightway robbed him of his energy. A thousand of the great sages bore my vehicle. That misconduct it was, o king, which hurled me from my high estate. For I then touched with my foot the muni Agastya who was carrying me. Agastya in his wrath cried out to me 'Fall, thou serpent.' Hurled therefore from that magnificent car, and fullen from my prosperity, as I descended headlong, I felt that I had become a serpent. I entreated the Brahman (Agastya), 'Let there be a termination of the curse: thou, o reverend rishi, shouldest forgive one who has been deluded through his inconsideration.' He then compassionately replied to me as I fell, 'Yudhishthira, the king of rightcousness, will free thee from the curse." And at the close of the

conversation between Yudhishthira and the serpent, we are told that "King Nahusha, throwing of his huge reptile form, became clothed in a celestial body, and ascended to heaven."

The same story is related in greater detail in the Udyogaparvan, sections 10-16, as follows:

After his slaughter of the demon Vrittra, Indra became alarmed at the idea of having taken the life of a Brahman (for Vrittra was regarded as such), and hid himself in the waters. In consequence of the disappearance of the king of the gods, all affairs, celestial as well as terrestrial, fell into confusion. The rishis and gods then applied to Nahusha to be their king. After at first excusing himself on the pleaof want of power, Nahusha at length, in compliance with their solicitations, accepted the high function. Up to the period of his elevation he had led a virtuous life, but he now became addicted to amusement and sensual pleasure; and even aspired to the possession of Indrant, Indra's wife, whom he had happened to see. The queen resorted to the Angiras Vrihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, who engaged to protect her. Nahusha was greatly incensed on hearing of this interference; but the gods endeavoured to pacify him, and pointed out the immorality of appropriating another person's wife. Nahusho, however, would listen to no remonstrance, and insisted that in his adulterous designs he was no worse than Indra himself: 373. Ahalyā dharshitā parcam rishi-patni yasasvini | jivato bharttur Indrega sa vah kim na nivaritah | 374. Bahuni cha ngisamsani kgitanindrena vai pura | vaidharmyany upadaś chaica sa cah kim na nivaritah | "373. The renowned Ahalya, a rishi's wife, was formerly corrupted by Indra in her husband's lifetime (see p. 121 f.): Why was he not prevented by you? 374. And many barbarous acts, and unrighteous deeds, and frauds, were perpetrated of old by Indra: Why was he not prevented by you?" The gods, urged by Nahusha, then went to bring Indrant; but Vrihaspati would not give her up. At his recommendation, however, she solicited Nahusha for some delay, till she should ascertain what had become of her husband. This request was granted. The gods next applied to Vishnu on behalf of Indra; and Vishnu promised that if Indra would sacrifice to him, he should be purged from his guilt, and recover his dominion, while Nahusha would be destroyed. Indra sacrified accordingly; and the result is thus told : 419. Vibhajya brahma-hatyam tu vriksheshu

cha nadishu cha | parvateshu prithivyām cha strishu chaiva Yudhishthira | sa vibhajya cha bhuteshu visrijya cha sureśvarah | vijvaro dhuta-pāpmā cha Vāsavo 'bhavad ātmavān | "Having divided the guilt of brahmanicide among trees, rivers, mountains, the earth, women, and the elements, Vasava (Indra), lord of the gods, became freed from suffering and sin, and self-governed." Nahusha was by this means shaken from his place. But (unless this is said by way of prolepsis, or there is some confusion in the narrative) he must have speedily regained his position, as we are told that Indra was again ruined, and became invisible. Indrani now went in search of her husband; and by the help of Upasruti (the goddess of night and revealer of secrets) discovered him existing in a very subtile form in the stem of a lotus growing in a lake situated in a continent within an ocean north of the Himilaya. She made known to him the wicked intentions of Nahusha, and entreated him to exert his power, rescue her from danger, and resume his dominion. Indra declined any immediate interposition on the plea of Nahusha's superior strength; but suggested to his wife a device by which the usurper might be hurled from his position. She was recommended to say to Nahusha that "if he would visit her on a celestial vehicle borne by rishis, she would with pleasure submit herself to him" (449. Rishi-yanena divyena mam upaihi jagatpate | evam tava vaše prītā bhavishyāmīti tam vada). The queen of the gods accordingly went to Nahusha, by whom she was graciously received, and made this proposal: 457. Ichhamy aham athapurvam vahanam te suradhipa | yad na Vishnor na Rudrasya nāsurāṇām na rākshāsām | vahantu tvām mahābhāgāh rishayah sangatāh vibho | sarve śivikayā rājann etad hi mama rochate | "I desire for thee, king of the gods, a vehicle hitherto unknown, such as neither Vishnu, nor Rudra, nor the asuras, nor the rakshases employ. Let the eminent rishis, all united, bear thee, lord, in a car: this idea pleases me." Nahusha receives favourably this appeal to his vanity, and in the course of his reply thus gives utterance to his self-congratulation: 463. Na hy alpa-riryo bhavati yo vāhān kurute munîn | aham tapasvî balavân bhûta-bhavya-bhavat-prabhuh | mayi kruddhs jagad na syād mayî sarvam pratishthitam | . . . tasmāt to vachanam devi karishyami na samsayah | saptarshayo mam vakshyanti sarve brakmarshayas tathā | paśya māhātmyam asmākam riddhim cha varavarnini | . . . . 468. Vimāne yojayitvā sa rishīn niyamam āsthitān | abrahmanyo

balopeto matto mada-balena cha | kāma-crittah sa dushtātmā cāhauāmāsa tan rishin | "He is a personage of no mean prowess who makes the munis his bearers. I am a fervid devotee of great might, lord of the past, the future, and the present. If I were angry the world would no longer stand; on me everything depends. . . . . Wherefore, o goddess, I shall, without doubt, carry out what you propose. The seven rishis, and all the brihman-rishis, shall carry me. Behold, beautiful goddess, my majesty and my prosperity." The narrative goes on: "Accordingly this wicked being, irreligious, violent, intoxicated by the force of conceit, and arbitrary in his conduct, attached to his car the rishis, who submitted to his commands, and compelled them to bear him." Indrant then again resorts to Vrihaspati, who assures her that vengeance will soon overtake Nahusha for his presumption; and promises that he will himself perform a sacrifice with a view to the destruction of the oppressor, and the discovery of Indra's lurking place. Agni is then sent to discover and bring Indra to Vrihaspati; and the latter, on Indra's arrival, informs him of all that had occured during his absence. While Indra, with Kuvera, Yama, Soma, and Varuna, was devising means for the destruction of Nahusha, the sage Agastya came up, congratulated Indra on the fall of his rival, and proceeded to relate how it had occurred: 527. Sramarttaseha vahantas tam Nahusham pāpakārinam | devarshayo mahābhāgas tathā brahmarshayo'malah | paprachhur Nahusham devam samsayam jayatam vara ! ye ime brûhmanûh proktûh mantrûh vai prokshane gavûm | ete pramûnam bhacatah utaho neti Vasaca | Nahusho neti tan ahu tamasa mudha-chetanah | rishayah uchuh | adharme sampravrittas tvam dharmam na pratipadyase | pramāṇam etad asmākam pūrvam proktam maharshibhik | Agastyah wacha | Tato vivadamanah za munibhih zaha Vasaca | atha mām asprišad mūrdhni pādenādharma-yojitah | tenābhūd hata-tejāš cha nihśrikaś cho mahipatih | totos tam sahasū vignam avocham bhaya-piditam | " yasmat purvaih kritam brahma brahmarshibhir anushthitam | adushtam dushayasi vai yach cha murdhny asprisah pada | yach chapi team rishin mudha brahma-kalpan durasadan | vahan kritea vahayasi tena svargād hata-prabhah | dhvamsa pāpa paribhrashţah kshina-punyo mahītalam | daša-varsha-sahasrāni sarpa-rūpa-dharo mahūn | vicharishyasi pürneshu punah svargam avapsyasi" evam bhrashto duratma sa deva-rajyad arindama | dishtya varddhamahe sakra hato brahmana-kan-

takah | tripishtapam prapadyasva pāhi lokān šachīpate | jetendriyo jitāmitrah stuyamano maharshibhih | "Wearied with carrying the sinner Nahusha, the eminent divine-rishis, and the spotless brahman-rishis, asked that divine personage Nahusha [to solve] a difficulty: 'Dost thou, o Vāsava, most excellent of conquerors, regard as authoritative or not those Brahmana texts which are recited at the immolation of kine?' 'No,' replied Nahusha, whose understanding was enveloped in darkness. The rishis rejoined: 'Engaged in unrighteousness, thou attainest not unto righteousness: these texts, which were formerly uttered by great rishis, are regarded by us as authoritative.' Then (proceeds Agastya) disputing with the munis, Nahusha, impelled by unrighteousness, touched me on the head with his foot. In consequence of this the king's glory was smitten and his prosperity departed. When he had instantly become agitated and oppressed with fear, I said to him, 'Since thou, o fool, contemnest that sacred text, always held in honour, which has been composed by former sages, and employed by brahmanrishis, and hast touched my head with thy foot, and employest the Brahma-like and irresistible rishis as bearers to carry thee,-therefore, shorn of thy lustre, and all thy merit exhausted, sink down, sinner, degraded from heaven to earth. For ten thousand years thou shalt crawl in the form of a huge serpent. When that period is completed, thou shalt again ascend to heaven.' So fell that wicked wretch from the sovereignty of the gods. Happily, o Indra, we shall now prosper, for the enemy of the Brahmans has been smitten. Take possession of the three worlds, and protect their inhabitants, o husband of Sachi (Indrant), subduing thy senses, overcoming thine enemies, and celebrated by the great rishis." 88

Indra, as we have seen above, was noted for his dissolute character. The epithet "subduing thy senses," assigned to him in the last sentence by Agastya, is at variance with this indifferent reputation. Is it to be regarded as a piece of flattery, or as a delicate hint that the god would do well to practise a purer morality in future?

This legend appears, like some others, to have been a favourite with the compilers of the Mahabharata; for we find it once more related, though with some variety of detail, (which may justify its repetition in

Further on, in verse 556, Nahusha is called "the deproved, the hater of brahman, the sinful-minded (durāchārai cha Nahusho brahma-dviţ pāpuchetanaḥ).

a condensed form), in the Anuśasanaparvan, verses 4745-4810. We are there told that Nahusha, in recompense for his good deeds, was exalted to heaven; where he continued to perform all divine and human ceremonies, and to worship the gods as before. At length he became puffed up with pride at the idea that he was Indra, and all his good works in consequence were neutralized. For a great length of time he compelled the rishis to carry him about. At last it came to Agastya's turn to perform the servile office. Bhrigu then came and said to Agastya, 'Why do we submit to the insults of this wicked king of the gods?' Agastya answered that none of the rishis had ventured to curse Nahusha, because he had obtained the power of subduing to his service everyone upon whom he fixed his eyes; and that he had amrita (nectar) for his beverage. However, Agastya said he was prepared to do anything that Bhrigu might suggest. Bhrigu said he had been sent by Brahma to take vengeance on Nahusha, who was that day about to attach Agastya to his car, and would spurn him with his foot; and that he himself (Bhrigu), "incensed at this insult, would by a curse condemn the transgressor and hater of Brahmans to become a serpent" (vyutkranta dharmam tam aham dharshanamarshito bhrisam | ahir bhavasveti rushā šapsye pāpam dvija-druham). All this accordingly happened as follows:

Athagastyam rishi-śreshtham vahonayājuhava ha [drutam Sarasvatīkülät emayann ivo mahübolah | tato Bhrigur mahütejüh Maiträvarunim abravit | "nimilayasva nayane jatām yāvad višāmi te" | sthānubhūtasya tasyātha jajām prāvišad achyutah | Bhriquh sa sumahātejūh pātanāya nripasya cha | tatah sa deca-rat praptas tam rishim vahandya cai | tato 'gastyah surapatim vākyam āha višāmpate | " yojayasveti mām kshipram kam cha deśam vahami te | yattra vakshyasi tattra toam nayishyami suradhipa" | ity ukto Nahushas tena yojayamasa tam munim | Bhrigus tasya jatantah-stho babhava hrishito bhrisam | na chapi darsanam tasya chakara sa Bhrigus tadā | vara-dāna-prabhāva-jno Nahushasya mahātmanah | na chukopa tadā 'gastyo yukto 'pi Nahushena vai | tam tu rāja pratodena chodayāmāsa Bhārata | na chukopa sa dharmātmā tatah pādena deva-rāt | Agastyasya tadā kruddho vāmenābhyahanach chhirah | tasmin śirasy abhihate sa jatantargato Bhriguh | śaśapa balavat kruddho Nahusham papachetazam | " yasmat pada hanah krodhat sirasimam mahamunim | tasmad āśu maḥīm gachha sarpo bhūtvā sudurmate" | ity uktah sa tadā tena

sarpo bhūtvā papāta ha | adrishtenātha Bhrigunā bhūtale Bharatarshabha | Bhrigum hí yadi so'drakshyad Nahushah prithivīpate | sa na śakto 'bhavishyad vai pātane tasya tejasā |

· "The mighty Nahusha, as it were smiling, straightway summoned the eminent rishi Agastya from the banks of the Sarasvatī to carry him. The glorious Bhrigu then said to Maitravaruni (Agastya), 'Close thy eyes whilst I enter into the knot of thy hair.' With the view of overthrowing the king, Bhrigu then entered into the hair of Agastya who stood motionless as a stock. Nahusha then came to be carried by Agastva, who desired to be attached to the vehicle and agreed to carry the king of the gods whithersoever he pleased. Nahusha in consequence attached him. Bhrigu, who was lodged in the knot of Agastya's hair, was greatly delighted, but did not venture to look at Nahusha, as he knew the potency of the boon which had been accorded to him (of subduing to his will everyone on whom he fixed his eyes). Agastya did not lose his temper when attached to the vehicle, and even when urged by a goad the holy man remained unmoved. The king of the gods, incensed, next struck the rishi's head with his left foot, when Bhrigu, invisible within the knot of hair, became enraged, and violently cursed the wicked Nahusha: 'Since, fool, thou hast in thine anger smitten this great muni on the head with thy foot, therefore become a serpeut, and fall down swiftly to the earth.' Being thus addressed, Nahusha became a serpent, and fell to the earth, through the agency of Bhrigu, who remained invisible. For if he had been seen by Nahusha, the saint would have been unable, in consequence of the power possessed by the oppressor, to hurl him to the ground."

Bhrigu, on Nahusha's solicitation, and the intercession of Agastya, placed a period to the effects of the curse, which, as in the other version of the legend, Yudhishthira was to be the instrument of terminating.

From several phrases which I have quoted from the version of this legend given in the Udyogaparvan, as well as the tenor of the whole, it appears to be the intention of the writers to hold up the case of Nahusha as an example of the nemesis awaiting not merely any gross display of presumption, but all resistance to the pretensions of the priesthood, and contempt of their persons or authority.

## SECT. V .- Story of Nimi.

Nimi (one of Ikshvaku's sons) is another of the princes who are stigmatized by Manu, in the passage above quoted, for their want of deference to the Brühmans. The Vishnu P. (Wilson, 4to. ed. p. 388) relates the story as follows: Nimi had requested the Brahman-rishi Vasishtha to officiate at a sacrifice, which was to last a thousand years. Vasishtha in reply pleaded a pre-engagement to Indra for five hundred years, but promised to return at the end of that period. The king made no remark, and Vasishtha went away, supposing that he had assented to this arrangement. On his return, however, the priest discovered that Nimi had retained Gautama (who was, equally with Vasishtha, a Brāhman-rishi) and others to perform the sacrifice; and being incensed at the neglect to give him notice of what was intended, he cursed the king, who was then asleep, to lose his corporeal form. When Nimi awoke and learnt that he had been cursed without any previous warning, he retorted, by attering a similar curse on Vasishtha, and then died. "In consequence of this curse" (proceeds the Vishuu Purana, iv. 5, 6) "the vigour of Vasishtha entered into the vigour of Mitra and Varuna. Vasishtha, however, received from them another body when their seed had fallen from them at the sight of Urvasi" (tach-chhāpāch cha Mitra-varunayos tejasi Vasishtha-tejah pravishtam | Urvasi-darsanad udbhūta-vīryya-prapātayoh sakūšād Vašishtho deham aparam lehke)." Nimi's body was embalmed. At the close of the sacrifice which he had begun, the gods were willing, on the intercession of the priests, to restore him to life, but he declined the offer; and was placed by the deities, according to his desire, in the eyes of all living creatures. It is in consequence of this that they are always opening and shutting (nimisha means "the twinkling of the eye").

The story is similarly related in the Bhagavata Purana, ix. 13, 1-13. A portion of the passage is as follows:

3. Nimiš chalam idam vidcān sattram ūrabhatātmavān | ritvigbhir aparais tāvad nāgamad yāvatā guruḥ | śishya-vyatikramam vīkshya nirvarttya gurur āgataḥ | aśapat " patatād deho Nimeḥ paṇḍita-māninaḥ" | Nimiḥ pratidadau śūpam guruve 'dharma-varttine | "tavāpi patatād deho

FT This story will be further illustrated in the next section.

lobhād dharmam ajānataḥ" | ity utsasarjja svam deham Nimir adhyātma-kovidaḥ | Mitrā-varuṇayor jajno Urvaśyām prapitāmahaḥ |

"Nimi, who was self-controlled, knowing the world to be fleetsing, commenced the sacrifice with other priests until his own spiritual
instructor should come back. The latter, on his return, discovering the
transgression of his disciple, cursed him thus: 'Let the body of Nimi,
who fancies himself learned, fall from him.' Nimi retorted the curse
on his preceptor, who was acting unrighteously: 'Let thy body also
fall from thee, since thou, through coveteousness, art ignorant of duty.'
Having so spoken, Nimi, who knew the supreme spirit, abandoned his
body: and the patriarch (Vašishtha) was born of Urvašī to Mitra and
Varuņa."

The offence of Nimi, as declared in these passages, is not that of contemning the sacerdotal order in general, or of usurping their functions; but merely of presuming to consult his own convenience by proceeding to celebrate a sacrifice with the assistance of another Brāhman (for Gautama also was a man of priestly descent) when his own spiritual preceptor was otherwise engaged, without giving the latter any notice of his intention. The Bhāgavata, as we have seen, awards blame impartially to both parties, and relates (as does also the Vishnu Purāṇa) that the king's curse took effect on the Brāhman, as well as the Brāhman's on the king.

## SECT. VI .- Vasishtha.

One of the most remarkable and renowned of the struggles between Brahmans and Kshattriyas which occur in the legendary history of India is that which is said to have taken place between Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra. I propose to furnish full details of this conflict with its fabulous accompaniments from the Rāmāyaṇa, which dwells upon it at considerable length, as well as from the Mahābhārata, where it is repeatedly

<sup>68</sup> On the last verse the commentator S'ridhara has the following note: Urras'ridars'anāt skannaān retas tābhyām kumbhe nishiktam | tasmāt prapitāmaho Vasishtho jajna | tathā cha s'rutih "kumbhe retah sishichituh samānam" iti | "Seed fell from them at the sight of Urvas'i und was shed into a jar: from it the patriarch, Vasishtha, was born. And so says the s'ruti" (R.V. vii. 33, 13, which will be quoted in the next section).

introduced; but before doing so, I shall quote the passages of the Rigveda which appear to throw a faint light on the real history of the two rivals. It is clear from what has been said in the Introduction to this volume, pp. 1-6, as well as from the remarks I have made in pp. 139 f., that the Vedic hymns, being far more ancient than the Epic and Puranic compilations, must be more trustworthy guides to a knowledge of the remotest Indian antiquity. While the Epic poems and Puranas no doubt embody numerous ancient traditions, yet these have been freely altered according to the caprice or dogmatic views of later writers, and have received many purely fictitious additions. The Vedic hymns, on the contrary, have been preserved unchanged from a very remote period, and exhibit a faithful reflection of the social, religious, and ecclesiastical condition of the age in which they were composed, and of the feelings which were awakened by contemporary occurrences. As yet there was no conscious perversion or colouring of facts for dogmatic or sectarian purposes; and much of the information which we derive from these naïve compositions is the more trustworthy that it is deduced from hints and allusions, and from the comparison of isolated particulars, and not from direct and connected statements or descriptions. It/ is here therefore, if anywhere, that we may look for some light on the real relations between Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra. After quoting the hymns regarding these two personages, I shall adduce from the Brahmanas, or other later works, any particulars regarding their birth and history which I have discovered. The conflict between Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra has been already discussed at length in the third of Dr. Rudolf Roth's "Dissertations on the literature and history of the Veda," so where the most important parts of the hymns bearing upon the subject are translated. The first hymn which I shall adduce is intended for the glorification of Vasishtha and his family. The latter part relates the birth of the sage, while the earlier verses refer to his connection with king Sudas. Much of this hymn is very obscure.

R.V. vii. 33, 1. Scityancho mā dakshinatas-kapardāḥ dhiyamjinvāso abhi hi pramanduḥ | uttishṭhan voce pari barhisho nṛīn na me dūrād avitave Vasishṭhāḥ | 2. Dūrād Indram anayann ā sutena tiro vaiśantam ati pāntam ugram | Pāśadyumnasya Vāyatasya somāt sutād Indro avrinīta Vasishṭhān | 3. Eva in nu kam sindhum ebhis totāra eva in nu kam

<sup>39</sup> Zur Litteratur und Geshichte des Weds. Stuttgart. 1846.

Bhedam ebhir jaghana | eva in nu kam dasarajne Sudasam pravad Indro brahmanā vo Vasishthāh | 4. Jushtī naro brahmanā vah pitrīnām aksham avyayam na kila rishātha | yat śakvarīzhu brihatā ravena Indre śushmam adadhāta Vasishthāh | 5. Ud dyām iva it trishnajo nāthitāso adīdhayur dasarajne eritasah | Vasishthasya stucatah Indro asrod urum Tritsubhyo akrinod u lokam | 6. Dandā iva goajanāsah āsan parichhinnah Bharatah arbhakasah | abhavach cha pura-eta Vasishthah ad it Tritsunām višo aprathanta | 7. Trayah krinvanti bhuvaneshu retas tisrah prajah aryah jyotir-agrah | trayo gharmasah ushasam sachante sarvan it tan anu vidur Vasishthah | 8. Suryasya iva vakshatho jyotir eshām samudrasya iva mahimā gabhīrah | vātasya iva prajavo na anyena stomo Vasishthah anu etave vah | 9. Te in ninyam hridayasya praketaih sahasra-valšam abhi sam charanti | yamena tatam paridhim vayanto opsarasah upa sedur Vasishthah | 10. Vidyuto jyotih pari sam jihanam Mitra-varuna yad opaśyatām tvā | tat te janma uta ekam Vasishtha Agastyo yat tvā višah ājabhāra | 11. Uta asi Maitrāvaruno Vasishtha Urvašyāh brahman manaso 'dhi jatah | drapsam skannam brahmana daivyona visvo devah pushkare tvā 'dadanta | 12. Sa praketah ubhayasya pravideān sahasradanah uta ca sadanah | yamena tatam paridhim vayishyann apsarasah pari jajne Vasishthah | 13. Sattre ha jätäv ishitä namobhih kumbhe retah sishichatuh samanam | tato ha Manah ud iyaya madhyat tato jätam rishim ähur Vasishtham

"1. The white-robed (priests) with hair-knots on the right, stimulating to devotion, have filled me with delight. Rising from the sacrificial grass, I call to the men, 'Let not the Vasishthas (stand too) far off to succour [or gladden] me. 2. By their libation they brought Indra hither from afar across the Vaisanta away from the powerful draught." Indra preferred the Vasishthas to the soma offered by Pāšadyumna, the son of Vayata. 3. So too with them he crossed the river; so too with them he slew Bheda; so too in the battle of the ten kings Indra delivered Sudäs through your prayer, o Vasishthas.

Sayana thinks that Vasishtha is the speaker, and refers here to his own sons. Professor Roth (under the word se) regards Indra as the speaker. May it not be Sudas?

<sup>31</sup> This is the interpretation of this clause suggested by Professor Aufrecht, who thinks Vaisanta is probably the name of a river.

<sup>33</sup> According to Sayana, another king who was sacrificing at the same time as Sudas.

W See verses 6-8 of R.V. vii. S3, to be next quoted.

4. Through gratification caused by the prayer of your fathers, o men, ye do not obstruct the undecaying axle (?), since at (the recitation of the) Sakvarī verses " with a loud voice ye have infused energy into Indra, o Vasishthas. 5. Distressed, when surrounded in the fight of the ten kings, they looked up, like thirsty men, to the sky. Indra heard Vasishtha when he uttered praise, and opened up a wide space for the Tritsus.35 6. Like staves for driving cattle, the contemptible Bharatas were lopped all round. Vasishtha marched in front, and then the tribes of the Tritsus were deployed. 7. Three deities create a fertilizing fluid in the worlds. Three are the noble creatures whom light precedes. Three fires attend the dawn. 81 All these the Vasishthas know. 8. Their lustre is like the full radiance of the sun; their greatness is like the depth of the ocean; like the swiftness of the wind, your hymn, o Vasishthas, can be followed by no one else. 9. By the intuitions of their heart they seek out the mystery with a thousand branches. Weaving the envelopment stretched out by Yama, the Vasishthas sat down by the Apsaras. 10. When Mitra and Varuna saw thee quitting the flame of the lightning, that was thy birth; and thou hadst one (other birth), o Vasishtha, when Agastya brought thee to the people. 11. And thou art also a son of Mitra and Varuna, o Vasishtha, born, o priest, from the soul of Urvast. All the gods placed thee -a drop which fell through divine contemplation-in the vessel. 12. He, the intelligent, knowing both (worlds?), with a thousand gifts, or with gifts - he who was to weave the envelopment stretched out by Yama - he, Vasishtha, was born of the Apsaras. 13. They, two (Mitra and Varuna?), born at the sacrifice, and impelled by adorations, dropped into the jar the same amount of seed. From the

\* This is evidently the name of the tribe which the Vasishthas favoured, and to which they themselves must have belonged. See vii. 83, 4. The Bharatas in the

next verse appear to be the hostile tribe.

<sup>54</sup> See R.V. x. 71, 11, above, p. 256.

<sup>36</sup> In explanation of this Sâyano quotes a passage from the S'âtyāyana Brūhmana, as follows: "Trayah krinvanti bhuraneshu retah" ity Agnih prithieyām retah krinoti Vāyur antarikshe Ādityo divi | "tisrah prejāh āryyāh jyotir-agrāh" iti Vasavo Rudrah Ādityās tāsnih jyotir yad usāv Ādityah | "trayo gharmāsah ushasam sachante" ity Agnir Ushasam sachate Vāyur Ushasam sachate Ādityah Ushasam sachate [1]. "Agni produces a fertilizing fluid on the earth, Vāyu in the air, the Sun in the sky. (2) The 'three noble creatures' are the Vasus, Rudras, and Adityas. The Sun is their light. (3) Agni, Vāyu, and the Sun each attend the Dawn."

midst of that arose Mana (Agastya?); and from that they say that the rishi Vasishtha sprang." 97

There is another hymn (R.V. vii. 18) which relates to the connection between Vasishtha and Sudās (verses 4, 5, 21-25) and the conflict between the latter and the Tritsus with their enemies (verses 6-18); but as it is long and obscure I shall content myself with quoting a few verses.<sup>54</sup>

R.V. vii. 18, 4. Dhenum na tvā suyavase dudhukshann upa brahmāni sasrije Vasishthah | tvām id me gopatim višvah āha ā nah Indrah sumatim gantu achha | 5. Arnāmsi chit paprathānā Sudāse Indro gādhāni

27 Whatever may be the sense of verses 11 and 13, the Nirukta states plainly enough v. 13; Tusyah darianad Mitra-varunayoh retai chuskanda | tad-abhivadiny eshā rig bhavati | "On seeing her (Urvas'i) the seed of Mitra and Varuna fell from them. To this the following verse (R.V. vii. 33, 11) refers." And Savana on the same verse quotes a passage from the Brihaddevata: Tayor adityayoh sattre drishtea 'psarasam Urvas'im | retak chaskanda tat kumbhe nyapatad vasativare | tenaiva tu muhurttena viryavantau tapavinau Agastyai cha Varishthai cha tatrarshi sambabhuvatuh | bahudha patitam retah kalase cha jule sthale | sthale Fasishthus tu munih sambabhūrārshi-sattamah | kumbhe tv Agastyah sambhūto jale matsyo mahādyutih | udiyāya tato gastyo samya-matro mahatopah | manena sammito yasmat tasmad Manyah ihochyate | yadeŭ kumbhad rishir fatah kumbhenapi hi mryate | kumbhah ity abhidhanam cha parimanasya lakshyate | tato pen grihyamanasu Vasishthah pushkare ethi-(ah | sarratah pushkare tam hi visce devah adharayan | "When these two Adityas (Mitra and Varuna) beheld the Apsaras Urvasi at a sacrifice their seed fell from them into the sacrificial jar called edisativera. At that very moment the two energetic and austere rishis Agastya and Vasishtha were produced there. The seed fell on many places, into the jar, into water, and on the ground. The muni Vasishtha, most excellent of rishis, was produced on the ground; while Agustya was born in the jar, a fish of great lustre. The austere Agastya sprang thence of the size of a sunui (i.e. the pin of a yoke; see Wilson, s.e., and Professor Roth, s.e. mana). Since he was measured by a certain standard (mana) he is called the 'measurable' (manya). Or, the rishi, having sprung from a jar (kumbha), is also measured by a jar, as the word kumbha is also designated as the name of a measure. Then when the waters were taken, Vasishtha remained in the vessel (pushkara); for all the gods held him in it on all sides." In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 64, Prof. Roth speaks of the verses of the hymn which relate to Vasishtha's origin as being a more modern addition to an older composition, and as describing the miraculous birth of the sage in the taste and style of the Epic mythology. Professor Max Müller (Oxford Essays for 1856, pp. 61 f.) says that Vasishtha is a name of the Sun; and that the ancient poet is also "called the son of Mitra and Varuna, night and day, an expression which has a meaning only in regard to Vasishtha, the sun; and as the san is frequently called the offspring of the dawn, Vasishthn, the poet, is said to owe his birth to Urvasi" (whom Müller identifies with Ushas). For M. Langlois's view of the passage, see his French version of the R.V. vol. iii. pp. 79 f. and his note, p. 234.

38 See Roth's Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, pp. 87 ff. where it is translated into German.

akrinot supārā | . . . . 21. Pra ye grihād amamadus tvāyā Parāšarah Satayātur Vasishthah | na te bhojasya sakhyam mrishanta adha süribhyah sudinā vi uchhān | 22. Dve naptur Devavatah šate gor deā rathā vadhūmantā Sudāsah | arhann Agne Paijavanasya dānam hoteva sadma pari emi rebhan | 23. Chatvāro mā Paijavanasya dānāh smaddishtayah krišanino nireke | rijrāso mā prithivishthāh Sudāsas tokam tokāya śravase vahanti | 24. Yasya śravo rodasī antar urvī šīrshne šīrshne vibabhāja vibhaktā | sapta id Indram na sravato grinanti ni Yudhyāmadhim ašišād abhīke | imam naro Mārutah sašchatānu Divodāsam na pitaram Sudāsah | avishtana Paijavanasya ketam dūnāšam kshattram ajaram duroyu |

"4. Seeking to milk thee (Indra), like a cow in a rich meadow, Vasishtha sent forth his prayers to theo; for every one tells me that thou art a lord of cows; may Indra come to our hymn. 5. However the waters swelled, Indra made them shallow and fordable to Sudas. 21. Parasara, Satavatu, and Vasishtha, devoted to thee, who from indifference have left their home, have not forgotten the friendship of thee the bountiful; -therefore let prosperous days dawn for these sages. 22. Earning two hundred cows and two chariots with mares, the gift of Sudas the son of Pijavana, and grandson of Devavat, 100 I walk round the house, o Agni, uttering praises, like a hotri priest. 23. The four brown steeds, bestowed by Sudas the son of Pijavana, vigorous, decked with pearls, standing on the ground, carry me on securely to renown from generation to generation. 24. That donor, whose fame pervades both worlds, has distributed gifts to every person. They praise him as the seven rivers in praise Indra; he has slain Yudhyamadhi in battle. 25. Befriend him (Sudas), ye heroic Maruts, as

<sup>29</sup> Parāiara is said in Nir. vi. 30, which refers to this passage, to have been a son of Vasishtha born in his old age (Parāiaraḥ parāiinasya Vasishthaya athavirasya jajae); or he was a son of S'akti and grandson of Vasishtha (Roth s.e.)

<sup>100</sup> Decement is said by Sayana to be a proper name. He may be the same as Divodasa in verse 25. Or Divodasa may be the father, and Pijavana and Devavat among the forefathers of Sudas. In the Vishau Purana Sarvakama is said to have been the father and Rituparna the grandfather of Sudasa, Wilson's V.P. 4to. ed. p. 380. At p. 454 f. a Sudasa is mentioned who was son of Chyavana, grandson of Mitrayu and great-grandson of Divodasa.

<sup>101</sup> Professor Roth (Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 100) compares R.V. i. 102, 2, says fravo sadyah sapta bibbrati, "the seven rivers exalt his (Indra's) renown." These rivers are, us Roth explains, the streams freed by Indra from Vrittra's power.

ye did Divodasa the (fore)father of Sudas; fulfil the desire of the son of Pijavana (by granting him) imperishable, undecaying power, worthy of reverence (?)."

Although the Vasishthas are not named in the next hymn, it must refer to the same persons and circumstances as are alluded to in the first portion of R.V. vii. 33, quoted above.

R.V. vii. 83, 1. Yuvām narā pasyamānāsah āpyam prāchā gavyantah prithu-parsavo yayuh | dasa cha vrittra hatam aryani cha Sudasam Indră-varună 'vasă 'vatam | 2. Yatra narah samayante krita-dhvajo yasminn ājā bhavati kinchana priyam | vatra bhayante bhuvanā svardrisas tatra nah Indra-varuna 'dhi vochatam | 3. Sam bhamyah antah dhvasirāh adrikshata Indrā-varunā divi ghashah āruhat | asthur janānām upa mām arātayo arcāg azasā hacana-śrutā āgatam | 4. Indrā-caruņā vadhanābhir aprati Bhedam vancantā pra Sudāsam āvatam | brahmāni eshām śrinutam havimani satyā Tritsūnām abhavat purohitih | 5. Indrāearunăe abhi à tapanti mã aghāni aryo canushām arātayah | yucăm hi varvah ubhayasya rajatho adha uma no acatam parye divi | 6. Yurain havante ubhayāsah ājishu Indram cha vasvo Varunam cha sātaye | yatra rajabhir dasabhir nibadhitam pra Sudasam anatam Tritsubhih saha 7. Daśa rājānah samitāh ayajyavah Sudāsam Indrā-varunā na yuyudhuh | satyā nrinām adma-sadām upastutir decāh eshām abharan decahūtishu | 8. Dāśarājne pariyattāya višcatah Sudāse Indra-varunāv ašikshatam | śvityancho yatra namasā kaparddino dhiyā dhivanto asapanta Tritsavah

"Looking to you, o heroes, to your friendship, the men with broad axes advanced to fight. Slay our Dasa and our Arya enemies, and deliver Sudas by your succour, o Indra and Varuna. 2. In the battle where men clash with elevated banners, where something which we desire 100 is to be found, where all beings and creatures tremble, there, o Indra and Varuna, take our part. 3. The ends of the earth were seen to be darkened, o Indra and Varuna, a shout ascended to the sky; the foes of my warriors came close up to me; come hither with your help, ye hearers of our invocations. 4. Indra and Varuna, unequalled with your weapons, ye have slain Bheda, and delivered Sudas; ye heard the prayers of these men in their invocation; the priestly agency

<sup>103</sup> Sayana divides the kinchana of the Pada-text into kincha na, which gives the sense "where nothing is desired, but everything is difficult."

of the Tritsus 103 was efficacious. 5. O Indra and Varuna, the injurious acts of the enemy, the hostilities of the murderous, afflict me on every side. Ye are lords of the resources of both worlds: protect us therefore (where ye live) in the remotest heavens. 6. Both parties 104 invoke you, both Indra and Varuna, in the battles, in order that ye may bestow riches. (They did so in the fight) in which ye delivered Sudās—when harassed by the ten kings—together with the Tritsus. 7. The ten kings, who were no sacrificers, united, did not vanquish Sudās, o Indra and Varuna. The praises of the men who officiated at the sacrifice were effectual; the gods were present at their invocations. 8. Ye, o Indra and Varuna, granted succour to Sudās, hemmed in on every side in the battle of the ten kings, 105 where the white-robed Tritsus, 106 with hair-knots, reverentially praying, adored you with a hymn."

From these hymns it appears that Vasishtha, or a Vasishtha and his family were the priests of king Sudās (vii. 18, 4 f., 21 ff.; vii. 33, 3 f.); that, in their own opinion, these priests were the objects of Indra's preference (vii. 33, 2), and had by the efficacy of their intercessions been the instruments of the victory gained by Sudās over his enemies in the battle of the ten kings. It seems also to result from some of the verses (vii. 33, 6; vii. 83, 4, 6; and vii. 33, 1, compared with vii. 83, 8) that both the king and the priests belonged to the tribe of the Tritsus. 107 Professor Roth remarks that in none of the hymns which

<sup>165</sup> Compare verses 7 and 8. Säyana, however, translates the clause differently: "The act of the Tritsus for whom I sacrificed, and who put me forward as their priest, was effectual: my priestly function on their behalf was successful" (Tritsunām stat-sanjaūnām mams yūjyānām purohitir mams purodhānam satyā satya-phalam abhavat | teshu yad mama paurohityam tat saphalam jātam |

<sup>10.1</sup> According to Sayana the two parties were Sudās and the Tritsus his allies (ubhaya-vidhāh Sudāḥ-sanjno rājū tat-sahāya-bhūtās Tritsucas cha evañ dvi-prakūrāḥ janāḥ). It might have been supposed that one of the parties meant was the hostile kings; but they are said in the next verse to be ayajyaraḥ, "persons who did not

sacrifice to the gods."

<sup>105</sup> Dāi arājab. This word is explained by Sāyana in his note on vii. 33, 3, dada-bhī rājabhiḥ saha yuddhe provritte, "battle having been joined with ten kings." In the verse before us he says "the lengthening of the first syllable is a Vedie peculiarity, and that the case-ending is altered, and that the word merely means by the ten kings'" (daša-šabdasya chhāndaso dīrghaḥ | ribhakti-vyatyayaḥ | dašabhī rājabhiḥ . . . . parieshḥitāya).

<sup>106</sup> Here Sayana says the Tritsus are "the priests so called who were Vasishtha's disciples" (Tritsuce Vasishtha-sishyah stat-sanjaah riteijah).

<sup>107</sup> See Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 120,

he quotes is any allusion made to the Vasishthas being members of any particular caste; but that their connection with Sudas is ascribed to their knowledge of the gods, and their unequalled power of invocation (vii. 33, 7 f.)

In the Aitareya Brāhmane, viii. 21, we have another testimony to the connection of Vasishtha with Sudās, as he is there stated to have "consecrated Sudās son of Pijavana by a great inauguration similar to Indra's; "in consequence of which Sudās went round the earth in every direction conquering, and performed an asvamedha sacrifice" (etena ha vai aindrena mahābhishekena Vasishthah Sudāsam Paijavanam abhishishecha | tasmād u Sudāh Paijavanah samantam sarvatah prithivīm jayan parīyāya asvena cha medhyena ījo).

The following passages refer to Vasishtha having received a revelation from the god Varuna, or to his being the object of that god's special favour:

vii. 87, 4. Uvācha me Varuņo medhirāya triķ sapta nāma aghnyā bibhartti | videān padasya guhyā na vochad yugāya vipraķ upāraya śikshan |

"Yaruna has declared to me 100 who am intelligent, 'The Cow 110 possesses thrice seven names. The wise god, though he knows them, has not revealed the mysteries of (her) place, which he desires to grant to a future generation."

R.V. vii. 88, 3. Ā yad ruhāva Varuņaš cha nāvam pra yat samudram īrayāva madhyam | adhi yad apām snubhiš charāva pra pra īnkhe īnkha-yāvahai šubhe kam | 4. Vasishtham ha Varuņo nāvi ā adhād rishim cha-kāra svapāḥ mahobhiḥ | stotāram vipraḥ sudinatve ahnām yād nu dyāvas tatanan yād ushasaḥ | 5. Kvā tyāni nau sakhyā babhūvuḥ sachāvahe yad

<sup>108</sup> Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 40.

<sup>100</sup> Vasishtha is not named in this hymn, but he is its traditional author.

<sup>130</sup> Sāyuna says that either (1) Vāch is here meant under the figure of a cow having the names of 21 metres, the Gāyatrī, etc., attached to her breast, throat, and head, or (2) that Vāch in the form of the Veda holds the names of 21 sacrifices; but that (3) another authority says the earth is meant, which (in the Nighantu, i. 1) has 21 names, go, gwā, jmā, etc. (Vāg atra gaur uchyate | sā cha urasi kanths sirasi cha baddhāni gāyatry-ādīni sapta chhandasām nāmāni bibhartti | yadeā vedātmikā vāg ekaviāsāti-samsthānām yajnāmām nāmāni bibhartti | dhārayati | aparah āha "gauh prithivā | tasyāi cha 'gaur gmā jmā' iti pathitāny ekaviāsati-nāmāni" iti). I have, in translating the second clause of the verse, followed for the most part a rendering suggested by Professor Aufrecht.

avrikam purā chit | brihantam mānam Varuņa svadhāvaḥ sahasra-dvāram jagamu griham te | 6. Yaḥ āpir nityo Varuṇa priyaḥ san tvām āgāmsi kriṇavat sakhā te | mā te enasvanto yakshin bhujema yandhi sma vipraḥ stuvate varātham |

"When Varuna and I embark on the boat, when we propel it into the midst of the ocean, when we advance over the surface of the waters, may we rock upon the undulating element till we become brilliant. 4. Varuna took Vasishtha into the boat; by his mighty acts working skilfully he (Varuna) has made him a rishi; the wise (god has made) him an utterer of praises in an anspicious time, that his days and dawns may be prolonged." 5. Where are (now) our friendships, the tranquility which we enjoyed of old? We have come, o self-sustaining Varuna, to thy vast abode, to thy house with a thousand gates. 6. Whatever friend of thine, being a kinsman constant and beloved, may commit offences against thee;—may we not, though sinful, suffer (punishment), o adorable being; do thou, o wise god, grant us protection."

R.V. vii. 86 is a sort of penitential hymn in which Vasishtha refers to the anger of Varuna against his old friend (verse 4) and entreats forgiveness of his offences. This hymn, which appears to be an earnest and genuine effusion of natural feeling, is translated in Professor Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 540.

The passage which follows is part of a long hymn, consisting chiefly of imprecations directed against Răkshăses and Yātudhānas, and said in the Brihaddevatā (as quoted by Sāyaṇa in his introductory remarks) to have "been 'seen' by the rishi (Vasishtha) when he was overwhelmed with grief and anger for the loss of his hundred sons who had been slain by the sons of Sudās " (rishir dadarśa raksho-ghnam puttra-śoka-pariplutāḥ | hats puttra-śate kruddhaḥ Saudāsair duḥkhitas tadā). I shall cite only the verses in which Vasishtha repels the imputation (by whomsoever it may have been made) that he was a demon (Rakshas or Yātudhana).

R.V. vii. 104, 12. Suvijnānam chikitushe janāya sach cha asach cha vachast paspridhāte | tayor yat satyam yatarad rijiyas tad it Somo avati hanti asat | 13. Na vai u Somo vrijinam hinoti na kshattriyam mithuyā

<sup>111</sup> Professor Aufrecht renders the last clause, "As long as days and dawns shall continue."

dhārayantam | hanti raksho hanti asad vadantam ubhāv Indrasya prasitau śayāte | 14. Yadi vā aham anrita-devah āsa mogham vā devān api ühe Agne | kim asmabhyam Jātavedo hrinīshe droghavācham te nirritham sachantām | 15. Adya murīya yadi yātudhāno asmi yadi vā āyus tatapa pūrushasya | adha sa vērair daśabhir vi yuyāh yo mā mogham "Yātudhāna" ity āha | 16. Yo mā ayātum "yātudhāna" ity āha yo vā rakshāh "śuchir asmi" ity āha | Indras tam hantu mahatā vadhena viśvasya jantor adhamas padīshta |

"The intelligent man is well able to discriminate (when) true and false words contend together. Some favours that one of them which is true and right, and annihilates falseheed. 13. Some does not prosper the wicked, nor the man who wields power unjustly. He slays the Rakshas; he slays the liar: they both lie (bound) in the fetters of Indra. 14. If I were either a follower of false gods, or if I erroneously conceived of the gods, o Agni:—Why, o Jatavedas, art thou incensed against us? Let injurious speakers fall into thy destruction. 15. May I die this very day, if I be a Yātudhāna, or if I have destroyed any man's life. May he be severed from his ten sons who falsely says to me, 'o Yātudhāna.' 16. He who says to me, who am no Yātu, 'o Yātudhāna,' or who (being himself) a Rakshas, says, 'I am pure,'—may Indra smite him with his great weapon; may he sink down the lowest of all creatures.

In elucidation of this passage Sayana quotes the following lines:

Hatvā puttra-šatam pūrvam Vasishthasya mahātmanah | Vasishtham
"rākshaso'si tvam" Vāsishtham rūpam āsthitah | "aham Vasishthah"
ity evam jighāmsuh rākshaso'bravīt | atrottarāh richo drishtāh Vasishtheneti nah śrutam |

"Having slain the hundred sons of the great Vasishtha, a murderous Rākshasa, assuming the form of that rishi, formerly said to him, 'Thou art a Rākshasa, and I am Vasishtha.' In allusion to this the latter verses were seen by Vasishtha, as we have heard."

We may, however, safely dismiss this explanation resting on fabulous grounds.

The verses may, as Professor Max Müller supposes, 112 have arisen out

"Vasishtha himself, the very type of the Arian Brahman, when in feud with Visvāmitra, is called not only an enemy, but a 'Yātudhāna,' and other names which in common parlance are only bestowed on barbarian savages and evil spirits. We

of Vasishtha's contest with Viśvāmitra, and it may have been the latter personage who brought these charges of heresy, and of murderous and demoniacal character against his rival.<sup>113</sup>

Allusion is made both in the Taittirīya Sanhitā and in the Kaushī, takī Brāhmana to the slaughter of a son of Vasishtha by the sons or descendants of Sudās. The former work states, Ashtaka vii. (p. 47 of the India Office MS. No. 1702):

Vasishtho hataputro'kāmayata "vindeya prajām abhi Saudāsān bhaveyam" iti | sa etam ekasmānnapanchāśam apaśyat tam āharat tenāyajata | tato vai so'vindata prajām abhi Saudāsān abhavat |

"Vasishtha, when his son had been slain, desired, 'May I obtain offspring; may I overcome the Saudāsas.' He beheld this ekasmānna-panchāša (?), he took it, and sacrificed with it. In consequence he obtained offspring, and overcame the Saudāsas."

The passage of the Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa, 4th adhyāya, as quoted by Professor Weber (Ind. St. ii. 299) is very similar:

Vasishtho'kāmayata hata-putraḥ "prajāyeya prajayā pašubhir abhi Saudāsān bhaveyam" iti | sa etam yajna-kratum apašyad Vasishthayajnam . . . , tena ishtvā . . . . abhi Saudāsān abhavat |

"Vasishtha, when his son had been slain, desired, 'May I be fruitful in offspring and cattle, and overcome the Saudasas.' He beheld this form of offering, the Vasishtha-sacrifice; and having performed it, he overcame the Saudasas."

In his introduction to Rig-veda, vii. 32, Sāyana has the following notice from the Anukramanikā:

"Saudāsair agnau prakshipyamāṇaḥ Saktir antyam pragātham ālebhe so 'rdharche ukte 'dahyata | tam putroktam Vasishthaḥ samāpayata" iti Sāṭyāyanakam |"Vasishthasya eva hata-putrasya ārsham" iti Tāṇḍakam |

"The Sătyayana Brāhmana says that 'Sakti (son of Vasishtha), when being thrown into the fire by the Saudāsas, received (by inspiration) the concluding pragătha of the hymn. He was burnt after he had spoken half a rich; and Vasishtha completed what his son was

have still the very hymn in which Vasishtha deprecates such charges with powerful indignation." Prof. Müller then quotes verses 14-16 of the hymn before us ("Last Results of the Turanian Researches," in Bunsen's "Gutlines of the Philosophy of Univ. History," i. 344.

un See my article "On the relations of the priests to the other classes of Indian society in the Vedic age," in the Journal Roy. As. Soc. for 1866, pp. 295 ff.

uttering. The Tandaka says that 'it was Vasishtha himself who spoke the whole when his son was slain.'"

The words supposed to have been spoken by Sakti, viz. "O Indra, grant to us strength as a father to his sons" (Indra kratum nah ā bhara pitā putrebhyo yathā) do not seem to be appropriate to the situation in which he is said to have been placed; and nothing in the hymn appears to allude to any circumstances of the kind imagined in the two Brāhmanas.

Manu says of Vasishtha (viii. 110): Maharshibhis cha devais cha kāryyārtham sapathāh kritāh | Vasishthas chāpi sapatham sepe Paiyarane nripe | "Great rishis and gods too have taken oaths for particular objects. Vasishtha also swore an oath to king Paiyavana." The occasion on which this was done is stated by the Commentator Kullūka: Vasishtho 'py anena puttra-satam bhakshitam iti Viśvāmitrena ākrushto sva-parišuddhaye Piyavanāpatye Sudāmni rājani sapatham chakāra | "Vasishtha being angrily accused by Viśvāmitra of having eaten (his) hundred sons, took an oath before king Sudāman (Sudās, no doubt, is meant) the son of Piyavana in order to clear himself." This seems to refer to the same story which is alluded to in the passage quoted by the Commentator on Rig-veda vii. 104, 12.

In the Rāmāyana, i. 55, 5 f., a hundred sons of Viśvāmitra are said to have been burnt up by the blast of Vasishtha's mouth when they rushed upon him armed with various weapons (Viśvāmitra-sutānām tu śatam nānā-vidhāyudham | abhyadhāvat susankruddham Vasishtham japatām varam | hunkarenaiva tān sarvān nirdadāha mahān rishih).

Vasishtha is also mentioned in Rig-veda, i. 112, 9, as having received succour from the Aśvins (—Vasishtham yābhir ajarāv ajinvatam).

Vasishtha, or the Vasishthas, are also referred to by name in the following verses of the seventh Mandala of the Rig-veda: 7, 7; 9, 6; 12, 3; 23, 1, 6; 26, 5; 37, 4; 39, 7; 42, 6; 59, 3; 70, 6; 73, 3; 76, 6, 7; 77, 6; 80, 1; 90, 7; 95, 6; 96, 1, 3; but as no information is derivable from these texts, except that the persons alluded to were the authors or reciters of the hymns, it is needless to quote them. 114

134 Another verse of a hymn in which the author is not referred to (vii. 72, 2) is as follows: A no develotir upa yūtam arvāk sajoshashā nāsatyā rathena | yucor hi nah sakhyā pitryāṇi samāno bandhur uta tasya cittam | "Come near to us, Ašvins, on the same car with the gods: for we have succestral friendships with you, a common relation; do ye recognize it." Although this has probably no mythological

In the Atharva-veda, iv. 29, 3 and 5, Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra are mentioned among other personages, Angiras, Agasti, Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Bharadvāja, Gavishthira, and Kutsa, as being succoured by Mitra and Varuna (. . . . yāv Angirasam avotho yāv Agastim Mītrā-Va-runā Jamadagnim Atrim | yau Kaśyapam avatho yau Vasishtham . . . . yau Bharadvājam avatho yau Gavishthiram Viśvāmitram Varuna Mītra Kutsam). And in the same Veda, xviii. 3, 15 f., they are invoked as deliverers: Viśvāmitro 'yam Jamadagnir Atrir avantu nah Kaśyapo Vāmadevah | Viśvāmitra Jamadagne Vasishtha Bharadvāja Gotama Vāmadeva . . . | "15. May this Viśvāmitra, may Jamadagni, Atri, Kaśyapa, Vāmadeva preserve us. 16. O Viśvāmitra, o Jamadagni, o Vasishtha, o Bharādvaja, o Gotama, o Vāsmadeva." The second passage at least must be a good deal more recent than the most of the hymns of the Rig-veda.

Sudås is mentioned in other parts of the Rig-veda without any reference either to Vasishtha or to Visvāmitra. In some cases his name is coupled with that of other kings or sages, which appears to shew that in some of these passages at least a person, and not a mere epithet, "the liberal man," is denoted by the word Sudås.

R.V. i. 47, 6. (The traditional rishi is Praskanya.) Sudāse dasrā vasu bibhratā rathe priksho vahatam Aśvinā | rayim samudrād uta vā divas pari asme dhattam puru-spriham |

"O impetuous Aśvins, possessing wealth in your car, bring sustenance to Sudas. Send to us from the (aerial) ocean, or the sky, the riches which are much coveted."

Sāyana says the person here meant is "king Sudās, son of Pijavana" (Sudāss . . . . rājno Pijavana-puttrāya).

i. 63, 7. (The rishi is Nodhas, of the family of Gotama.) Trañ ha tyad Indra sapta yudhyan puro vajrin Purukutsûya dardah | barhir na yat Sudase vritha varg anho rajan varivah Purava kah |

"Thou didst then, o thundering Indra, war against, and shatter, the seven cities for Purukutsa, when thou, o king, didst without effort hurl

reference, Sayana explains it as follows: Vicasrūn Varunas' cha ubhūr api Kaiyapād Aditer jātau | Vicascān Aśrinor janako Varuno Vasishthasya ity evam samāna-bandhuteam | "Vivasvat and Varuna were both sons of Kasyapa and Aditi. Vivasvat was the father of the Asvins and Varuna of Vasishtha; such is the affinity." Sāyana then quotes the Brihaddevatā to prove the descent of the Asvins from Vivasvat. Compare R.V. x. 17, 1, 2, and Nirukta, xii. 10, 11.

away distress from Sudās like a bunch of grass, and bestow wealth on Pūru.<sup>115</sup>

i. 112, 19. (The rishi is Kutsa.) . . . . yābhir Sudāse ühathuḥ sudevyam tābhir u shu ütībhir Aśvinā gatam |

"Come, o Aśvins, with those succours whereby ye brought glorious power to Sudās" ['son of Pijavana'—Sāyana].116

The further texts which follow are all from the seventh Mandala, of which the rishis, with scarcely any exception, are said to be Vasishtha and his descendants:

vii. 19, 3. Team dhrishno dhrishatā vītāhavyam prāvo višvābhir ūtibhih Sudāsam | pra Paurukutsim Trasadasyum āvah kshettrasātā vrittrahatyeshu Pūrum |

"Thou, o fierce Indra, hast impetuously protected Sudas, who offered oblations, with every kind of succour. Thou hast preserved Trasadasyn the son of Purukutsa, and Pūru in his conquest of land and in his slaughter of enemies."

vii. 20, 2. Hantā Vrittram Indrah śuśuvānah prāvīd nu viro jaritāram utī | karttā Sudāse aha vai u lokam dātā vasu muhur u dāśushe bhūt |

"Indra growing in force slays Vritra; the hero protects him who praises him; he makes room for Sudas [or the liberal sacrificer—kal-yāṇa-dānāya yajamānāya. Sāyaṇa]; he gives riches repeatedly to his worshipper."

vii. 25, 3. S'atam te siprinn utayah Sudase sahasram samsah uta ratir astu | jahi vadhar vanusho marttyasya asme dyumnam adhi ratnam cha dhehi |

"Let a hundred succours come to Sudas, a thousand desirable (gifts) and prosperity. Destroy the weapon of the murderous. Confer renown and wealth on us."

(Sayana takes sudas here and in all the following citations to signify a "liberal man.")

113 Professor Roth renders this passage differently in his Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda,

p. 132; as does also Prof. Benfey, Orient und Occident, i. p. 590.

In R.V. i. 185, 9, we find the word sudos in the comparative degree sudostara, where it must have the sense of "very liberal": bhūri chid aryah sudostardya | "(give the wealth) of my enemy, though it be abundant to (me who am) most liberal." In v. 53, 2, the term sudos appears to be an adjective: ā ctōn ratheshu tasthushuh kah świrūca kathā yayuh | kasmai sasruh sudose anu āpayah ilābhir vṛishṭayaḥ waha | "Who has heard them (the Maruts) mounted on their cars, how they have gone? To what liberal man have they resorted as friends, (in the form of) showers with blessings?"

vii. 32. 10. Nakih Sudāso ratham pari āsa na rīramat | Indro yasya avilā yasya Maruto gamat sa gomati vraje |

"No one can oppose or stop the chariot of Sudas. He whom Indra, whom the Maruts, protect, walks in a pasture filled with cattle."

vii. 53, 3: Uto hi vam ratnadheyani santi puruni dyava - prithivi Sudaso !

"And ye, o Heaven and Earth, have many gifts of wealth for Sudas [or the liberal man]."

vii. 60, 8. Yad gopāvad Aditih šarma bhadram Mitro yachhanti Varuṇaḥ Sudāse | tasminn ä tokam tanayam dadhānāḥ mā karma devahelanam turāsaḥ | 9. . . . . pari dveshobhir Aryamā vṛiṇaktu urum Sudāse vṛishaṇau u lokam |

"Since Aditi, Mitra, and Varuna afford secure protection to Sūdas (or the liberal man), bestowing on him offspring;—may we not, o mighty deities, commit any offence against the gods. 9. . . . May Aryaman rid us of our enemies. (Grant) ye vigorous gods, a wide space to Sudās."

There is another passage, vii. 64, 3 (bravad yathā naḥ ād ariḥ Sudāse), to which I find it difficult to assign the proper sense.

Vasishtha is referred to in the following passages of the Brahmanas:

Kāthaka 37, 17. 117 Rishayo vai Indram pratyaksham na apašyams tam Vasishthah eva pratyasham apašyat | so 'bibhed " itarebhyo mā rishibhyah pravakshyati" iti 118 | so 'bravīd " brāhmanam te vakshyāmi yathā tvat-purohitāh prajāh prajanishyante | atha mā itarebhyah rishibhyo mā pravochah" iti | tasmai etān stoma-bhāgān abravīt tato Vasishtha-purohitāh prajāh prājāyanta |

"The rishis did not behold Indra face to face; it was only Vasishtha who so beheld him. He (Indra) was afraid lest Vasishtha should reveal him to the other rishis; and said to him, 'I shall declare to thee a Brahmana in order that men may be born who shall take thee for their purchita. Do not reveal me to the other rishis.' Accordingly he declared to

<sup>117</sup> Quoted by Professor Weber, Indische Studien, iii. 478.

The words from so 'bibbet down to iti are omitted in the Taitt. Sanhitā, iii. 5, 2, 2, where this passage is also found. Weber refers in Ind. St. ii. to another part of the Kāthaka, ii. 9, where Vasishtha is alluded to as having "seen" a text beginning with the word purceāte during a time of drought ("Purceāte" iti erichty-spete bhūts-grāme Vasishtho dadaria).

him these parts of the hymn. In consequence men were born who took Vasishtha for their purchita."

Professor Weber refers in the same place to a passage of the Satapatha Brāhmana relating to the former superiority of Vasishtha's family in sacred knowledge and priestly functions:

xii. 6, 1, 38. Vasishtho ha virājam vidānehakāra tām ha Indro'bhida-dhyau | sa ha uvācha "rishe virājam ha vai vettha tām me brūhi" iti | sa ha uvācha "kim mama tataķ syād" iti | "sarvasya cha te yajnasya prāyaśchittim brūyām rūpam cha tvā darśayeya" iti | sa ha uvācha "yad nu me sarvasya yajnasya prāyaśchittim brūyāh kim u sa syād yam tvam rūpam darśayethāḥ" iti | jīva-svarga eva asmāl lokāt preyād" iti | tato ha etām rishir Indrāya virājam uvācha "iyam vai virād" iti | tasmād yo'syai bhūyishtham labhate sa eva śreshtho bhavati | atha ha etām Indraḥ rishaye prāyaśchittim uvācha agnihotrād agre ā mahataḥ ukthāt | tāḥ ha sma etāḥ purā vyāhritīr Vasishthāḥ eva viduḥ | tasmād hà sma purā Vāsishthaḥ eva brahmā bhavati |

"Vasishtha was acquainted with the Virāj (a particular Vedic metre). Indra desired it; and said, 'O rishi, thou knowest the Virāj: declare it to me.' Vasishtha asked: 'What (advantage) will result to me from doing so?' (Indra replied) 'I shall both explain to thee the forms for rectifying anything amiss (prāyaśchitti) 110 in the entire sacrifice, and show thee its form.' Vasishtha further enquired, 'If thou declarest to me the remedial rites for the entire sacrifice, what shall he become to whom thou wilt show the form?' (Indra answered) 'He shall ascend from this world to the heaven of life.' The rishi then declared this Virāj to Indra, saying, 'this is the Virāj.' Wherefore it is he who obtains the most of this (Virāj) that becomes the most eminent. Then Indra explained to the rishi this remedial formula from the agnihotra to the great uktha. Formerly the Vasishthas alone knew these sacred syllables (vyāhriti). Hence in former times a Vasishtha only was a (priest of the kind called) brāhmān."

Professor Weber quotes also the following from the Kāṭhaka 32, 2. Yām abrāhmaṇaḥ prāśnāti sā skannā āhutis tasyā vai Vasishṭhaḥ eva prāyaśchittañ vidānchakāra | "The oblation of which a person not a brāhman partakes is vitiated. Vasishṭha alone knew the remedial rite for such a case."

In the Shadvimsa Brahmana of the Sama-veda, quoted by the same writer (Ibid. i. 39, and described p. 37, as possessing a distinctly formed Brahmanical character indicating a not very early date), we have the following passage:

i. 5. Indro ha Viśvāmitrāya uktham uvācha Vasishţhāya brahma vāg uktham ity ēva Viśvāmitrāya mano brahma Vasishţhāya | tad vai etad Vāsishţham brahma | api ha evamvidham vā Vāsishţham vā brahmānam kurvīta |

"Indra declared the uktha (hymn) to Viśvāmitra, and the brāhmān (devotion) to Vasishtha. The uktha is expression (vāk); that (he made known) to Viśvāmitra; and the brāhmān is the soul; that (he made known) to Vasishtha. Hence this brāhmān (devotional power) belongs to the Vasishthas. Moreover, let either a person of this description, or a man of the family of Vasishtha, be appointed a brāhmān-priest."

Here the superiority of Vasishtha over Viśvāmitra is clearly asserted.<sup>120</sup>

Vasishtha is mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Santip. verses 11221 ff., as having communicated divine knowledge to king Janaka, and as referring (see verses 11232, 11347, 11409, 11418, 11461, etc.) to the Sānkhya and Yoga systems. The sage is thus characterized:

11221. Vasishtham śreshtham ūsīnam rishīnām bhāskara-dyutim | paprochha Janako rājā jnānam naiśśreyasam param | param adhyātmakuśalam adhātma-gati-niśchayam | Maitrāvarunim āsīnam abhivādya kṛitānjaliḥ |

"King Janaka with joined hands saluted Vasishtha the son of Mitra and Varuna, the highest and most excellent of rishis, resplendent as the sun, who was acquainted with the Supreme Spirit, who had ascertained the means of attaining to the Supreme Spirit; and asked him after that highest knowledge which leads to final beatitude."

The doctrine which the saint imparts to the king he professes to have derived from the eternal Hiranyagarbha, i.e. Brahmā (avāptam etad hi mayā sanātanād Hiranyagarbhād gadato narādhipa).

I have already in former parts of this volume quoted passages from Manu, the Vishnu Purana, and the Mahabharata, regarding the creation

120 Professor Weber mentions (Ind. St. i. 53) that in the commentary of Rāmakrishna on the Pāraskara Gribya Sūtras allusion is made to the "Chbandogas who follow the Sūtras of the Vasishtha family" Vasishtha-sūtrūnuchārinas chhandogūh). of Vasishtha. The first-named work (see above, p. 36) makes him one of ten Maharshis created by Manu Sväyambhuva in the first (or Sväyambhuva) Manvantara. The Vishnu Purāna (p. 65) declares him to have been one of nine mind-born sons or Brahmās created by Brahmā in the Manvantara just mentioned. The same Purāna, however, iii. 1, 14, makes him also one of the seven rishis of the existing or Vaivasvata Manvantara, of which the son of Vivasvat, Srāddhadeva, iii is the Manu (Vivasvatah suto vipra Srāddhadeva mahādyutih | Manuh samvarttate dhīmān sāmpratam saptame intare . . . Vasishthah Kā-syapo 'thātrir Jamadagnih sa-Gautamah | Viscāmitra-Bharadcājau sapta saptarshayo 'bhavan'). The Mahābhārata (see p. 122) varies in its accounts, as in one place it does not include Vasishtha among Brahmā's six mind-born sons, whilst in a second passage it adds him to the number which is there raised to seven, in and in a third text describes him as one of twenty-one Prajāpatis.

'According to the Vishnu Purana, i. 10, 10, "Vasishtha had by his wife Urjja" (one of the daughters of Daksha, and an allegorical personage, see V. P. i. 7, 18), seven sons called Rajas, Gatra, Urddhvabāhu, Savana, Anagha, Sutapas, and Sukra, who were all spotless rishis" (Ürjjayam cha Vasishthasya saptājāyanta vai sutāh | Rajo-Gatrordhhvabahuscha Savanas chanaghas tatha | Sutapah Sukrah ity ete sarre saptarshayo 'malah'). This must be understood as referring to the Sväyambhuva Manvantara. The Commentator says these sons were the seven rishis in the third Manvantara (saptarshayas tritīyamanuantare). In the description of that period the V. P. merely says, without naming them (iii. 1, 9) that "the seven sons of Vasishtha were the seven rishis" (Vasishtha-tanayas tatra sapta saptarshayo 'bharan). " The Bhagavata Purana (iv. 1, 40 f.) gives the names of Vasishtha's sons differently; and also specifies Saktri and others as the offspring of a different marriage. (Compare Professor Wilson's notes on these passages of the Vishnu Purana.)

<sup>111</sup> See above p. 209, note 66, and pp. 188 ff.

<sup>123</sup> In another verse also (Adip. 6638, which will be quoted below in a future section) he is said to be a mind-born son of Brahmā.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> Ürija, who in the Vishnu P. iii. 1, 6, is stated to be one of the rishis of the second or Svarochisha Manvantara, is said in the Vayu P. to be a son of Vasishtha. See Professor Wilson's note (vol. iii. p. 3) on Vishnu P. iii. 1, 6. The Vayu P. also declares that one of the rishis in each of the fourth and fifth Manvantaras was a son of Vasishtha. (See Prof. Wilson's notes (vol. iii. pp. 8 and 11) on Vishnu P. iii. 1,)

In Manu, ix. 22 f., it is said that "a wife acquires the qualities of the husband with whom she is duly united, as a river does when blended with the ocean. 23. Akshamālā, though of the lowest origin, became honourable through her union with Vasishtha, as did also Sārangī through her marriage with Mandapāla" (Yādrig-guņeua bharttrā strī samyujyate yathāvidhi | tādrig-guṇā sā bhacati samudreneva nimnagā | 23. Akshamālā Vasishthena samyuktā 'dhama-yoni-jā | Sārangī Mandāpalena jagāmābhyarhanīyatām).

Vasishtha's wife receives the same name (Vasishthas chākshamālayā) in a verse of the Mahābhārata (Udyogaparvan, v. 3970); but in two other passages of the same work, which will be adduced further on, she is called Arundhatī. 125

According to the Vishuu Purana (ii. 10, 8) Vasishtha is one of the superintendents who in the month of Āshāḍha abide in the Sun's chariot, the others being Varuna, Rambhā, Sahajanyā, Huhu, Budha, and Rathachitra (Vasishtho Varuno Rambhā Sahajanyā Huhur Budhaḥ | Rathachitras tathā S'ukre vasanty Āshaḍha-sanjnite); whilst in the month of Phalguna (ibid. v. 16) the rival sage Viśvāmitra exercises the same function along with Vishuu, Aśvatara, Rambhā, Sūryavarchas, Satyajit, and the Rūkshasa Yajnāpeta (śrāyatām chāpare sūrye phālgune nivasanti ye | Vishuur Aśvatara Rambhā Sūryavarchās cha Satyajit | Viśvāmitras tathā raksho Yajnāpeto mahātmanab).

At the commencement of the Vayu Purana Vasishtha is characterized as being the most excellent of the rishis (rishānām cha varishthāya Vasishthāya mahātmane).

It is stated in the Vishuu Purāna, iii. 3, 9, that the Vedas have been already divided twenty-eight times in the course of the present or Vaivasvata Manvantara; and that this division has always taken place in the Dvāpara age of each system of four yugas. In the first Dvāpara Brahmā Svayambhū himself divided them; in the sixth Mrityn (Death, or Yama); whilst in the eighth Dvāpara it was Vasishtha who was the Vyāsa or divider (Ashtāvimšatikritvo vai vedāh vyastāḥ maharshibhiḥ | Vaivasvate 'ntare tasmin dcāpareshu punaḥ punaḥ | . . . . 10. Dvāpare prathame vyastāḥ svayam cedāḥ Svayambhuvā | . . . . 11. . . . Mrityuḥ shashthe smritaḥ prabhuḥ | . . . . Vasishthas chāshtame smritaḥ).

<sup>124</sup> Two lines below Haimavati is mentioned as the wife of Visvamitra (Haimaeatya cha Kausikah).

us In the St. Petersburg Lexicon akshamala is taken for an epithet of Arundhatt.

Vasishtha was, as we have seen above, the family-priest of Nimi, son of Ikshvāku, who was the son of Manu Vaivasvata, and the first prince of the solar race of kings; and in a passage of the Mahābhā-rata, Ādip. (6643 f.), which will be quoted in a future section, he is stated to have been the purchita of all the kings of that family. He is accordingly mentioned in Vishnu Purāṇa, iv. 3, 18, as the religious teacher of Sagara, the thirty-seventh in descent from Ikshvāku (tat-kula-gurum Vasishtham śaraṇam jagmuh); and as conducting a sacrifice for Saudāsa or Mitrasaha, a descendant in the fiftieth generation of the same prince (Vishnu P. iv. 4, 25, Kālena gachhatā sa Saudāso yaṇam ayajat | parinishthita-yaṇae cha āchāryye Vasishthe nishkrānte ityādi).

Vasishtha is also spoken of in the Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 110, 1 (see above, p. 115), and elsewhere (ii. 111, 1, etc.), as the priest of Rāma, who appears from the Vishṇu Purāṇa, (iv. 4, 40, and the preceding narrative), to have been a descendant of Ikshvāku in the sixty-first generation. 126

Vasishtha, according to all these accounts, must have been possessed of a vitality altogether superhuman; for it does not appear that any of the accounts to which I have referred intend under the name of Vasishtha to denote merely a person belonging to the family so called, but to represent the founder of the family himself as taking part in the transactions of many successive ages.

It is clear that Vasishtha, although, as we shall see, he is frequently designated in post-vedic writings as a Brühman, was, according to some other authorities I have quoted, not really such in any proper sense of the word, as in the accounts which are there given of his birth he is declared to have been either a mind-born son of Brahmä, or the son of Mitra, Varuna, and the Apsaras Urvaši, or to have had some other supernatural origin.

## SECT. VII. - Viśvāmitra.

Viśvāmitra îs stated in the Anukramanikā, as quoted by Sāyana at the commencement of the third Mandala of the Rig-veda, to be the rishi, or "seer," of that book of the collection: Asya mandala-drashţā

Rāma's genealogy is also given in the Rāmāyana, i. 70, and ii. 110, 6 ff., where, however, he is said to be only the thirty-third or thirty-fourth from Ikshvaku.

Viscamitra it rishin | "The rishi of this (the first hymn) was Visvamitra, the 'seer' of the Mandala." This, however, is to be understood with some exceptions, as other persons, almost exclusively his descendants, are said to be the rishis of some of the hymns.

I shall quote such passages as refer, or are traditionally declared to refer, to Viśvāmitra or his family.

In reference to the thirty-third hymn the Nirukta states as follows:
ii. 24. Tutra itihāsam āchakshate | Viśvāmitraḥ rishiḥ Sudāsaḥ Paijavanasya purohito babhūvā . . . . | sa viltam grihītva Vipāṭ-chkutudryoḥ
sambhedam āyayau | anuyayur ilare | sa Viśvāmitro nadīs tushṭāva " gādhāḥ bhavata" iti |

"They there relate a story. The rishi Viśvāmitra was the purchita of Sudās, the son of Pijavana. (Here the etymologies of the names Viśvāmitra, Sudās, and Pijavana are given.) Taking his property, he came to the confluence of the Vipāś and Sutudrī (Sutlej); others followed. Viśvāmitra lauded the rivers (praying them to) become fordable."

Sayana expands the legend a little as follows:

Purā kila Viśvāmitrah Paijavanasya Sudāso rājnah purohito babhāva |
sa cha paurohityena labdha-dhanah sarvam dhanam ādāya Vipāţ-chhutudryoh sambhedam ūyayau | anuyayur itare | athottitīrshur Viśvāmitro
'gādha-jale te nadyau drishṭvā uttaraṇārtham ādyābhis tisrībhis tushṭāva |

"Formerly Viśvāmitra was the purchita of king Sudās, the son of Pijavana. He, having obtained wealth by means of his office as purchita, took the whole of it, and came to the confluence of the Vipāś and the Sutudrī. Others followed. Being then desirous to cross, but perceiving that the waters of the rivers were not fordable, Viśvāmitra, with the view of getting across lauded them with the first three verses of the hymn."

The hymn makes no allusion whatever to Sudās, but mentions the son of Kuśika (Viśvāmitra) and the Bharatas. It is not devoid of poetical beauty, and is as follows:

R.V. iii. 33, 1 (= Nirukta, ix. 39). Pra parvatānām ušatī upasthād ašve iva vishite hūsamāne | gāveva šubhre mūtarā rihāne Vipāt Chhutudrī payasā javete | 2. Indreshite prasavam bhikshamāne achha samudram rathyā iva yāthah | samūrāne ūrmibhih pinvamāne anyā vām anyām api eti šubhre | 3. Achha sindhum mātritamām ayāsam Vipāšam ūrvīm

subhagam aganma | vatsam iva matara samrihane samanam yonim anu sancharanti | 4. Enā vayam payasā pinvamānā anu yonim deva-kritam charantih | na varttave prasavah sarga-taktah kimyur vipro nadyo johaviti | . 5 (= Nirukta, ii. 25). Ramadheam me eachase somyaya ritararir upa muhurttam evaih | pra sindhum achha brihati manisha avasyur ahve Kuśikasya sūnuh | 6 (= Nir. ii. 26). Indro asmān aradat vajra-bāhur apāhan Vrittram paridhim nudīnām | devo 'nayat Savitā supānis tazya vayam prasave yamah ürcih | 7. Pravachyam śaśvadha viryam tad Indrasya karma yad Ahim vivrišchat | vi vajrena parishado jaghana āyann āpo ayanam ichhamānāh | 8. Etad vacho jaritar mā 'pi mrishtāh ă yat te ghoshăn uttară yugani | uktheshu karo prati no jushasva mă no ni kah purushatra namas te | 9. O su svasarah karave śrinota yayan yo dūrād anasā rathena | ni su namadheam bhavata supārā adhoakshah sindhavah srotyābhih | 10 (= Nir. ii. 27). Ā te kāro šriņavāma vachāmsi yayātha durād anasā rathena | ni te namsai pipyānā ica yoshā maryāya iva kanyā šašvachai te | 11. Yad anga tvā Bharatāh santareyur gavyan grāmah ishitah Indra-jūtah | arshād aha prasavah sarga-taktah ā vo vrine sumatiin yajniyanam | 12. Atarishur Bharatah qavyacah sam abhakta viprah sumatim nadinām | pra pincadhcam ishayantih surādhāh ā vakshanāh prinadhvam yāta šībham |

"1. (Viśvāmitra speaks): Hastening eagerly from the heart of the mountains, contending like two mares let loose, like two bright mother-cows licking 127 (each her calf), the Vipāś and Sutudrī rush onward with their waters. 2. Impelled by Indra, seeking a rapid course, ye move towards the ocean, as if mounted on a car. Running together, as ye do, swelling with your waves, the one of you joins the other, ye bright streams. 3. I have come to the most motherly stream; we have arrived at the broad and beautiful Vipāś; proceeding, both of them, like two mother(-cows) licking each her calf, to a common receptacle. 4. (The rivers reply): Here swelling with our waters we move forward to the receptacle fashioned by the gods (the ocean); our headlong course cannot be arrested. What does the sage desire that he invokes the rivers? 5. (Viśvāmitra says): Stay your course for a moment, ye pure streams, (yielding) to my pleasant words. With a powerful prayer, I, the son

Prof. Roth (Illustr. of Nirukta, p. 133) refers to vii. 2. 5 (pūrvī šišum na mātarā rikāņe) as a parallel passage.
 Prof. Roth (Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 103) renders: "Listen joyfully for a

of Kuśika, 100 desiring succour, invoke the river. 6. (The rivers answer): Indra, the wielder of the thunderbolt, has hollowed out our channels; he has smitten Ahi who hemmed in the streams. Savitri the skilfulhanded has led us hither; by his impulse we flow on in our breadth. 7. For ever to be celebrated is the heroic deed of Indra, that he has split Vrittra in sunder. He smote the obstructions with his thunderbolt; and the waters desiring an outlet went on their way. 8. Do not, o utterer of praises, forget this word, which future ages will re-echo to thee. In hymns, o bard, show us thy devotion; do not humble us before men; reverence be paid to thee. 9. (Viśvāmitra says): Listen, o sisters, to the bard who has come to you from afar with waggon and chariot. Sink down; become fordable; reach not up to our chariot-axles with your streams. 10. (The rivers answer): We shall listen to thy words, o bard; thou hast come from far with waggon and chariot. I will bow down to thee like a woman with full breast 100 (suckling her child); as a maid to a man will I throw myself open to thee. 11. (Viśvāmitra says): When the Bharatas, in that war-loving tribe, sent forward, impelled by Indra, have crossed thee, then thy headlong current shall hold on its course. I seek the favour of you the adorable. 12. The war-loving Bharatas have crossed; the Sage has obtained the favour of the rivers. Swell on impetuous, and fertilizing; fill your channels; roll rapidly."

The next quotation is from the fifty-third hymn of the same third Mandala, verses 6 ff. :

6. Apāḥ somam astam Indra pra yāhi kalyānīr jāyā suraṇam gṛihe

moment to my aminble speech, ye streams rich in water; stay your progress;" and adds in a note: "I do not connect the particle upa with ramadhram, as the Nirukta and Säyana do; the fact that upa stands in another Pāda (quarter of the verse) requires a different explanation. The most of those interpretations of the Commentator which destroy the sense have their ultimate ground in the circumstance that he combines the words of different divisions of the verse; and any one may easily convince himself that every Pāda has commonly a separate sense, and is far more independent of the others than is the case in the sloka of later times." In his Lexicon Roth renders ritāvarī in this passage by "regular," "equably flowing."

120 "Kusika was a king" (Kwiko rājā babhūva. Nir. ii. 25). Sayana calls him

a royal rishi.

This is the sense assigned by Prof. Roth, s.e. pī to pīpyūnū. Sūyana, following Yūska, ii. 27, gives the sense "suckling her child." Prof. Aufrecht considers that the word means "pregnant." In the next clause 'astechai is rendered in the manner suggested by Prof. A., who compares R.V. x. 18, 11, 12.

121 "The men of the family of Bharata, my people" (Bharata-kula-jūḥ madiyāḥ

surre." Sayana).

te | yatra rathasya brihato nidhanam rimochanam vajino dakshinavat | 7. Ime bhojāh angiraso virāpāh divas putrāso asurasya vīrāh | Viśvāmitrāya dadato maghāni sahasra-sāve pratirante āyuh | 8. Rūpam rūpam maghavā bobhavīti māyāh krinvānas taneam pari scām | trir yad dieah pari muhūrttam āgāt wair mantrair anritupāh ritāvā | 9. Mahān rishir deva-jāh deva-jūto astabhnāt sindhum arņavam nrichakshāh | Viscāmitro yad acahat Sudasam apriyayata Kusikebhir Indrah | 10. Hamsah isa krinutha ślokam adribhir madanto girbhir adhvare sute sachā | devebhir viprāh rishayo nrichakshaso vi pibadhvam Kuśikāh somyam madhu | 11. Upa preta Kuśikāś chetayadhram aścam rūye pra munchata Sudāsah | rājā vrittram janghanat prāg apāg udag atha yajāte care ā prithivyāh | 12. Yah ime rodazī ubhe aham Indram atushtavam | Viśvāmitrasya rokshati brakma idam Bhūratam janam | 13. Višvāmitrāh arāsata brahma Indrāya vajrine | karad in nah surādhasah | 14 (=Nir, vi. 32). Kim te kurvanti Kīkaţeshu gāvo nāśiram duhre na tapanti gharmam | ā no bhara Pramagandasya vedo Naichāśakham maghavan randhaya nah | 15. Sasarparir amatim bādhamānā brihad mimāya Jamadagnidattā | ā Sūryasya duhitā tatāna śraco deveshu amritam ajuryam | 16. Sasarparır abharat tüyam ebhyo adhi sravah panchajanyasu krishtishu | sa pakshya navyam ayur dadhana yam me palasti-jamadagnayo daduh | . . . . 21. Indra ütibhir bahulabhir no adya yachchhreshthabhir maghacan śura jinea | yo no dveshti adharah sas padishta yam u dvishmas tam u prano jahatu | 22. parasum chid vi tapati simbalam chid vi vrischați | ukhā chid Indra yezhanti prayastă phenam asyati. 23. Na săyakasya chikite janaso-lodham nayanti pasu manyumanah | navajinam cājināh hāsayanti na gardabham puro aścān nayanti | 24. Ime Indra Bharatasya putrah apapiteam chikitur na propiteam | hinvanti ascam aranam na nityam jyavajam pari nayanti ajau

"6. Thou hast drunk soma; depart, Indra, to thy abode: thou hast a handsome wife and pleasure in thy house. In whatever place thy great chariot rests, it is proper that the steed should be unyoked. 7. These bountiful Virûpas of the race of Angiras, 123 heroic sons of the divine

<sup>132</sup> Sāyana says that the liberal men are the Kshattriyas, sons of Sudūs, that cirūpāh means their different priests of the race of Angiras, Medhātithi, and others, and that the sons of the sky are the Maruts, the sons of Rudra (Ime yāgam kurvāṇāḥ bhojāḥ Saudāsāḥ kshattriyāḥ teshāū yājakāḥ virūpāḥ mānārūpāḥ Medhātithi-prabhritayo ngirasas cha dioo surasya derebhyo pi balasato Rudrasya putrāso . . . Marutaḥ). The Virūpas are connected with Angiras in R.V. x. 62, 5; and a Virūpa is mentioned in i. 45, 3; and viii. 64, 6.

Dyaus (sky), bestowing wealth upon Viśvāmitra at the sacrifice with a thousand libations, prolong their lives. 8. The opulent god (Indra) constantly assumes various forms, exhibiting with his body illusive appearances; since he came from the sky thrice in a moment, drinking (soma) according to his own will, at other than the stated seasons, and yet observing the ceremonial. 9.185 The great rishi, god-born, god-impelled, leader of men, stayed the watery current; when Viśvāmitra conducted Sudas, Indra was propitiated through the Kuśikas. 10. Like swans, ye make a sound with the (soma-crushing) stones, exulting with your hymns when the libation is poured forth; ye Kuśikas, sage rishis, leaders of men, drink the honied soma with the gods.134 11. Approach, ve Kušikas, be alert; let loose the horse of Sudas to (conquer) riches; let the king smite strongly his enemy in the east, the west, and the north; and then let him sacrifice on the most excellent (spot) of the earth.18 12. I Viśvāmitra have caused both heaven and earth to sing the praises of Indra; 138 and my prayer protects the race of Bharata. 13. The Viśvāmitras have offered up prayer to Indra the thunderer. May he render us prosperous! 14. What are thy cows doing among the Kīkatas, 187 who neither draw from them the milk (which is to be mixed with soma), nor heat the sacrificial kettle. Bring to us the wealth of Pramaganda; subdue to us to the son of Nichaśakha. 15. Moving swiftly, removing poverty, brought by the Jamadagnis, she has mightily uttered her voice: this daughter of the sun has conveyed (our) renown, eternal and undecaying, (even) to the gods. 16. Moving swiftly she has speedily brought down (our) renown from them to the five races of men; this winged 138 goddess whom the aged Jamadagnis brought to us, has conferred on us new life." Omitting verses

"And then the Kausika drank soma with Indra."

134 Compare R.V. iv. 17, 1.

13: Kikatāh nāma dešo'nāryya-nieāsah | "Kīkata is a country inhabited by people who are not Aryas." See the second vol. of this work, p. 362, and Journ. Royal As.

Sec. for 1866, p. 340.

<sup>123</sup> Verses 9-13 are translated by Prof. Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 106 f.
134 Comp. M. Bh. Adip. v. 6695. Apibach cha tatah somam Indrena saha Kamikah

<sup>130</sup> Compare R.V. iii. 23, 4, which will be quoted below.

<sup>138</sup> Pakshyū. This word is rendered by Sāyana "the daughter of the sun who causes the light and dark periods of the moon, etc." (Pakshasya pakshūdi-nireāhakasya Sūryasya dahitā). Prof. Roth s.r. thinks the word may mean "she who changes according to the (light and dark) fortnights."

17-20 we have the following: "21. Prosper us to-day, o opulent Indra, by numerous and most excellent succours. May he who hates us fall down low; and may breath abandon him whom we hate." This is succeeded by three obscure verses, of which a translation will be attempted further on.

Savana prefaces verses 15 and 16 by a quotation from Shadgurusishya's Commentary on the Anukramanika, which is given with an addition in Weber's Indische Studien i. 119 f. as follows: Sasarparidv-riche prühur itihäsam puravidah , Saudasa-nriputer yajne Vasishthätmaja-Saktinā | Viścāmitrasyābhibhūtam balam vāk cha samantatah | Väsishthenabhibhatah sa hy aväsidach cha Gadhi-jah | tasmai Brahmim tu Saurīm vā nāmnā vācham Sasarparīm | Sūrya-vesmana āhritya dadur eai Jamadagnayah | Kuśikānām tatah sā vān manāk chintām athānudat | upapreteti Kuśikān Viśvāmitro 'nvachodayat | labdhvā vācham cha hrishtātmā Jamadagnīn apūjayat | "Sasarparīr" iti deābhyām rigbhyam Vacham stuvam svayam | " Regarding the two verses beginning "Sasarparth" those acquainted with antiquity tell a story. At a sacrifice of king Sandasa 130 the power and speech of Visvamitra were completely vanquished by Sakti, son of Vasishtha; and the son of Gādhi (Viśvāmitra) being so overcome, became dejected. The Jamadagais drew from the abode of the Sun a Voice called "Sasarpari," the daughter of Brahma, or of the Sun, and gave her to him. Then that voice somewhat dispelled the disquiet of the Jamadagnis For, according to the reading of this line given by Sayana (Kuśikānām matih sā vāg amatim tam apanudat) "that Voice, being intelligence, dispelled the unintelligence of the Kuśikas."]. Viśvāmitra then incited the Kuśikas with the words upapreta 'approach' (see verse 11). And being gladdened by receiving the Voice, he paid homage to the Jamadagnis; praising them with the two verses beginning 'Sasarparih.'"

In regard to the verses 21-24 Sayana has the following remarks: 
"Indra ūtibhir ity ūdyās chatasro Vasishtha-deeshinyah | purā khalu Viseāmitra-sishyah Sudāh nāma rājarshir āsīt | sa cha kenachit kūranena Vasishtha-deeshyo 'bhūt | Viseāmitras tu sishyasya rakshārtham ābhir rigbhir Vanishtham ašapat | imāh abhisāpa-rūpāh | tāh richo Vasishthāh na śrinvanti | "The four verses beginning o Indra, with succours' express hatred to Vasishtha. There was formerly a royal rishi called

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> The Brihaddevatā, which has some lines nearly to the same effect as these I have quoted (see Ind. Stud. i, 119), gives Sudäs instead of Saudāsa.

Sudās, a disciple of Viśvāmitra; who for some reason had incurred the ill-will of Vasishtha. For his disciple's protection Viśvāmitra cursed Vasishtha in these verses. They thus consist of curses, and the Vasishthas do not listen to them."

In reference to the same passage the Bṛihaddevatā iv. 23 f., as quoted in Indische Studien, i. 120, has the following lines: Parāś chatasro yās tattra Vasishtha-dveshinīr viduh | Viśvāmitreņa tāh proktāh abhišāpāh iti smṛitāh | dvesha-dveshās tu tāh proktāh vidyāch chaivābhichārikāh | Vasishthās tu na śṛiṇvanti tad āchārṛyaka-sammatam | kṛrttanāch chhravaṇād vā 'pi mahān doshah prajāyate | śatadhā bhidyate mūrdhā kṛrttitena śrutena vā | teshām bālāh pramīyante tasmāt tās tu na kṛrttayet | 'The other four verses of that hymn, which are regarded as expressing hatred to Vasishtha, were uttered by Viśvāmitra, and are traditionally reported to contain imprecations. They are said to express hatred in return for (?) hatred, and should also be considered as incantations. The descendants of Vasishtha do not listen to them, as this is the will of their preceptor. Great guilt is incurred by repeating or hearing them. The heads of those who do so are split into a hundred fragments; and their children die. Wherefore let no one recite them."

Durga, the commentator on the Nirukta, in accordance with this injunction and warning, says in reference to verse 23: Yasmin nigame esha śabdaḥ (lodhaḥ) sā Vasishṭha-dreshiṇi rik | aham cha Kāpishṭhalo Vāsishṭhaḥ | atas tām na nirbravīmi | "The text in which this word (lodha) occurs is a verse expressing hatred of Vasishṭha. But I am a Kāpishṭhala of the family of Vasishṭha; and therefore do not interpret it."

The following text also may have reference to the personal history of Viśvāmitra: R.V. iii. 43, 4. Ā cha teām etā vriskaṇā vahāto harī sakhāyā sudhurā svangā | dhānāvad Indrah savanam jushānah sakhā sakhyuḥ śriṇavad vandanāni | 5. Kuvid mā gopam karase janasya kuvid rājānam maghavann rijīshin | kuvid mā rishim papivāmsam sutasya kuvid me vasvo amritasya śikshāh | "4. May these two vigorous brown steeds, friendly, well-yoked, stout-limbed, convey thee hither. May Indra gratified by our libation mingled with grain, hear (like) a friend, the praises of a friend. 5. Wilt thou make me a ruler of the people? wilt

As quoted both by Prof. Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 108, note, and by Prof. Müller, Pref. to Rig-veda, vol. ii. p. lvi.

thou make me a king, o impetuous lord of riches? wilt thou make me a rishi a drinker of soma? wilt thou endow me with imperishable wealth?"

The next passage refers to Devasravas and Devavata, of the race of Bharata, who are called in the Anukramanika, quoted by Sayana, "sons of Bharata" (Bharatasya putrau); but one of whom at least is elsewhere, as we shall see, said to be a son of Viśvāmitra: R.V. iii. 23, 2. Amanthishtām Bhāratā revad Agnim Devasravāh Devovātah sudaksham | Agne vi pasya brihatā 'bhi rāyā ishām no netā bhavatād anu dyun | 3. Dasa kshipah purvyam sim ajijanan sujatam matrishu priyam | Agnim stuhi Daicavātam Devasravo yo janānām asad vašī | 4. Ni teā dadhe vare ā prithivyāh ilāyās pade sudinates ahnām | Drishadvatyām mānushe Āpayāyām Sarascatyām recad Agne didīhi | "2. The two Bhāratas Devasravas and Devavata have brilliantly created by friction the powerful Agni. Look upon us, o Agni, manifesting thyself with much wealth; be a bringer of nourishment to us every day. 3. The ten fingers (of Devavata) have generated the ancient god, happily born and dear to his mothers. Praise, o Devasravas, Agni, the offspring of Devavata, who has become the lord of men. 4. I placed (or he placed) thee on the most excellent spot of earth on the place of worship, in at an auspicious time. Shine, o Agni, brilliantly on the (banks of the) Drishadvatī, on (a site) auspicious for men, on (the banks of) the Apaya, of the Sarasvati."

Viśvāmitra is mentioned along with Jamadagni in the fourth verse of the 167th hymn of the tenth Mandala, which is ascribed to these two sages as its authors: Prasūto bhaksham akaram charāv api stomam chemam prathamah sūrir un mrije | sute sūtena yadi āgamam vām prati Viśvāmitra-Jamadagnī dame | "Impelled, I have quaffed this draught of soma when the oblation of boiled rice was presented; and I, the first bard, prepare this hymn, whilst I have come to you, o Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni in the house, with that which has been offered as a libation."

The family of the Viśvāmitras has, as we have seen, been already mentioned in R.V. iii. 53, 13. They are also named in the following passages:

iii. 1, 21. Janman janman nihito Jatavedah Viśvamitrebhir idhyate ajasrah |

<sup>141</sup> Compare R.V. iii. 29, 3, 4.

"The undecaying Jatavedas (Agni) placed (on the hearth) is in every generation kindled by the Viśvāmitras."

iii. 18, 4. Uch chhochishā sahasas putraķ stuto brihad vayaķ šašamāneshu dhehi | revad Agne Viśvāmitreshu śań yor marmrijma to tancam bhūri kritvaķ |

"Son of strength, when lauded, do thou with thy upward flame inspire vigorous life into thy worshippers; (grant) o Agni, brilliant good fortune and prosperity to the Viśvāmitras; many a time have we given lustre to thy body."

x. 89, 17. Eva te vayam Indra bhunjatīnām vidyāma sumatīnām navānām | vidyāma vastor avasā griņanto Višvāmitrāh uta te Indra nūnam |

"Thus may we obtain from thee new favours to delight us: and may we, Viśvāmitras, who praise thee, now obtain riches through thy help, o Indra."

This hymn is ascribed in the Anukraman to Renu, the son or descendant of Viśvāmitra; and the 18th verse is identical with the 22nd of the 30th hymn of the third Mandala, which is said to be Viśvāmitra's production.

In a verse already quoted (R.V. iii. 33, 11) Viśvāmitra is spoken of as the son of Kuśika; at least the Nirakta regards that passage as referring to him; and the Kuśikas, who no doubt belonged to the same family as Viśvāmitra, are mentioned in another hymn which I have cited (iii. 53, 9, 10). They are also alluded to in the following texts:

R.V. iii. 26, 1. Vaiśvānaram manasā 'gnim nichāyya havishmanto anushatyam svarvidam | sudāmum devam rathiram vasūyavo gīrbhih ramvam Kuśikāso havāmahe | . . . . 3. Ašvo na krandan janibhih sam idhyate Vaišvānarah Kušikebhir yuge yuge | sa no Agnih suvīryam svašvyam dadhātu ratnam amriteshu jāgrivih |

"We, the Kuśikas, presenting oblations, and desiring riches, revering in our souls, as is meet, in the divine Agni Vaiśvānara, the heavenly, the bountiful, the charioteer, the pleasant, invoke him with hymns.

. . . 3. Vaiśvanara, who (crackles) like a neighing horse, is kindled by the Kuśikas with the mothers (i.e. their fingers) in every age. May

263 This is the sense of anushatyam according to Prof. Aufrecht. Sayana makes it one of the epithets of Agai "he who is true to his promise in granting rewards according to works" (satyanānugatam karmānurūpa-phala-pradāne satya-pratijnam).

this Agni, who is ever alive among the immortals, bestow on us wealth, with vigour and with horses."

iii. 29, 15. Amitrāyudho Marutām iva prayāḥ prathamajāḥ brahmaņo visvam id viduḥ | dyumnavad brahma Kusikāsaḥ ā īrire ekaḥ eko dame Agnim sam īdhire |

"Combating their enemies like the hosts of the Maruts, (the sages) the first-born of prayer is know everything; the Kuśikas have sent forth an enthusiastic prayer; they have kindled Agni, each in his own house."

iii. 30, 20. Imam kāmam mandaya gobhir aśvaiś chandrāvatā rādhasā paprathaś cha | svaryavo matibhis tubhyam viprāḥ Indrāya vāhaḥ Kuśikāso akran |

"Gratify this (our) desire with kine and horses; and prosper us with brilliant wealth. The wise Kusikas, desiring heaven, have with their minds composed for thee a hymn."

iii. 42, 9. Tvām sutasya pītaye pratnam Indra havāmahe | Kušikāso avasyavah |

"We, the Kuśikas, desiring succour, summon thee the ancient Indra to drink the soma libation."

It will be seen from these passages that the Viávāmitras and the Kuáikas assert themselves to have been ancient worshippers of Agni, and to be the composers of hymns, and the possessors of all divine knowledge.

In the eleventh verse of the tenth hymn of the first Mandala of the R.V., of which the traditional author is Madhuchhandas of the family of Viśvāmitra, the epithet Kauśika is applied to Indra: Ã tu naḥ Indra Kauśika mandasānaḥ sutam piba | navyam āyuḥ pra sutira kridhi sahasra-sām rishim | "Come, Indra, Kauśika, drink our oblation with delight. Grant me new and prolonged life; make the rishi the possessor of a thousand boons."

Sāyana explains the epithet in question as follows: Kauśika Kuśikasya putra. . . . yadyapi Viśvāmitro Kuśikasya putras tathāpi tadrūpena Indrasya eva utpannatvāt Kuśika-putratvam aviruddham | ayam vrittānto 'nukramanikāyām uktah | "Kuśikas tv Aishīrathir Indra-

<sup>142</sup> Compare with this the epithet of devajūh, "god-born," applied to Viévāmitra in fii. 53, 9 (above p. 342); and the claim of knowledge made for the Vasishthas in rii. 33, 7 (above p. 320).

tulyam putram ichhan brahmacharyam chachara | tasya Indrah eva Gathi putro jajne" iti | "Kauśika means the son of Kuśika . . . Although Viśvāmitra was the son of Kušika, yet, as it was Indra who was born in his form, there is nothing to hinder Indra being the son of Kuśika. This story is thus told in the Anukramanika: 'Kuśika, the son of Ishīratha desiring a son like Indra, lived in the state of a Brahmachārin. It was Indra who was born to him as his son Gathin." To this the Anukramanī (as quoted by Prof. Müller, Rig-veda, vol. ii. pref. p. xl.) adds the words: Gathino Viśvamitrah | sa tritiyam mandalam apaśyat | "The son of Gathin was Viśvamitra, who saw the third Mandala." In quoting this passage Professor Müller remarks: "According to Shadgurusishya this preamble was meant to vindicate the Rishitva of the family of Viśvāmitra: 144 Saty apacade scayam rishitram anubharato Viśvāmitra-gotrasya vivakshayā itihāsam āha" | "Wishing to declare the rishihood of the family of Viśvāmitra which was controverted, although they were themselves aware of it, he tells a story."

Professor Roth in his Lexicon (s.v. Kaušika) thinks that this term as originally applied to Indra meant merely that the god "belonged, was devoted to," the Kušikas; and Professor Benfey, in a note to his translation of R.V. i. 10, 11,145 remarks that "by this family-name Indra is designated as the sole or principal god of this tribe."

144 Prof. Müller states that "Säyana passes over what Kätyäyana (the author of the Anukramani) says about the race of Visvämitra;" and adds "This (the fact of the preamble being 'meant to vindicate the Rishitva of the family of Visvämitra') was probably the reason why Säyana left it out." It is true that Säyana does not quote the words of the Anukramani in his introductory remarks to the third Mandala; but as we have seen he had previously adduced the greater part of them in his note on i, 10, 11.

445 Orient und Occident, vol. i. p. 18, note 50. We have seen above, p. 345, that in R.V. iii. 23, 3, another god, Agni, is called Dairacata, after the rishi Devavāta, by whom he had been kindled. Compare also the expression Dairacdāso Agniķ in R.V. viii. 92, 2, which Sāyaṇa explains as ≈ Dicodāsona āhāyamöno 'gniḥ, "Agni invoked by Divodāsa;" while Prof. Roth s.e. understands it to mean "Agni who stands in relation to Divodāsa." In R.V. vi. 16, 19, Agni is called Divodāsazya satpatiķ, "the good lord of Divodāsa." Agni is also called Bhārata in R.V. ii. 7, 1, 5; iv. 25, 4; vi. 16, 19. On the first text (ii. 7, 1) Sāyaṇa says Bharatāḥ riteijāḥ | texhōm sambandhī Bhārataḥ "Bharatas are priests. Bhārata is'he who is connected with them." On ii. 7, 5 he explains the word by riteijām patra-sthōnīya, "Thou who art in the place of a son to the priests." On the second text (iv. 25, 4) tasmai Agnir Bhārataḥ šarma yamāat, "may Agni Bhārata give him protection") Sāyaṇa takes Bhārata to mean "the bearer of the oblation" (hacisho bharttā); but also refers to the S'.P.Br. i. 4, 2, 2, where it is said, "or Agni is called 'Bhārata,' because, becoming breath, he sustains all creatures"

According to the Vishnu Purana (pp. 398-400, Wilson, 4to. ed.) Viśvāmitra was the twelfth in descent from Purūravas, the persons intermediate being (1) Amāvasu, (2) Bhīma, (3) Kānchaua, (4) Suhotra, (5) Jahnu, (6) Sumantu, (7) Ajaka, (8) Valākāśva, (9) Kuśa, (10) Kuśāmba, and (11) Gādhi. The birth of Viśvāmitra's father is thus described, V.P. iv. 7, 4: Teshām Kuśāmbah "śakra-tulyo me putro bhaved" iti tapas chachara | tam cha ugra-tapasam avalokya "mā bhavate anyo 'smat-tulya-viryyah" ily atmana eva asya Indrah putratram agachhat | Gadhir nama sa Kauśiko'bharat | "Kuśamba (one of Kuśa's four sons) practised austere fervour with the view of obtaining a son equal to Indra. Perceiving him to be very ardent in his austere fervour, Indra, fearing lest another person should be born his own equal in vigour, became himself the son of Kusamba, with the name of Gadhi the Kauśika." Regarding the birth of Viśvāmitra himself, the Vishuu Purāna relates the following story: Gadhi's daughter Satyavatī had been given in marriage to an old Brahman called Richīka, of the family of Bhrigu. In order that his wife might bear a son with the qualities of a Brahman, Richīka had prepared for her a dish of charu (rice, barley, and pulse, with butter and milk) for her to eat; and a similar mess for her mother, calculated to make her conceive a son with the character of a warrior. Satyavati's mother, however, persuaded her to exchange messes. She was blamed by her husband on her return home for what she had done. I quote the words of the original:

V.P. iv. 7, 14. "Ati pāpe kim idam akāryyam bhavatyā kritam | atiraudram te vapur ālakshyate | nūnam teayā tvan-mātri-satkritaš charur upayuktaḥ (? upabhuktaḥ) | na yuktam etat | 15. Mayā hi tattra charau sakalā eva śauryya-vīryya-bala-sampad ōropitā tvadīye charāv apy akhila-šānti-juāna-titikshādikā brāhmaņu-sampat | etach cha vipa-

(esha u vai imāh prajāh prāņa bhūteā bibhartti tasmād vā ieu āha "Bhārata" iti). Another explanation had previously been given that the word Bhārātu means "he who bears oblations to the gods." On the third text (vi. 16, 19) Sāyaṇa interprets the term in the same way. Roth, s.v., thinks it may mean "warlike." In R.V. vii. S, 4, (V.S. 12, 34) we find the words pro pro ayam Agnir Bharatasya śrinze, "this Agni (the son i) of Bharata has been greatly renowned." Sāyaṇa makes bharatasya yajamānasya, "the worshipper," and pro pro śrinze prathito bhavati, "is renowned." The Comm. on the Vāj. S. translates "Agni hears the invocation of the worshipper" (srinze śrigute āhrānam). The S. P. Br. vi. S, 1, 14, quotes the verse, and explains Bharata as meaning "Prajāpati, the supporter of the universe" (Prajāpatir vai Bharatah sa hi idam sarvam bibhartti).

rītam kurvatyās tava atiraudrāstra-dhāraṇa-māraṇa-nishṭha-kshattri-yāchāraḥ puttro bhavishyaty asyāś cha upaśama-vuchir brāhmaṇā-chāraḥ" | ity ākarṇya eva sā tasya pādau jagrāha praṇipatya cha enam āha "bhagavan moyā etad ajnānād anushṭhitam | prasādam me kuru |, mā evamvidaḥ putro bhavatu | kāmam evamvidhaḥ pautro bhavatu'' | ity ukto munir apy āha "evam astv" iti | 16. Anantaram cha sā Jamadagnim ajijanat tan-mātā cha Viśvāmitram janayāmāsa | Satyavatī cha Kauśikī nāma nady abhavat | Jamadagnir Ikshvāku-vamśodbhavasya Renos tanayām Renukām upayeme tasyām cha aśesha-kshattra-vamśa-hantāram Paraśurāma-sanjnam bhagavataḥ sakala-loka-guror Nārāyaṇanya amśam Jamadagnir ajījanat | Viśvāmitra-putras tu Bhārgavaḥ eva Sanaḥśepo nāma devair dattaḥ | tataś cha Devarāta-nāmā 'bhavat | tataś cha anys Madhuchhanda-Jayakṛita-Devadeva-Ashṭaka-Kachhapa-Hārītakākhyāḥ Viśvāmitra-putrāḥ babhūvuḥ | 17. Teshūm cha bahūni Kauśika-gotrāṃi pishyantareshu caivāhyāni bhavanti |

" Sinful woman, what improper deed is this that thou hast done? I behold thy body of a very terrible appearance. Thou hast certainly eaten the charu prepared for thy mother. This was wrong. For into that charu I had infused all the endowments of heroism, vigour, and force, whilst into thine I had introduced all those qualities of quietude, knowledge, and patience which constitute the perfection of a Brahman. Since thou hast acted in contravention of my design a son shall be born to thee who shall live the dreadful, martial, and murderous life of a Kshattriva; and thy mother's offspring shall exhibit the peaceful disposition and conduct of a Brahman.' As soon as she had heard this, Satyavatī fell down and seized her husband's feet, and said, 'My lord, I have acted from ignorance; show kindness to me; let me not have a son of the sort thou hast described; if thou pleasest, let me have a grandson of that description.' Hearing this the muni replied, 'Be it so.' Subsequently she bore Jamadagni, and her mother gave birth to Viśvāmitra. Satyavatī became the river called Kauśikī. Jamadagni wedded Renuka, the daughter of Renu, of the family of Ikshvaku; and on her he begot a son called Paraśurama, the slayer of the entire race of Kehattriyas, who was a portion of the divine Narayana, the lord of the universe.165 To Viśvāmitra a son called Sunassepa, of the race of

<sup>148</sup> According to the Bhagavata Purana, i. 3, 20, Parasurama was the eixteenth incarnation of Vishnu: Acatare shodasame pasyan brahma-druho nripan | triscapta-

Bhrigu, was given by the gods, who in consequence received the name of Devarāta ("god-given"). And then other sons, Madhuchhandas, Jayakrita, Devadeva, Ashtaka, Kachhapa, Hārītaka, etc., were born to Viśvāmitra. From them sprang many families of Kaušikas, which intermarried with those of other rishis."

The Harivamsa, verses 1425 ff., gives a similar account, but makes Kusika, not Kusamba, the grandfather of Visvamitra:

Kuśa-putrāḥ babhūvur hi chatvāro deva-varchasaḥ | Kuśikaḥ Kuśanā-bhaś cha Kuśāmbo Mūrtimāms tathā | Pahlavaiḥ saha samvriddho rājā vana-chārais tadā | Kuśikas tu tapas tepe putram Indra-samam vibhuḥ | labheyam iti tam Sakras trāsād abhyetya jajnivān | pūrņe vareha-sahasre vai tam tu Sākro hy apašyata | aty ugra-tapasam drishtvā sahasrākshaḥ purandaraḥ | samarthaḥ putra-janane svam evāmśam avāsayat | putratve kalpayāmāsa sa devendraḥ surottamaḥ | sa Gādhir abhacad rājā Maghavān Kauśikaḥ svayam | Paurukutsy abhavad bhāryyā Gādhis tasyām ajāyata |

"Kuśa had four sons, equal in lustre to the gods, Kuśika, Kuśanā-bha, Kuśāmba, and Mūrttimat. Growing up among the Pahlavas, who dwelt in the woods, the glorious king Kuśika practised austere fervour, with the view of obtaining a son equal to Indra; and Indra from apprehension came and was born. When a thousand years had elapsed Sakra (Indra) beheld him. Perceiving the intensity of his austere fervour, the thousand-eyed, city-destroying, god of gods, highest of the deities, powerful to procreate offspring, introduced a portion of himself, and caused it to take the form of a son; and thus Maghavat himself became Gādhi, the son of Kuśika. Paurukutsī was the wife (of the latter), and of her Gādhi was born."

The Harivamsa then relates a story similar to that just extracted from the Vishnu Purana regarding the births of Jamadagni and Visvamitra, and then proceeds, yerse 1456:

Aureasyaivam Richīkasya Satyavatyām mahāyašāḥ | Jamadagnis tapovīryyāj jājne brahma-vidām varaḥ | madhyamaš cha Sunaššephaḥ Sunaḥpuchhaḥ kanishṭhakaḥ | Viśvāmitram tu dāyādam Gādhiḥ Kuśika-nandanaḥ | janayāmāsa putram tu tapo-vidyā-šamātmakam | prāpya brah-

kritval kupito nihkshattriim akarod mahim | "In his sixteenth incurnation, perceiving that kings were oppressors of Brahmans, he, incensed, made the earth destitute of Kshattriyas one and twenty times."

marshi-samatām yo 'yam saptarshitām gatah | Viscāmitras tu dharmātmā nāmnā Visvarathah smritah | jajne Bhrigu-prasādena Kausikād vainšavarddhanah | Viśvāmitrasya cha sutāh Devarātādayah smritāh | vikhyātās trishu lokeshu teshām nāmāni vai śrinu | Devaśravāh Katiš chaiva yasmāt Kātyāyanāh smritāh | S'ālāvatyām Hiranyāksho Renor jajne 'tha Renumān | Sānkritir Gālovas chaiva Mudgalas cheti visrutāh | Madhuchhando Jayas chaica Devalas cha tathā 'shṭakaḥ | Kachhapo Hāritas chaica Viscāmitrasya te sutāh | teshām khyātāni gotrāni Kausikānām mahātmanām | Pānino Babhravas chaiva Dhyānajapyās tathaiva cha | Pārthivāh Devarātāś cha S'ālankāyana-Vāskalāh | Lohitāh Yāmadūtāś cha tathā Kūrīshayah smritah | Sauśrutah Kauśikah rajams tatha 'nye Saindhavayanāḥ | Devalāḥ Renavaś chaiva Yājnavalkyāghamarshanāḥ | Andumbarāḥ hy Abhishnätäs Tärakäyana-chunchulah | Sälävatyah Hiranyäkshäh Sankrityah Galacas tatha | Narayanir Narus chanyo Viscamitrasya dhimatah | rishy-antara-vivāhyāś cha Kauśikāh bahavah smritāh | Pauravasya maharaja brahmarsheh Kausikasya cha | sambandho 'py avya vamse 'smin brahma-kshattrasya viśrutah |

"Thus was the renowned Jamadagni, the most excellent of those possessed of sacred knowledge, born by the power of austere fervour to Richīka, the son of Ūrva, by Šatyavatī. Their second son was Sunaśśepha 147 and the youngest Sanahpuehha. And Gādhi, son of Kuśika, begot as his son and inheritor Viśvāmitra, distinguished for austere fervour, science, and quietude; who attained an equality with Brahman-rishis, and became one of the seven rishis. The righteous Viśvāmitra, who was known by name as Viśvaratha, 148 was by the favour of a Bhrigu born to the son of Kuśika, an augmenter (of the glory) of his race. The sons of Viśvāmitra are related to have been Devarāta and the rest, renowned in the three worlds. Hear their names: Devaśravas, Kati (from whom the Kātyāyanas had their name); Hiranyāksha, born of Sālāvatī, and Renumat of Renu; Sānkriti, Gālava, Mudgala, Madhuchhanda, Jaya, Devala, Ashṭaka, Kachhapa, Hārita—these were the

161 The Aitareya Brühmana, as we shall shortly see, makes 'S'unassepa' a son of Ajigartta. The Mahābhūrata Anusāsanap, verse 186, coincides with the Harivamsa.

145 In another passage of the Harivamsa (verses 1764 ff.), which repeats the particulars given in this passage, it appears to be differently stated, verse 1766, that besides a daughter Satyavatī, and his son Visvamitra, Gūdhi had three other sons, Visvaratha, Visvakrit, and Visvajit (Vi rāmitras tu Gūdheyo rūjā Visvarathas tadā ] Visvaķrid Visvajich chaica tathā Satyavatī nrīpa).

sons of Viśvāmitra. From them the families of the great Kauśikas are said to have sprung: the Pāṇins, Babhrus, Dhānajapyas, Pārthiyas, Devarātas, Sālankāyanas, Vāskalas, Lohitas, Yāmadūtas, Kārīshis, Sau-srntas, Kauśikas, Saindhavāyanas, Devalas, Renus, Yājnavalkyas, Aghamarshanas, Audumbaras, Abhishnātas, Tārakayanas, Chunchulas, Sālāvatyas, Hiranyākshas, Sānkrityas, and Gālavas. Nārāyani and Nara were also (descendants) of the wise Viśvāmitra. Many Kauśikas are recorded who intermarried with the families of other rishis. In this race of the Paurava and Kauśika Brahman-rishi, there is well known to have been a connection of the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas. Sunaśśepha, who was a descendant of Bhrigu, and obtained the position of a Kauśika, is recorded to have been the eldest of Viśvāmitra's sons."

It will be observed that in this passage, Devaśravas is given as one of Viśvāmitra's sons. A Devaśravas, as we have already seen, is mentioned in R.V. iii. 23, 2, as a Bhārata, along with Devavāta. Here however in the Harivamśa we have no Devavāta, but a Devarāta, who is identified with Sunaśśepha. This, as we shall find, is also the case in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

In the genealogy given in both of the preceding passages, from the Vishuu Purana, and the 27th chapter of the Harivamáa respectively, Viávâmitra is declared to be the descendant of Amávasu the third son of Puranavas. In the 32nd chapter of the Harivamáa, however, we find a different account. Viávâmitra's lineage is there traced up to a Jahnu, as in the former case; but Jahnu is no longer represented as a descendant of Amávasu, the third son of Puranavas; but (as appears from the preceding narrative) of Ayus, the eldest son of that prince, and of Puru, the great-grandson of Ayus. Professor Wilson (Vishuu Purana, 4to. ed. p. 451, note 23) is of opinion that this confusion originated in the recurrence of the name of Suhotra in different genealogical lists, and in the ascription to one king of this name of descendants who were

142 Professor Wilson (V.P. 4to. ed. p. 405, note) gives these names, and remarks that the authorities add "an infinity of others, multiplied by intermarriages with other tribes, and who, according to the Vayu, were originally of the regal caste like Visvamitra; but like him obtained Brahmanhood through devotion. Now these gotras, or some of them at least, no doubt existed, partaking more of the character of schools of doctrine, but in which teachers and scholars were very likely to have become of one family by intermarrying; and the whole, as well as their original founder, imply the interference of the Kshattriya caste with the Brahmanical monopoly of religious instruction and composition."

really sprung from another. It is not, however, clear that the genealogy of Viśvāmitra given in the Vishnu Purāṇa is the right one. For in the Rig-veda, as we have seen, he is connected with the Bharatas, and in the passage about to be quoted from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, he is called a Bharata and his sons Kuśikas; and Bharata is said both in the Vishnu Purāṇa (Wilson's V.P. 4to. ed. p. 449) and in the Harivaṃśa (sect. 32, v. 1723, and preceding narrative) to be a descendant of Ayus and of Puru. Accordingly we have seen that the Harivaṃśa styles Viśvāmitra at once a Paurava and a Kauśika.

A similar genealogy to that in the 32nd section of the Harivamsa is given in the Mahabharata, Anusasanaparvan, verses 201 ff., where it is said that in the line of Bharata there was a king called Ajamitha who was also a priest (Bharatasyānvaye chaivājamītho nāma pārthivaḥ lbabhava Bharata-śreshtha yajvā dharma-bhritām varaḥ), from whom Viśvāmitra was descended through (1) Jahnu, (2) Sindhudvīpa, (3) Balāksśva, (4) Kušika, (5) Gādhi.

One of the names applied to Viśvāmitra and his race, as I have just noticed, is Bharata. The last of the four verses at the close of the 53rd hymn of the third Mandala of the Rig-veda, which are supposed to contain a malediction directed by Viśvāmitra against Vašishtha (see above) is as follows: iii. 53, 24. Ime Indra Bharatasya putrāh apapitram chikitur na prapitram | "These sons of Bharata, o Indra, desire to avoid (the Vasishthas), not to approach them." These words are thus explained by Sāyana: Bharatasya putrāh Bharata-vamšyāh ime Višvāmitrāh apapitram apagamanam Vasishthebhyaš chikitur na prapitram | [Va]sishtaih saha teshām sangatir nāsti | brāhmaṇāh sea ity arthah | "These sons of Bharata, persons of his race, know departure from, and not approach to, the Vasishthas. They do not associate with the Vasishthas. This means they are Brāhmans."

The persons who accompanied Viśvāmitra when he wished to cross the Vipāś and the Sutudrī are, as we have seen above, called Bhārātas; and Devaśravas and Devavāta are designated in R.V. iii. 23, 2, as Bhārātas. On the other hand in one of the hymns ascribed to Vasishtha (R.V. vii. 33, 6) the Bhārātas are alluded to as a tribe hostile to the Tritsus, the race to which Vasishtha belonged.

250 See Roth's Lexicon, s.e. Bharata, (7) "the name of a hero, the forefather of a tribe. His sons are called Visvamitras and the members of his family Bharatas."

In the legend of Sunassepa, told in the Aitareya Brāhmana, vii. 13-18,151 Viśvāmitra is alluded to as being the hotri-priest of king Harischandra, and as belonging to the tribe of the Bharatas. He is also addressed as rajaputra, and his sons are called Kusikas. The outlines of the story are as follows: King Harischandra of the family of Ikshvāku having no son, promised to Varuna, by the advice of Nārada. that if a son should be born to him he would sacrifice him to that god. A son was accordingly born to the king, who received the name of Rohita; but Harischandra, though called upon by Varuna, put off from time to time, on various pleas, the fulfilment of his promise. When the father at length consented, the youth himself refused to be sacrificed and went into the forest. After passing six years there he met a poor Brahman rishi called Ajīgartta who had three sons, the second of whom, Sunassepa, he sold for a bundred cows to Rohita, who brought the young Brahman to be sacrificed instead of himself. Varuna accepted the vicarious victim, and arrangements were made accordingly, "Viśvāmitra being the hotri-priest, Jamadagni the adhvaryu, Vasishtha the brahman, and Avasyn the udgatri (tasya ha Viscamitro hota dati Jamadagnir adhvaryur Vasishtho brahmā Ayūsyah udgātā)." The sacrifice was not, however, completed, although the father received a hundred more cows for binding his son to the sacrificial post, and a third hundred for agreeing to slaughter him. By reciting verses in honour of different deities in succession Sunassepa was delivered; and at the request of the priests took part in the ceremonial of the day. I shall quote the remainder of the story at length:

17. Atha ha S'unahsepo Viścāmitrasyānkam āsasāda | sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttah Sauyavasir "rishe punar me puttram dehi" iti | "Na" iti ha uvācha Viścāmitro "devāh vai imam mahyam arāsata" iti | sa ha Devarāto Vaiścāmitrah āsa | tasya ete Kāpileya-Bābhravāh | sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttah Sauyavasis "team vehi vihvayāvahai" iti | sa ha uvācha Ajīgarttah Sauyavasir "Āngiraso janmanā 'sy Ājīgarttih śrutah kavih | risho paitāmahāt tantor mā 'pagāh punar ehi mām" iti | sa

<sup>153</sup> This legend is translated into German by Prof. Roth in Weber's Ind. Stud. i. 467 ff., into English by Prof. Wilson, Journ. Roy. As. Soc. vol. xiii. for 1851, pp. 96 ff., by Dr. Haug in his Ait. Brāhmana, vol. ii. 460 ff., by Prof. Müller in his Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 408 ff., and into Latin by Dr. Streiter in his "Diss. de Sunabsepo."

ha uvācha Sunahsepah " adarsus tvā sāsa-hastam na yach chhūdreshv alopsata | gavām trīni šatāni tvam avrinīthāh mad Angirah" iti | sa ka uvācha Ajīgarttah Sauyavasis " tad vai mā tāta tapati pāpam karma mayā kritam | tad aham nihnave tubhyam pratiyantu sata gavām" iti ! sa ha uvācha Sunahsepah "yah sakrit pāpakam kuryāt kuryād enat tato param | nāpāgāh śaudrānyāyād asandheyam teayā kritam" iti | " asandheyam" iti ha Viśvāmitrah upapapāda | sa ha uvācha Viśvāmitrah " Bhimah eva Sauyavasih śasena viśiśasishuh | asthad maitasya putro bhur mamaicopeki putratam" iti | sa ha uvacha Sunahsepah "sa vai yatha no jnapaya rajaputra tatha cada | yathaicangirasah saun upeyam tava putratām" iti | sa ha weācha Viśvāmitro "Jyeshtho me tvam putrānăm syas tava śreshtha praja syat | upeyah daivam me dayam tena vai tvopamantrage" iti | sa ha uvācha Sunahsepah " sanjnanāneshu vai brūyāt sauhārdyāya me śriyai | yathā 'ham Bharata-rishabha upeyām tava putratūm" iti | atha ha Viśvāmitrah putrān āmantrayāmāsa " Modhuchhandah śrinotana Rishabho Renur Ashtakah | ye ke cha bhratarah sthana asmai jyoishthyaya kalpadhram" iti | 18. Tanya ha Viśramitrasya eka-satum putrāh āsuh panchāśad eva jyāyāmso Madhuchhandasah panchāśat kanīyāmsah | tad ye jyāyāmso na te kuśalam menire | tan anuvyajahara "antan vah praja bhukshishta" iti | te ete 'ndhrah Pundrah S'abarah Pulindah Matibah ity udantyah bahavo bhavanti | Vaisvāmitrāh Dasyūnām bhūyishthāh | sa ha uvācha Madhuchhandāh panchāšatā sardham " yad nah pitā sanjānīte tasmims tishthāmahe vayam | puras tvā sarve kurmahe tvām anvancho vayam smasi" iti | atha ha Vikvāmitrah pratitah putrāms tushtāva "te vai putrāh pasumanto vīravanto bhavishyatha | ye mānam me'nugriknanto vīravantam akartta mā | pura-etrā vīravanto Devaratena Gathinah | sarve radhyah stha putrah esha vah sadvivāchanam | esha vah Kuśikāh vīro Devarātas tam anvita | yushmāms dāyam me upetā vidyām yām u cha cidmani | te samyancho Vaiśvāmitrāh sarce sākam sarātayah | Devarātāya tasthire dhrityai śraishthyāya Gāthinah | adhiyata Devarato rikthayor ubhyayor rishih | Jahnanam ehadhipatys daire vede cha Gathinam |

"Sunaśśepa came to the side of Viśvāmitra. Ajīgartta, the son of Suyavasa, said, 'Rishi, give me back my son.' 'No,' said Viśvāmitra, 'the gods have given him to me' (derāh arāsata); hence he became Devarāta the son of Viśvāmitra. The Kāpileyas and Bābhravas are his descendants. Ajīgartta said to Viśvāmitra, 'Come; let us both call

(him) to us.'18 He (again) said (to his son), 'Thou art an Angirasa, the son of Ajīgartta, reputed a sage; do not, o rishi, depart from the line of thy ancestors; come back to me.' Sunassepa replied, 'They have seen thee with the sacrificial knife in thy hand-a thing which men have not found even among the Sudras; thou didst prefer three hundred cows to me, o Angiras.' Ajīgartta rejoined, 'That sinful deed which I have done distresses me, my son; I abjure it to thee. Let the [three] hundreds of cows revert (to him who gave them)." Sunassepa answered, 'He who once does a sinful deed, will add to it another; thou hast not freed thyself from that iniquity, fit only for a Sudra. Thou hast done what cannot be rectified.' 'What cannot be rectified.' interposed Viśvāmitra; who continued, 'Terrible was the son of Suvavasa as he stood about to immolate (thee) with the knife : continue not to be his son; become mine.' Sunassepa replied, 'Speak, o king's son (rajaputra), whatever thou hast to explain to us, in order that I, though an Angirasa, may become thy son.' Viśvāmitra rejoined, 'Thou shalt be the eldest of my sons, and thy offspring shall be the most eminent. Thou shalt receive my divine inheritance; with this (invitation) I address thee.' Sunassepa answered, 'If (thy sons) agree, then for my welfare enjoin on them to be friendly, that so, o chief of the Bharatas, I may enter on thy sonship.' Viśvāmitra then addressed his sons, Do ye, Madhuchhandas, Rishabha, Renu, Ashtaka, and all ye who are brothers, listen to me, and concede to him the seniority.' 18. Now Viśvāmitra had a hundred sons, fifty of whom were older than Madhuchhandas and fifty younger. Then those who were older did not approve (their father's proposal). Against them he pronounced (this

<sup>153</sup> I follow here the tenor of the interpretation (which is that of the Commentator on the S'ankhāyana Brāhmana) given by Prof. Weber in his review of Dr. Hang's Aitareya Brāhmana, in Indische Studien, ix. 316. Prof. Weber remarks that in the Brāhmanas the root hu + vi is employed to denote the opposing invitations of two persons who are seeking to bring over a third person to their own side; in proof of which he quotes Taitt, S. 6, 1, 6, 6, and S. P. Br. 3, 2, 4, 4, and 22. Profs. Roth, Wilson, and Müller, as well as Dr. Haug, understand the words to be addressed to S'unass'epa by his father, and to signify "we, too (I and thy mother), call, or will call (thee to return to us)." But it does not appear that S'unass'epa's mother was present. And it is to be observed that the next words uttered by Ajīgartta, which are addressed to S'unass'epa, are preceded by the usual formula sa ha weācha Ajīgartta & Sauyavasad, "Ajīgartta the son of S. said," which perhaps would not have been the case if both sentences had been addressed to the same person.

153 Here too I follow Weber, Ind. St. ix. p. 317.

doom), 'Let your progeny possess the furthest ends (of the country).' These are the numerous border-tribes, the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas. Most of the Dasyus are sprung from Viśvāmitra.154 Madhuchhandas with the (other) fifty said, 'Whatever our father determines, by that we abide. We all place thee in our front, and follow after thee.' Then Viśvāmitra was pleased, and said to his sons, 'Ye, my children who, shewing deference to me, have conferred upon me a (new) son, shall abound in cattle and in sons. Ye, my sons, the offspring of Gathin, who possess in Devarata a man who shall go before you, are all destined to be prosperous; he is your wise instructor. This Devarata, o Kuśikas, is your chief; follow him. He will receive you as my inheritance, and obtain all the knowledge which we possess.' All these sons of Viśvāmitra, descendants of Gāthin, submitted together in harmony and with good will to Devarata's control and superiority. The rishi Devarata was invested with both possessions, with the lordly authority of the Jahnus, and with the divine Veda of the Gathins." 133

On this legend Professor Müller (Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp. 415 f.) remarks, amongst other things, as follows: "So revolting, indeed, is the descrip-

<sup>154</sup> See Weber, Ind. St. ix. p. 317 f., and Roth in his Lexicon, s.ev. anta and udantya. 155 This legend is perhaps alluded to in the Kathaka Brahmana, 19, 11, quoted by Prof. Weber, Ind. St. iii. 478: Sunai lepo vai etam Afigorttir Varana-grikito paiyat | tayû sa rai Varuna-pûsêd amuchyata | "S'unastepa the son of Ajigartta, when seized by Varuna, saw this (verse); and by it he was released from the bonds of Varuga." Manu also mentions the story, x. 105: Ajīgaritah autam hantum upāsurpad bubhukshitah | na chalipyatu papena khut-pratikaran acharan | " Ajigartta, when famished, approached to slay his son; and (by so doing) was not contaminated by sin, as he was seeking the means of escape from hunger." On this Kulluka annotates : Rishir Ajigarttäkhyo bubhukshitah san puttram 8 unaisepha-nämänam svayam vikrītavān yajne go-ieta-tābhāya yajna-yūpe baddhvā vitasitā bhūteā hantum prachakrame | na cha khut-pratikārārtham tathā kurvan popena liptah | etath cha Bahvrichabrahmane Sunatiephakhyaneshu vyaktam uktam | "A rishi called Ajigarita, having, when famished, himself sold his son called Sunaskepha, in order to obtain a hundred cows at a sacrifice, bound him to the sacrificial stake, and in the capacity of immolator was about to slay him. By doing so, as a means of escape from hunger, he did not incur sin. This is distinctly recorded in the Bahyricha (Aitareya) Brahmana in the legend of Sunassiepa." The speakers in the Brahmana, however, do not take by any means so lenient a view of Ajigartta's conduct as Mann. (See Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 415.) The compiler of the latter work lived in an age when it was perhaps thought that a rishi could do no wrong. The Bhagavata Purana, ix. sect. 7, and sect. 16, verses 30-37 follows the Ait. Br. in the version it gives of the story; but, as we shall see in a subsequent section, the Ramayana relates some of the circumstances quite differently.

tion given of Ajīgartta's behaviour in the Brahmana, that we should rather recognize in him a specimen of the un-Aryan population of India. Such a supposition, however, would be in contradiction with several of the most essential points of the legend, particularly in what regards the adoption of Sunahsepha by Visvamitra. Visvamitra, though arrived at the dignity of a Brahman, clearly considers the adoption of Sunahsepha Devarata, of the famous Brahmanic family of the Angirasas, as an advantage for himself and his descendants; and the Devarātas are indeed mentioned as a famous branch of the Viśvāmitras (V.P. p. 405, 23). Sunahsepha is made his eldest son, and the leader of his brothers, evidently as the defender and voucher of their Brahmahood, which must have been then of very recent date, because Viśvāmitra himself is still addressed by Sunahsepha as Raja-putra and Bharata-rishabha." It must, however, be recollected that the story, as told in the Brühmana, can scarcely be regarded as historical, and that it is not unreasonable to suppose that the incidents related, even if founded on fact, may have been coloured by the Brahmanical prepossessions of the narrator. But if so, the legend can give us no true idea of the light in which Viśvāmitra's exercise of priestly functions was looked upon either by himself or by his contemporaries.

In Indische Studien, ii. 112-123, this story forms the subject of an interesting dissertation by Professor Roth, who arrives at the following conclusions:

- "(i.) The oldest legend about Sunahsepa (alluded to in R.V. i. 24, 11-13,105 and R.V. v. 2, 7) knows only of his miraculous deliverance by divine help from the peril of death.
- "(ii.) This story becomes expanded in the sequel into a narrative of Sunahsepa's threatened slaughter as a sacrificial victim, and of his deliverance through Visyāmitra.
- "(iii.) This immediation-legend becomes severed into two essentially distinct versions, the oldest forms of which are respectively represented by the stories in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, and the Rāmāyaṇa.
- "(iv.) The latter becomes eventually the predominant one; but its proper central-point is no longer the deliverance from immolation, but

<sup>108</sup> Compare also Rosen's remarks on the hymns ascribed to S'unas'sepa; Rig-veda Sanhita, Annotationes, p. lv. He thinks they contain nothing which would lead to the belief that they have any connection with the legend in the Rāmāyana and Ait. Br.

the incorporation of Sunahsepa, or (with a change of persons) of Richīka, into the family of the Kusikas. It thus becomes in the end a family-legend of the race of Visvamitra.

"There is thus no historical, perhaps not even a genealogical, result to be gained here. On the other hand the story obtains an important place in the circle of those narratives in which the sacerdotal literature expressed its views regarding the character and agency of Viśvāmitra."

In a passage of the Mahūbhārata, Ādip. verses 3694 ff., <sup>153</sup> where the descendants of Pūru are recorded, we find among them Bharata the son of Dushyanta (verse 3709) from whom (1) Bhumanyu, (2) Suhotra, (3) Ajamīdha, and (4) Jahnu are said to have sprung in succession (verses 3712–3722); and the last-named king and his brothers Vrajana and Rūpin are said to have been the ancestors of the Kušikas (verse 3723: anvayāḥ Kušikāḥ rājan Jahnor amita-tejasaḥ | Vrajana-Rūpinoḥ), who were therefore, according to this passage also, descended from Bharata (see above, p. 354). The Mahūbhārata then goes on to relate that during the reign of Samvaraṇa, son of Jahnu's eldest brother Riksha, the country over which he ruled was desolated by various calamities (verses 3725 f.). The narrative proceeds, verse 3727;

Abhyaghnan Bharatam's chaira sapatnanam balani cha | chalayan vasudhām chemām balena chaturangiņā | abhyayāt tam cha Pānchālyo vijitya tarasa mahim | akshauhintbhir dasabhih sa enam samare 'jayat | tatah sa-darah samatyah sa-puttrah sa-suhrijjanah | raja Samvaranas tasmāt palāyata mahābhayāt | 3730. Sindhor nadasya mahato nikunie nyavasat tadā | nadī-vishaya-paryyante porvatasya samīpatah | tattrāvasan bahun kalan Bharatah durgam aśritah | tesham nivasatam tattra saharram paricatsaran | athabhyagachhad Bharatan Vasishtho bhagavan riskih | tam agatam prayatnena pratyudgamyabhiradya cha | arghyam abhyāharams tasmai te sarce Bhāratās tadā | nivedya sarvam rishaue satkārena suvarchehase | tam āsane chopavishtam rājā vavre svayam tadā | " purohito bhacan no 'stu rājyāya prayatemahi" | 3735. " Om" itu evam Vašiskiho pi Bharatan pratyapadyata | athābhyasinchat samrājye sarva-kshattranya Pauravam | vishana-bhūtam sarvanyām prithivyām iti nah śrutam | Bharatādhyushitam pūrcam so'dhyatishthat purottamam | punar balibhritas chaiva chakre sarva-mahikshitah |

<sup>187</sup> Referred to by Roth, Litt. u. Gesch. des Weda, pp. 142 ff., and Wilson, Rigveda, iii. p. 86.

" 3727. And the hosts of their enemies also smote the Bharatas. Shaking the earth with an army of four kinds of forces, the Panchalya chief assailed him, having rapidly conquered the earth, and vanquished him with ten complete hosts. Then king Samvarana with his wives, ministers, sons, and friends, fled from that great cause of alarm; (3730) and dwelt in the thickets of the great river Sindhu (Indus), in the country bordering on the stream, and near a mountain. There the Bharatas abode for a long time, taking refuge in a fortress. As they were dwelling there, for a thousand years, the venerable rishi Vasishtha came to them. Going out to meet him on his arrival, and making obeisance, the Bharatas all presented him with the arghya offering, shewing every honour to the glorious rishi. When he was seated the king himself solicited him, 'Be thou our priest; let us strive to regain my kingdom.' 3735. Vasishtha consented to attach himself to the Bharatas, and, as we have heard, invested the descendant of Para with the sovereignty of the entire Kshattriya race, to be a horn (to have mastery) over the whole earth. He occupied the splendid city formerly inhabited by Bharata, and made all kings again tributary to himself."

It is remarkable that in this passage the Bhāratas, who, as we have seen, are elsewhere represented as being so closely connected with Viśvāmitra, and are in one text of the Rig-veda (vii. 33, 6) alluded to as the enemies of Vasishtha's friends, should be here declared to have adopted the latter rishi as their priest. The account, however, need not be received as historical, or even based on any ancient tradition; and the part referring to Vasishtha in particular may have been invented for the glorification of that rishi, or for the honour of the Bhāratas.

The 11th and 12th khandas of the second adhyāya of the Sarvasāra Upanishad (as we learn from Professor Weber's analysis in Ind. St. i. 390) relate that Viśvāmitra was instructed on the identity of breath (prāṇa) with Indra, by the god himself, who had been celebrated by the sage on the occasion of a sacrifice, at which he officiated as hotripriest, in a thousand Brihatī verses, and was in consequence favourably disposed towards him.

It is abundantly clear, from the details supplied in this section, that Viśvāmitra, who was a rājanya of the Bhārata and Kuśika families (Ait. Br. vii. 17 and 18), is represented by ancient Indian tradition as

the author of numerous Vedic hymns, as the domestic priest (purohita) of king Sudās (Nir. ii. 24), and as officiating as a hotri at a sacrifice of king Harischandra (Ait. Br. vii. 16). The Rāmāyana also, as we shall see in a future section, connects him with Triśanku, the father of Harischandra, and makes him also contemporary with Ambarisha; and in the first book of the same poem he is said to have visited king Dasaratha, the father of Rama (Balakanda, i. 20, 1 ff.). As these kings were separated from each other by very long intervals, Triśanku being a descendant of Ikshvaku in the 28th, Ambarīsha in the 44th, 158 Sudās in the 49th, and Dasaratha in the 60th generation (see Wilson's Vishnu Purana, vol. iii. pp. 284, 303, 304, 313), it is manifest that the authors of these legends either intentionally or through oversight represented Viśvāmitra, like Vasishtha (see above), as a personage of miraculous longevity; and on either supposition a great deal that is related of him must be purely fabulous. All the authorities describe him as the son of Gathin or Gadhi, the Anukramanī, the Vishnu Purāna, and the Harivamsa declaring also that Gâthin was an incarnation of Indra, and thus asserting Viśvāmitra to be of divine descent. It is not clear whether this fable is referred to in R.V. iii. 53, 9, where Viśvāmitra is styled dera-jāh, "born of a god," or whether this verse may not have led to the invention of the story. In either case the verse can scarcely have emanated from the rishi himself; but it is more likely to be the production of one of his descendants.150

<sup>158</sup> According to the Rāmāyana, i. 70, 41; ii. 110, 32, Ambarisha was only 28th from Ikshvāku. Compare Prof. Wilson's note on these genealogies, V.P. iii. 313 ff.

150 The word decajāh, which, following Roth, s.e., I have translated "god-born," is taken by Sāyaṇa as = dyotamānānā tojasām janayitā, "generator of shining lights," and appears to be regarded by him as referring to the creation of constellations by Visvāmitra, mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, i. 60, 21. Prof. Wilson renders the phrase by "generator of the gods;" and remarks that "the compound is not decajā, 'god-born,' nor was Visvāmitra of divine parentage" (R.V. iii. p. 85, note 4). This last remark overlooks the fact above alluded to of his father Gādhi being represented as an incarnation of Indra, and the circumstance that Prof. Wilson himself (following Sāyaṇa) had shortly before translated the words prathama-jāḥ brahmaṇaḥ in R.V. iii. 29, 16, as applied to the Kušikas, by "the first-born of Brahmā," although from the accent brahman here must be neuter, and the phrase seems to mean, as I have rendered above, "the first-born of prayer." The word jā is given in the Nighaṇṭu as one of the synonymes of epatya, "offspring;" and in R.V. i 164, 15, where it is coupled with rishayaḥ, the compound devajāḥ is explained by Sāyaṇa as "born of the god," i.e. the sun, and by Prof. Wilson as "born of the goda." See

This verse (R.V. iii. 53, 9) which claims a superhuman origin for Viśvāmitra, and the following verses 11-13 of the same hymn, which assert the efficacy of his prayers, form a sort of parallel to the contents of R.V. vii. 33, where the supernatural birth of Vasishtha (vv. 10 ff.), the potency of his intercession (vv. 2-5), and the sacred knowledge of his descendants (vv. 7 and 8), are celebrated.

As the hymns of Viśvāmitra and his descendants occupy so prominent a place in the Rig-veda Sanhita, and as he is the alleged author of the text reputed the holiest in the entire Veda (iii. 62, 10), the Gavatri par excellence, there is no reason to doubt that, although he was a raignya, he was unreservedly acknowledged by his contemporaries to be both a rishi and a priest. Nothing less than the uniform recognition and employment of the hymns handed down under his name as the productions of a genuine "seer," could have sufficed to gain for them a place in the sacred canon.100 It is true we possess little authentic information regarding the process by which the hymns of different families were admitted to this honour; but at least there is no tradition, so far as I am aware, that those of Viśvāmitra and his family were ever treated as antilegomena. And if we find that later works consider it necessary to represent his priestly character as a purely exceptional one, explicable only on the ground of supernatural merit acquired by ardent devotion, we must recollect that the course of ages had brought about a most material change in Indian society, that the sacerdotal function had at length become confined to the members of an exclusive caste, and that the exercise of such an office in ancient times by persons of the regal or mercantile classes had ceased to be intelligible, except upon the supposition of such extraordinary sanctity as was alleged in the case of Viávamitra.

It is worthy of remark that although the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (see above) declares that Sunaśśepa, as belonging to a priestly family, was called on to exercise the sacerdotal office immediately after his release, yet the anterior possession of divine knowledge is also ascribed to Viśvāmitra and the Gāthins, and that Sunaśśepa is represented as suc-

also R.V. ix. 93, 1 = S.V. i. 538. (Compure Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, for 1866, p. 387 ff.)

160 That many at least of these compositions were really the work of Visramitra, or his descendants, is proved, as we have seen, by the fact that their names are mentioned in them.

ceeding to this sacred lore, as well as to the regal dignity of the race on which he became engrafted.

The fact of Viśvāmitra having been both a rishi and an officiating priest, is thus, as we have seen, and if ancient tradition is to be believed, undoubted. In fact, if we look to the number of Vedic hymns ascribed to him and to his family, to the long devotion to sacerdotal functions which this fact implies, and to the apparent improbability that a person who had himself stood in the position of a king should afterwards have become a professional priest, we may find it difficult to believe that although (as he certainly was) a scion of a royal stock, he had ever himself exercised regal functions. Professor Roth remarks (Litt. u. Gesch. p. 125) that there is nothing either in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, or in the hymns of the Rig-veda to shew that he had ever been a king. But on the other hand, as the same writer observes (p. 126), and as we shall hereafter see, there are numerous passages in the later authorities in which the fact of his being a king is distinctly, but perhaps untruly, recorded.

It is so well known, that I need scarcely adduce any proof of the fact, that in later ages Rājanyas and Vaisyas, though entitled to sacrifice and to study the Vedas, were no longer considered to have any right to officiate as priests on behalf of others. I may, however, cite a few texts on this subject. Manu says, i. 88:

Adhyāpanam adhyayanam yājanam yājanam tathā | dānam pratigraham chaica Brāhmanānām akalpayat | 89. Prajānām rakshaṇam dānam ijyā'dhyayanam eva cha | vishayeshv aprasaktim cha kshattriyasya samāsalaḥ | 90. Paśūnām rakshaṇam dānam ijyā'dhyayanam eva cha | vaṇikpatham kusīdam cha Vaiśyasya krishim eva cha | 91. Ekam eva tu Sūdrasya prabhuḥ karma samādišat | eteshām eva varṇānām śuśrūshām anasūyayā | 88. He (Brahmā) ordained teaching, study, sacrificing, officiating for others at sacrifices, and the giving and receiving of gifts, to be the functions of Brāhmans. 89. Protection of the people, the giving of gifts, sacrifice, study, and non-addiction to objects of sense he assigned as the duties of the Kshattriya. 90. The tending of cattle, giving of gifts, sacrifice, study, commerce, the taking of usury, and agriculture he appointed to be the occupations of the Vaiśya. 91. But the

May not R.V. iii. 43, 5 (quoted above), however, be understood to point to something of this kind?

lord assigned only one duty to the Sūdra, that of serving these other three classes without grudging."

Similarly it is said in the second of the Yajna-paribhāshā Sūtras, translated by Professor M. Müller (at the end of the ninth volume of the Journal of the German Oriental Society, p. xliii.), "that sacrifice is proper to the three classes, the Brāhman, Rājanya, and also the Vaisya." Prof. Müller also refers to Kātyāyana's Srauta Sūtras, of which i. 1, 5 and 6 are as follows:

5. Angahīnāśrotriya - shanda - śūdra - varjam | 6. Brāhmana - rājanyavaiśyānām śruteh | "Men, " with the exception of those whose members

183 Prof. Müller does not give the original text.

163 In one of these Sutras of Kutvayana (i. 1, 4) and its commentary a curious question (one of those which the Indian authors often think it necessary to raise and to settle, in order that their treatment of a subject may be complete and exhaustive) is argued, viz. whether the lower animals and the gods have any share in the practice of Vedic observances; or whether it is confined to men. The conclusion is that the gods cannot practise these rites, as they are themselves the objects of them, and as they have already obtained heaven and the other objects of desire with a view to which they are practised (tatra devanom devatantarabhavad anadhikurah | na hy ätmänam uddišya tyägah sambhavati | kincha | deväš cha präpta-svargädi-kämäh | na cha tesham kinchid avaptaeyam asti yad-artham karmani kurcate | ). As regards the right of the lower animals to sacrifice, although the point is decided against them on the ground of their only "looking to what is near at hand, and not to the rewards of a future world" (to by asamam era chetayante na paralaukikam phalam); still it is considered necessary seriously to obviate a presumption in their favour that they seek to enjoy pleasure and avoid pain, and even appear to indicate their desire for the happiness of another world by seeming to observe some of the Vedic prescriptions: "Nanu uktam iunas chaturdaiyam upavasa-darsanat syenasya cha ashfamyam upavasadarianüch eha te 'pi päralaukikam jananti" iti | tat katham avagamyate " te dharmärtham upavasanti" iti | ye hi veda-smriti-puranadikam pathanti te eva jananti yad " anena karmană idom phalam amutra propsyste" iti | na cha ete vedodikam pathanti näpy anyebhyah ägamayonti I tena iästrärtham avidvälisah phalam ämushmikam akämayontah katham tat-sadhanam karma kuryuh | tasmad na dharmartham uparasanti iti | kimartham tarky etesham upavasah | uchyate | rogad aruchir esham | tarki niyatakāle katham rogah | uchyate | niyata-kālāh api rogāh bhavanti yathā tritīyaka-chāturthikādi-jeurāh | adhanāi cha ete | "But do not some say that ' from a dog having been noticed to fast on the fourteenth day of the month, and a hawk on the eighth, they also have a knowledge of matters connected with a future life?' But how is it known that these dogs and hawks fast from religious motives? For it is only those who read the Vedas, Smritis, Puranas, etc., who are aware that by means of such and such observances, such and such rewards will be obtained in another world. But these animals neither read the sacred books for themselves, nor ascertain their contents from others. How then, ignorant as they are of the contents of the scriptures, and devoid of any desire for future rewards, can they perform those rites which are the means of attaining them? It is therefore to be concluded that they do not fast from religious motives. But why, then, do they fast ? We reply, because from sickness they have a disinclinare defective, those who have not read the Veda, cunuchs, and Sūdras, have a right to sacrifice. 6. It is Brāhmans, Rājanyas, and Vaiśyas (only who) according to the Veda (possess this privilege)." 104

ation for food. But how do they happen to be sick on certain fixed days? We answer, there are also certain diseases which occur on fixed days, as tertian and quartan agnes.

Another reason why the lower animals cannot sacrifice is that they are destitute of

wealth (and so unable to provide the necessary materials)."

164 "And yet," Prof. Miller remarks (ibid), "concessions were made (to other and lower classes) at an early period. One of the best known cases is that of the Rathskarn. Then the Nishadasthapati, though a Nishada chief and not belonging to the three highest classes was admitted to great sacrifices, e.g. to the gavedhukacharu." The S'atap. Br. i. 1, 4, 12, has the following words: Tani vai stani chateari vachah "thi" iti brahmanasya "agahi" "adrava" vaiiyasya cha rajanyabandhal cha "adhaea" iti iudrasya | "[In the formula, havishkrid chi, 'come, o oblation-maker,' referred to in the previous paragraph, and its modifications] these four (different) words are employed to express 'come: ' chi, 'come,' in the case of a Brahman; agahi, 'come hither,' in the case of a Vaisya; adrova, 'hasten hither,' in the case of a Rajanyabandhu, and adhaea, 'run hither,' in the case of a S'udra." On this Prof. Weber remarks, in a note on his translation of the first adhyaya of the first book of the S'. P. Br. (Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. iv. p. 301): "The entire passage is of great importance, as it shows (in opposition to what Roth says in the first vol, of this Journal, p. 83) that the S'udras were then admitted to the holy sacrifices of the Arians, and understood their speech, even if they did not speak it. The latter point cannot certainly be assumed as a necessary consequence, but it is highly probable; and I consequently incline to the view of those who regard the S'ūdras as an Arian tribe which immigrated into India before the others." See above, p. 141, note 251, and Ind. Stud. ii. 194, note, where Prof. Weber refers to the Mahabharata, S'antip. verses 2304 ff. which are as follows: Srahakara-coshatkaran mantrah sudre na vidgate | tarmüch ehhūdrah pākayajnair yajetāvratavān evayam | pūrnapātramayīm āhuh pakayajnasya dukshinam | sudrah Paijayana nama sahasranam satam dadan | Aindrägnyena vidhänena dakshinam iti nah irutum | "The svähäkära, and the vashatkāra, and the mantras do not belong to a S'adra. Wherefore let a man of this class sacrifice with pakayajnas, being incapacitated for (Vedic) rites (dranta-cratopo ya-himah ! Comm.). They say that the gift (dakshiga) proper for a pakayajna consists of a full dish (pirnapatramayi). A S'udra called Paijavana gave as a present a hundred thousand (of these purpapatrus) after the Aindraguya rule." Here, says Prof. Weber. " the remarkable tradition is recorded that Paijavana, i.e. Sudas, who was so famous for his sacrifices, and who is celebrated in the Rig-veda as the patron of Vievāmitra and enemy of Vasishtha, was a S'ūdra." In the Bhagavata Purana, vii. 11, 24, the duties of a S'ūdra are described to be "submissiveness, purity, honest service to his master, sacrifice without mantrus, abstinence from theft, truth, and the protection of cows and Brahmans" (sudrasya sanuatih saucham sera sraminy amayaya | amantrayaino hy asteynii satyam go-ripra-rakshanam |). The Commentator defines amantrayajnah thus: namarkarenaina paneha-yajnanushthanam, "the practice of the five sacrifices with obeisance," and quotes Yajnavalkya. See also Wilson's Vishnu Purina, vol. iii. p. 87, and notes; Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit. p. 203; the same author's Essay, at the end of the ninth vol. of the Journ. Germ. Or. Soc. p. lxxiii. ; and Bohtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v. pakayajna,

According to the Ait. Br. vii. 19, "the Brāhman alone of the four castes has the right of consuming things offered in sacrifice" (etāḥ vai prajāḥ hutādo yad brāhmaṇāḥ | atha etāḥ ahutādo yad rājanyo vaišyaḥ śūdraḥ). And yet, as Prof. Müller observes, it is said in the Sutap. Br. v. 5, 4, 9: Chatvāro vai varṇāḥ brāhmaṇo rājanyo vaišyaḥ śūdro na ha eteshām ekaśchana bhavati yaḥ somam vamati | sa yad ha eteshām ekaśchit syāt syād ha eva prāyaśchittiḥ | "There are four classes, the Brāhman, Rājanya, Vaišya, and Sūdra. There is no one of these who vomits (i.e., I suppose, dislikes) the soma. If anyone of them however should do so, let there be an atonement."

Professor Weber, by whom also these words are quoted (Ind. St. x. 12), remarks that "they leave open the possibility of Rajanyas, Vaisyas, and even Sudras partaking of the soma, the only consequence being that they must as an expiation perform the Sautramani rite."

In the twenty-first of the Yajna-paribhasha Sutras, translated by Müller, p. xlvii., it is declared that the priestly dignity belongs to the Brahmans; and it is laid down by the Indian authorities that even when the sacrifice is of a kind intended exclusively for Kshattriyas, the priest must still be a Brühman and not a Kshattriya, the reason being that men of the former class only can eat the remains of the sacrifice (see Kātyāyana's Sr. Sūtras, i. 2, 8): Brāhmanāh riteijo bhaksha-pratishedhād itarayoh, "the Brahmans only are priests, because the other two castes are forbidden to eat (the remains of the sacrifice"). See also Weber, Ind. St. x. pp. 17 and 31, and the passages of the Ait. Br. viii. 24 and 27, referred to in pages 30 and 31: 24. Na ha vai apurchitasya rajno devāh annam adanti | tasmād rājā 'yakshamāno brūhmanam puro dadhīta | "The gods do not cat the food offered by a king who has no purchita. Wherefore (even) when not about to sacrifice, the king should put forward a Brahman (as his domestic priest)." 27. Yo ha cai trin purohitāms trīn purodhātrīn veda sa brāhmaņah purohitāh | sa vadeta purodhayai | Agnir vava purohitah pritkici purodhata vayur vava purohito 'ntariksham purodhātā ādityo vāva purohito dyauh purodhātā | esha ha vai purohito yah evam veda atha sa tirohito yah evam na veda | tasya raja mitram bhavati dvishantam apabadhate | yasyaicam vidvan brahmano rashtra-gopah purohitah | kshattrena kshattram jayati balena balam aśnute | yasyaicam videan brahmano rashtra-gopah purohitah | tasmai ciśah sanjanate sammukhah ekamanasah | yasyaicam vidcan brahmano

rāshṭra-gopaḥ purohitaḥ ¡ "The Brāhman who knows the three purohitas, and their three appointers, is a (proper) purohita, and should be nominated to this office. Agni is one purohita, and the earth appoints him; Vāyu another, and the air appoints him; the Sun is a third, and the sky appoints him. He who knows this is a (proper) purohita; and he who does not know this is to be rejected. (Another) king becomes the friend of the prince who has a Brāhman possessing such knowledge for his purohita and the protector of his realm; and he vanquishes his enemy. He who has a Brāhman possessing etc. (as above) conquers (another's) regal power by (his own) regal power, and acquires another's force by (his own) force. With him who has a Brāhman etc. (as above) the people are openly united and in harmony."

I add another passage from the same Brahmana, which might also have been properly introduced in an earlier chapter of this work (chapt. i. sect. iii.) as it relates to the creation of the four castes:

Ait, Br. vii. 19. Prajāpatir yajnam asrijata | yajnam srishţam anu brahma-kshattre asrijyetam | brahma-kshattre anu degyyah prajah asrijyanta hutādas cha ahutādas cha brahma eva anu hutādah kshattram anv ahutādah | etāh vai prajāh hutādo yad brāhmanāh | atha etāh ahutādo yad rajanyo caisyah sadrah | tabhyo yajnah udakramat | tam brahmakshattre anvaitam yany eva brahmanah ayudhani tair brahma anvait yani kshattrasya tam (? taih) kshattram | etani cai brahmanah ayudhani yad yajnäyudhani | atha etani kshattrasya ayudhani yad asva-rathah kavachah ishu-dhanva | tam kshattram ananvapya nyavaritata | ayudhebhyo ha sma asya vijamānah parān eva eti | atha enam brahma anvait | tam āpnot | tam apted parastad nirudhya atishthat | sa aptah parastad niruddhas tishthan jnätvä sväny äyudhäni brahma upävarttata | tasmäd ha apy etarhi yajno brahmany eva brahmaneshu pratishthitah | atha enat kshattram anvägachhat tad abravid "upa mä asmin yajne hvayasva" iti | tat "tothā" ity abravīt "tad vai nidhāya svāny āyudhāni brahmanah eva äyudhair brahmano rupena brahma bhutva yajnam upavarttasva" iti | "tatha" iti tat kshattram nidhaya seany ayudhani brahmanah eva ayudhair brahmano rupena brahma bhutvu yajnam upuvarttata | tasmad ha opy etarki kshattriyo yajamano nidhaya eva svany ayudhani brahmanah eva ayudhair brahmano rapena brahma bhatea yajnam upavarttate !

"Prajāpati created sacrifice. After sacrifice, Brahman (sacred know-

ledge) and Kshattra (regal power)165 were created. After these, two kinds of creatures were formed, viz. those who eat, and those who do not eat, oblations. After Brahman came the eaters of oblations, and , after Kshattra those who do not cat them. These are the eaters of oblations, viz. the Brahmans. Those who do not eat them are the Rājanya, the Vaiśya, and the Sūdra. From these creatures sacrifice departed. Brahman and Kshattra followed it, Brahman with the implements proper to itself, and Kshattra with those which are proper to itself. The implements of Brahman are the same as those of sacrifice, while those of Kshattra are a horse-chariot, 108 armour, and a bow and arrows. Kshattra turned back, not having found the sacrifice; which turns aside, afraid of the implements of Kshattra. Brahman followed after it, and reached it; and having done so, stood beyond, and intercepting it. Being thus found and intercepted, sacrifice, standing still and recognizing its own implements, approached to Brahman. Wherefore now also sacrifice depends upon Brahman, upon the Brahmans. Kshattra then followed Brahman, and said, 'invite me 167 (too to participate) in this sacrifice.' Brahman replied, 'so be it: then laying aside thy own implements, approach the sacrifice with the implements of Brahman, in the form of Brahman, and having become Brahman.100

<sup>163</sup> The two principles or functions represented by the Brahmans and Kshattriyas respectively.

<sup>166</sup> See Weber, Indische Studien, ix. p. 318.
167 See Weber, in the same page as last quoted.

<sup>368</sup> This idea may be further illustrated by a reference to several passages adduced by Professor Weber, Ind. St. x. 17, who remarks: "Hence every Rajanya and Vaisya becomes through the consecration for sacrifice (diksha) a Brahman during its continuance, and is to be addressed as such in the formula employed," and cites S'. P. Br. iii. 2, 1, 39 f., part of which has been already quoted above, in p. 136, note; and also Ait. Br. vii. 23 : Sa ha d'ikshamanah era brahmanatam abhyupaiti | " He a king, when consecrated, enters into the condition of a Brahman." See the rest of the section and sections 24, 25, and 31 in Dr. Haug's translation. The S'.P.Br. xiii. 4, 1, 3, says, in opposition to the opinion of some, that an as'vamedha, which is a sacrifice proper to Rajanyas, should be begun in summer, which is their season: tad vai vasante eva abhyarabheta | casanto vai brahmanasya rituh | yah u cai kai cha yajate brahmanibhaya ieu eeu yajate | " Let him commence in spring, which is the Brahman's season. Whosoever sacrifices does so after having as it were become a Brahman." So too Kātyāyana says in his S'rauta Sūtias vii. 4, 12 : " Brāhmana " ity sea vaisya-rijanyayor api | "The word Brihmana is to be addressed to a Vais'ya and a Rajanya also." On which the Commentator annotates: Valiga-rajanyayor api najne "dikshito yam brūkmanah" ity een vaktavyam | no "dīkshito 'yam kshattriya vaiiyo va " iti ] "The formula 'This Brahman has been consecrated' is to be used at the sacrifice of a Vaisya

Kshättra rejoined, 'Be it so,' and, laying aside its own implements, approached the sacrifice with those of Brahman, in the form of Brahman, and having become Brahman. Wherefore now also a Kshattriya when sacrificing, laying aside his own implements, approaches the sacrifice with those of Brahman, in the form of Brahman, and having become Brahman."

The Mahabharata, Santip. verses 2280 f. distinctly defines the duty of a Kshattriya in reference to sacrifice and sacred study: Kshattriya-syāpi yo dharmas tam to vakshyāmi Bhārata | dadyād rājan na yācheta yajeta na cha yājayet | nādhyāpayed adhīyīta prajāš cha paripālayet | "I will tell thee also the duties of a Kshattriya. Let him give, and not ask (gifts); let him sacrifice, but not officiate for others at sacrifices; let him not teach, but study; and let him protect the people."

It is clear that these passages which restrict the right of officiating ministerially at sacrifices to the members of the Brahmanical order, to represent a very different state of opinion and practice from that which prevailed in the earlier Vedic age, when Viśvāmitra, a Rājanya, and his relatives, were highly esteemed as the authors of sacred poetry, and were considered as perfectly authorized to exercise sacerdotal functions.

The result of the conflict between the opposing interests represented by Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra respectively, is thus described by Professor

and a Rājanya also; and not the words 'this Rājanya, or this Vais'ya, has been consecrated.' "

140 It appears from Arrian that the Greeks were correctly informed of this prerogative of the Brahmans. He says, Indica, ch. zi. : Kal Sorts 32 this Boet, Egypyths άυτφ της θυσίης των τις σοφιστών τούτων γίνεται, ως δυκ αν άλλως κεχαρισμένα τοι: θεοίε θύσαντας. "And whosoever sacrifices in private has one of these sophists" (so the highest of the classes, here said to be seven in number, is designated) "as director of the ceremony, since sacrifice could not otherwise be offered acceptably to the gods." Arrian makes another assertion (ibid. xii.) which, if applied to the time when he wrote (in the second Christian century), is not equally correct. After observing that the several classes were not allowed to intermarry, nor to practice two professions, nor to pass from one class into another, he adds : Morror opiour areiras σοφιστήν έκ παντός γένεος γενέσθαι. ότι οδ μαλθακά τοίσι σοφιστήσιν έισὶ τά πρήγματα, άλλα πάντων ταλαιτωρότατα. "Only it is permitted to a person of any class among them to become a sophist; for the life of that class is not luxurious, but the most tollsome of all." However indubitably true the first part of this sentence may have been in the age of Vis'vamitra, it cannot be correctly predicated of the age of Arrian, or even of the period when India was invaded by Alexander the Great. The mistake may have arisen from confounding the Buddhists with the Brühmans, or from supposing that all the Brahmanical Indians, who adopted an ascetic life, were regarded as "sophists."

Roth at the close of his work on the literature and history of the Veda, which has been so often quoted, p. 141: "Vasishtha, in whom the future position of the Brahmans is principally foreshadowed, occupies also a far higher place in the recollections of the succeeding centuries than his martial rival; and the latter succumbs in the conflict out of which the holy race of Brahmavartta was to emerge. Vasishtha is the sacerdotal hero of the new order of things. In Visvamitra the ancient condition of military shepherd-life in the Punjab is thrown back for ever into the distance. This is the general historical signification of the contest between the two Vedic families, of which the literature of all the succeeding periods has preserved the recollection."

Szcr. VII.—Do the details in the last two sections enable us to decide in what relation Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra stood to each other as priests of Sudas?

It appears from the data supplied in the two preceding sections that both Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra are represented as priests of a king called Sudas. This is shewn, as regards the former rishi (see pp. 319 ff., above), by R.V. vii. 18, 4, 5, and 21-25; and vii. 33, 1-6, where he is said to have interceded with Indra for Sudas, who, as appears from verse 25 of the second of these hymns, was the son of Pijavana. A similar relation is shown by R.V. iii. 53, 9-13 to have subsisted between Viśvāmitra and Sudās (see above, p. 342); and although Sudās is not in that passage identified with the king who was Vasishtha's patron, by the addition of his patronymic, we are told in the Nirukta, ii. 24, that he was the same person, the son of Pijavana. There is therefore no doubt that, according to ancient tradition, the two rishis were both priests of the same prince. It further appears that the Bharatas, with whom, as we have seen, Viśvāmitra was connected, are in R.V. vii-33, 6 referred to as in hostility with Sudas and his priest. Are we then to conclude that the one set of facts excludes the other-that the two rishis could not both have been the family-priests of Sudas?

There is no reason to arrive at such an inference. Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra could not, indeed, have been the domestic priests of Sudas at one and the same period. But they may have been so at different times; and the one may have supplanted the other. It is, however, very difficult to derive from the imperfect materials supplied in the passages to which I have referred any clear conception of the shape and course which the contest between these two rivals took, or to fix the periods at which they respectively enjoyed their patron's favour. Prof. Roth thinks 170 that some light is thrown on this obscure subject by the different parts of the 53rd hymn of the third mandala of the Rig-veda. This composition, as it stands, contains, as he considers, fragments of hymns by Viśvāmitra or his descendants, of different dates; and the verses (9-13), in which that rishi represents himself and the Kauśikas as being the priests of Sudas, are, in his opinion, earlier than the concluding verses (21-24), in which consist of imprecations directed against Vasishtha. These last verses, he remarks, contain an expression of wounded pride, and threaten vengeance against an enemy who had come into possession of some power or dignity which Viśvāmitra himself had previously enjoyed. And as we find from one of his hymns (the 53rd) that he and his adherents had at one time led Sudas to victory, and enjoyed a corresponding consideration ; -while from Vasishtha's hymns it is clear that he and his family had also been elevated in consequence of similar claims to a like position ;-it would seem to result that Viśvāmitra had cursed Vasishtha for this very reason that he had been supplanted by him. The former with his Kusikas had through the growing influence of his rival been driven away by Sudas to the Bharatas the enemies of that prince and of the Tritsus; and then

170 See Litt. und Gesch. des Weda, pp. 121 ff.

m I have (above, p. 343) characterized these verses as obscure and have left them untranslated. The portions of the following version which are printed in italies are doubtful: verse 22. " He (or, it) vexes (turns the edge of ) even an axe; and breaks even a secord. A seething cauldron, even, o Indra, when over-heated, custs out foam. 23. O men, no notice is taken of the arrow. They lead away the intelligent (lodha) looking upon him as a beast. Men do not, however, pit a back to run against a racer; they do not lead an ass before horses. 24. These sons of Bharata, o Indra, desire separation, not vicinity. They constantly urge the horse as if to a distance; they carry about the bore in the battle." The reader may consult Prof. Wilson's translation R.V. vol. iii. p. 89 f., as well as Roth's Litt, u. Gesch. des Weda, p. 109 f. In his Illustrations of the Nirukta, p. 42, Roth conjectures that both lodha and paris, in verse 23, may denote animals of different natures, and that the clause may mean something to the same effect as " they look on the wolf as if it were a hare." In his Lexicon, s.v. pain, he takes that word to denote a head of cattle (ein Stück Vich) as a term of contempt. He takes jyacoja, in verse 24, to mean "having the impulsive force (?) (Schnell-Kraft) of a bow-string."

vowed vengeance against their enemies. Roth remarks that if this conjecture appears too bold, which he does not allow, there is no alternative but to regard verses 9-11 of R.V. iii. 53, as interpolated, and to hold that Viśvamitra had always been allied with the Bharatas. But, as he urges, in a period such as that which the hymns of the Veda represent to us-a time of feud and foray among the small neighbouring tribes, when the power of the leaders of families and petty chiefs was unlimited, when we observe that the ten kings were allied against Sudās-in a period of subdivided dominion like this it would be far more surprising to find a family so favoured by the gods as that of Visvāmitra or Vasishtha in continued and undisturbed possession of influence over any one of these chieftains, than to see mutual aggression. hostility, and vindictiveness, prevailing even among families and clans united to one another by community of language and manners. It is further evident from later tradition, as Roth remarks, that Vasishtha and his family had not always been the objects of Sudas's favour; but had, on the contrary, been at some time or other sufferers from his enmity or that of his house; and in proof of this he refers to the passage which has been cited above (p. 328) from Sayana's note on R.V. vii. 32, and the Satyayana and Tandya Brahmanas, as there quoted; and also to the 176th adhyaya of the Adiparvan of the Mahabhārata, verses 6696 ff., which will be adduced in a future section.

According to Roth's view (p. 124) the alienation between Sudas and Vasishtha fomented by Viśvāmitra was only of temporary duration, and we must, therefore, understand that according to his view, the former rishi and his family remained eventually victors in the contest for influence between themselves and their rivals.

Professor Weber, in a note appended to an article by Dr. A. Kuhn in page 120 of the first volume of his Indische Studien, expresses a different opinion. "The testimonies," he says, "adduced by Roth, pp. 122 ff., according to which Sudās appears in the Epic age as hostile to Brahmanical interests, stand in opposition to his assertion that Vasishtha's family finally banished Viśvāmitra and the Kuśikas from the court of that prince. The enmity between the latter and Vasishtha, the prototype of Brahmanhood, is thus by no means of temporary duration (Roth, p. 124), but the very contrary." The passages cited by Roth, which Weber here claims as supporting his

own view, are Manu, vii. 41 (see above, p. 296), the Anukramani with the Satyayana and Tandva Brahmanas quoted in p. 328, and the 126th and following sections of the Adip, of the M. Bh. which will be adduced hereafter. To these may be added the text from the Kaushītakī Brāhmaņa, cited in p. 328. If Sudās became ultimately reconciled to Vasishtha, and re-instated him and his relatives in their position of court priests, to the exclusion of the rival family of Viśvamitra, it seems hard to understand, according to Professor Weber's argument, how that prince's name should have been handed down by tradition as one of the most prominent examples of impiety displayed in resistance to Brahmanical pretensions. It is, however, to be observed that, except in the text of Manu, it is the descendants of Sudas, and not the king himself, who are charged with the outrages committed against Vasishtha's family; and that in the passage of the M. Bh. above referred to (Adip. vv. 7669 ff.) the son of Sudas is represented as becoming ultimately reconciled to Vasishtha. Piz And if the passages, which have been cited above from the Rig-veda (pp. 330 f.) in allusion to Sudas's deliverance by the gods, refer to a real person, and to the

173 It is also worthy of remark that the Anus'asanap. of the M.Bh. contains a conversation between Vasishtha and Saudasa (the son, or one of the descendants of, Sudās) about the pre-eminent purity and excellence of cows, verse 3732 : Etasmins evu kule tu Vasishtham richi-sattamam | Ikshvaku-vanisajo raja Saudaso vadatam earah | sarea - loka - charam siddham brahma-kosam sapatunam | purohitam abhiprashtum abhivadyopachakrame | Saudām uvācha | trailokye bhagavan kimsvit pavitram kathyate 'nagha | yat kirtlayan sada martiyah prapnuyat punyam ulfamam | "At this time the eloquent king Saudasa, sprung from the race of Ikshvaku, proceeded, after salutation, to make an enquiry of his family-priest Vasishtha, the eternal saint, the most excellent of rishis, who was able to traverse all the world, and was a treasure of sacred knowledge: 'What, o venerable and sinless man, is declared to be the purest thing in the three worlds, by constantly celebrating which one may acquire the highest merit?" Vasishtha in reply expatiates at great length on the merit resulting from bestowing cows, and ascribes to these animals some wonderful properties. as that they are the "support of all beings" ( pratish(hā bhūtūnām, verse 3736); "the present and the future" (gueo bhittam cha bhacyam cha, 3737), and describes the cow as "pervading the universe, mother of the past and future" (yaya sarram idam eyaptam jagat ethävara-jangamam | täm dhenum eirasa vande bhüta-bhavyasya mataram, 3799). The sequel is thus told in verse 3801 : Varam idam iti bhumido (bhumipo?) vichintya pravaram risher vachanam tato mahatma | vyasrijata niyatatmavan dvijebhyo subahu cha go-dhanam optarams lokan | "The great, self-subduing king, considering that these words of the rishi were most excellent, lavished on the Brühmans very great wealth in the shape of cows, and obtained the worlds."-So here we find the son of Saudisa extolled as a saint.

same individual with whom we are at present concerned, they are difficult to reconcile with these traditions in the Brāhmanas, Mahābhārata, and Purāṇas; inasmuch as they are not said to be the productions of Viśvāmitra or his descendants, and as they necessarily imply that Sudās was a pious prince who worshipped the popular deities in the way prescribed by the rishis by whom he was commemorated, since the latter would not otherwise have celebrated him in their hymns as a conspicuous object of divine favour. Tradition, too, as we have seen (p. 268) represents Sudās to have been the author of a Vedic hymn. The verses of the 104th hymn of the seventh book which I have quoted (above, p. 327) do not appear to contribute any further aid towards the solution of the question under consideration. Assuming that they contain a curse aimed at Viśvāmitra we have no means of ascertaining when they were uttered; whether the charge preferred against Vasishtha preceded or followed the ascendancy of his rival.

We seem, therefore, to possess no sufficient data for settling the question of the relations in which Vasishtha and Visvāmitra respectively stood to king Sudās, further than that they both appear, from the hymns of the Rig-veda, to have been, at one period or another, his family priests; but which of the two was the first, and which the last, to enjoy the king's favour, must, according to all appearance, remain a mystery.

# Sect. VIII .- Story of Triśanku.

I shall now proceed to adduce the different legends in the Puranas, the Ramayana, and the Mahabharata, in which Vasishtha and Visvamitra are represented as coming into conflict.

In the third chapter of the fourth book of the Vishnu Purāna (Wilson, vol. iii. pp. 284 ff.) we find a story about a king Satyavrata, called also Triśanku, the 26th in descent from Ikshvāku, who had become degraded to the condition of a Chandāla, about whom it is briefly related, iv. 3, 13: Dvādaśa-vārshikyām anāvrishtyām Viśvāmitra-kalatrāpatya-poshanārtham chandāla-pratigraha-pariharanāya cha Jāhnavī-tīra-nyagrodhe mriga-māmsam anudinam babandha | 14. Paritushtena cha Viśvāmitrena sa-śarīrah svargam āropitah | "During a twelve years' drought he daily suspended deer's flesh for the support of Viśvāmitra's wife and children

on a nyagrodha-tree on the banks of the Ganges, intending by this means to spare them the (humiliation of) receiving a gift from a Chandala; and was in consequence raised bodily to heaven by Viśvāmitra, who was gratified (with his conduct)." 173

This story is told at greater length in the Harivamsa (sections 12 and 13) where Vasishtha also is introduced. I have already (p. 337) remarked on the super-human longevity ascribed to this sage, who is represented as contemporary both with Ikshvaku, and with his descendants down to the sixty-first generation. But Indian mythology, with its boundless resources in supernatural machinery, and in the doctrine of transmigration, can reconcile all discrepancies, and explain away all anachronisms, making any sage re-appear at any juncture when his presence may be required, another and yet the same.

The Harivamsa states that Satyavrata (Trisanku) had been expelled from his home by his father for the offence of carrying off the young wife of one of the citizens under the influence of a criminal passion (verse 718. Yena bhāryyā hritā pūrvam kritodeāhā paravya vai | 720. Jahāra kāmāt kanyām sa kasyachit puravāsinah); and that Vasishtha did not interfere to prevent his banishment. His father retired to the woods to live as a hermit. In consequence of the wickedness which had been committed, Indra did not rain for a period of twelve years. At that time Viśvāmitra had left his wife and children and gone to practice austerities on the sea-shore. His wife, driven to extremity by want, was on the point of selling her second son for a hundred cows, in order to support the others; but this arrangement was stopped by the intervention of Satyavrata, who liberated the son when bound, in and

<sup>173</sup> In the Mahübh. S'antip. verses 5330 ff. (referred to by Weber, Ind. St. i. 475, note) there is a story of Visvāmitra determining to eat dog's flesh in a period of famine between the end of the the Tretā-ago and the beginning of the Dvāpara; and holding a conversation on this subject with a Chandāla. The circumstance is referred to in Manu, x. 108: Kshudhārttas chāttum abhyāgād Viscomitrah iva-jāghanīm | Ana-dūla-hastād ūdāya dharmādharma-vichakshanah | "And Visvāmitra, who knew right and wrong, resolved to eat a dog's thigh, taking it from the hand of a Chandāla."

<sup>374</sup> See in Ind. Stud. ii. 121 ff. Professor Roth's remarks on the peculiar relation in which he regards this story as standing to that of S'unassepa, as given in the Aitareya Brāhmana. The various incidents in the one present in many respects a curious parallel to those of the other, which he considers can hardly be accidental; and he thinks this version of the legend of Trisanku may have arisen out of a transformation and distortion of that of S'unassepa.

maintained the family by providing them with the flesh of wild animals: and according to his father's injunction, consecrated himself for the performance of a silent penance for twelve years (verse 732. Upāmša-vratam āsthāya dīkshām dvādaša-vārshikīm | pitur niyogād avahat tasmin vana-yate nripe). The story proceeds thus:

Verse 733. Ayodhyam chaisa rashtram cha tathaisantahpuram munih | yājyopādhyāya-sambandhād Vaśishthah paryarakshata | Satyacratas tu bālyād vai bhūvino 'rthanya vā balāt | Vasishtho 'bhyadhikam manyum dhārayāmāsa nityadā | 735. Pitrā hi tam tadā rājyāt tyajyamānam svam atmajam | na varayamasa munir Vasishthah karanena ha | panigrahana-mantranam nishtha syat saptame pade | na cha Satyaeratas tasmād dhritavān saptame pade | jānan dharmān Vasishthas tu na mām trātīti Bhārata | Satyuvratas tadā rosham Vasishthe manasā 'karot | guna-buddhyā tu bhagavān Vasishthah kritavāms tada | na cha Satyavratas tasya tam upāšišum abudhyata | . . . . 740. Tena tv idānīši vahatā dīkshām tām durvahām bhuvi | "kulasya nishkritis tātu kritā sā vai bhaved" iti | na tam Vašishtho bhagavān pitrā tyaktam nyavārayat | abhishekshyamy aham putram asyety evam matir muneh | sa tu dvadašavarzhani tam diksham udvahan bali | avidyamane mamse tu Vasishthasya mahatmanah | sarva-kama-dugham dogdhrim dadarsa sa nripatmajah | tām vai krodhāch cha mohāch cha śramāch chaica kshudhārditah | dašadharma-gato rājā jaghāna Janamejaya | . . . . 745. Tach eka māšisam scayam chaica Viścāmitrasya chātmajān | bhojayāmāsa tach chhrutvā Vašishtho'py asya chukrudhe | . . . . 750. Višvāmitras tu daranam agato bharane krite | sa tu tasmai caram pradad munih pritas Triśankave | chhandyamano varenatha varam vavre nripatmajah | saśarīro vraje svargam ity evam yachito varah | anavrishti-bhaye tasmin gate dvadaśa-vārshike | pitrye 'bhishichya rājye tu yājayāmāsa tam munih | mishatām devatānām cha Vašishthasya cha Kaušikah | sašarīram tadā tam tu divam üropayat prabhuh |

733. "Meanwhile Vasishtha, from the relation subsisting between the king (Satyavrata's father) and himself, as disciple 125 and spiritual preceptor, governed the city of Ayodhyā, the country, and the interior apartments of the royal palace. But Satyavrata, whether through folly or the force of destiny, cherished constantly an increased indignation against Vasishtha, who for a (proper) reason had not interposed to pre-

<sup>178</sup> Literally "the person in whose behalf sacrifice was to be performed."

vent his exclusion from the royal power by his father. 5 The formulas of the marriage ceremonial are only binding,' said Satyavrata, 'when the seventh step has been taken,176 and this had not been done when I seized the damsel: still Vasishtha, who knows the precepts of the law, does not come to my aid.' Thus Satyavrata was incensed in his mind . against Vasishtha, who, however, had acted from a sense of what was right. Nor did Satyavrata understand (the propriety of) that silent penance imposed upon him by his father. . . . . 740. When he had supported this arduous rite, (he supposed that) he had redeemed his family position. The venerable muni Vasishtha did not, however, (as has been said) prevent his father from setting him aside, but resolved to install his son as king. When the powerful prince Satyavrata had endured the penance for twelve years, he beheld, when he was without flesh to eat, the milch cow of Vasishtha which yielded all objects of desire; and under the influence of anger, delusion, and exhaustion, distressed by hunger, and failing in the ten duties [the opposites of which are then enumerated he slew her . . . . (745) and both partook of her flesh himself, and gave it to Viśvamitra's sons to eat. Vaśishtha hearing of this, became incensed against him," and imposed on him the name of Triśanku as he had committed three sins (verses 747-749). "750. On his return home, Viśvāmitra was gratified by the support which his wife had received, and offered Trisanku the choice of a boon. When this proposal was made, Triśanku chose the boon of ascending bodily to heaven. All apprehension from the twelve years' drought being now at an end, the muni (Viśvāmitra) installed Triśanku in his father's kingdom, and offered sacrifice on his behalf. The mighty Kansika then, in spite of the resistance of the gods and of Vasishtha, exalted the king alive to heaven."

The legend of Triśanku is also related, though differently, in the Bâlakānda of the Rāmāyana; but as it is there introduced as a portion of the history of Viśvāmitra's various contests with Vaśishtha recorded in the 51st to 65th sections of that book, I shall reserve it till I take up that narrative.

<sup>176 &</sup>quot;The next ceremony is the bride's stepping seven steps. It is the most material of all the nuptial rites; for the marriage is complete and irrevocable so soon as she has taken the seventh step, and no sooner." Colebrooke's Misc. Ess. i. 218, where further details will be found.

## Sect. IX.—Legend of Harischandra.

The son of Triśanku, the subject of the preceding story, was Hariśchandra, whose name is mentioned in the Vishnu P., but without any allusion to the events of his life. According to the Markandeya Purana,177 however, he gave up his whole country, and sold his wife and son, and finally himself, in satisfaction of Viśvāmitra's demands for money. The following is a summary of the story as there told, book i. sections 7-9. We may perhaps regard it as having in part a polemical import, and as intended to represent Viśvāmitra, the Kshattriya rival of the Brahmans, in the most unfavourable colours. The sufferings of Harischandra, his wife, and son, are very pathetically depicted, and the effect of the various incidents is heightened with great artistic skill. The story, in fact, appears to me one of the most touching to be found in Indian literature. Harischandra, the Purana tells us, was a royal rishi (rājarshi) who lived in the Treta age, and was renowned for his virtues, and the universal prosperity, moral and physical, which prevailed during his reign. On one occasion, when hunting, the king heard a sound of female lamentation which proceeded, it appears, from the Sciences who were becoming mastered by the austerely-fervid sage Viśvāmitra, in a way they had never been before by anyone else; and were consequently crying out in alarm at his superiority. In fulfilment of his duty as a Kshattriya to defend the weak, and inspired by the god Ganesa, who had entered into him, Harischandra exclaimed (i. 7, 12) " 'What sinner is this who is binding fire in the hem of his garment, while I, his lord, am present, resplendent with force and fiery vigour?' He shall today enter on his long sleep, pierced in all his limbs by arrows, which, by their discharge from my bow, illuminate all the quarters of the firmament" (12, Ko'yam badhnāti vastrānts pāvakam pāpa-krin narah | balozhna-tejasā dīpte mayi patyāv upasthite | 18. So 'dya mat-kārmukākshepa - vidipita - digantaraih | śarair vibhinna - sarvāngo dirghanidrām pravekshyati [). Viśvāmitra was provoked by this address. In consequence of his wrath the Sciences instantly perished, and Harischandra, trembling like the leaf of an asyattha tree, submissively represented that

<sup>117</sup> The same story is told in the Padma Purana also. See Wilson's V.P. vol. iii. p. 287, and note. The glory of Haris'chandra is described in the M.Bh. Sabhāp. verses 459 ff.

he had merely done his duty as a king, which he defined as consisting in the bestowal of gifts on eminent Brahmans and other persons of slender means, the protection of the timid, and war against enemies. Viśvāmitra hereupon demands a gift as a Brāhman intent upon receiving one. The king offers him whatever he may ask : Gold, his own son, wife, body, life, kingdom, good fortune (hiranyam vā sucarnam vā putrah patnī kalecaram | prānāh rājyam puram lakshmir yad abhipretam ātmanah |). The saint first requires the present for the Rajasûya sacrifice. On this being promised, and still more offered, he asks for the empire of the whole earth, including everything but Harischandra himself, his wife and son, and his virtue which follows its possessor wherever he goes 17 (i. 7, 28. Vinā bhāryyām cha putram cha śarīram cha tacānagha | 29. Dharmam cha sarca - dharma - jna yo yantam anugachhati). Hariśchandra joyfully agrees. Viśvāmitra then requires him to strip off all his ornaments, to clothe himself in the bark of trees, and to quit the kingdom with his wife Saivyā and his son. When he is departing the sage stops him and demands payment of his yet unpaid sacrificial fee. The king replies that he has only the persons of his wife, his son, and himself left. Viśvāmitra insists that he must nevertheless pay; and that "unfulfilled promises of gifts to Brahmans bring destruction" (i. 7. 35. Višeshato brāhmanānām hanty adattam pratisrutam). The unfortunate prince, after being threatened with a curse, engages to make the payment in a month; and commences his journey with a wife unused to such fatigues, amid the universal lamentations of his subjects. While he lingers, listening to their affectionate remonstrances against his desertion of his kingdom, Viśvāmitra comes up, and being

178 Compare Manu's very striking verses, viii. 17, and iv. 239 ff., which may be freely rendered as follows:

"Our virtue is the only friend that follows us in death;
All other ties and friendships end with our departing breath.
Nor futher, mother, wife, nor son beside us then can stay,
Nor kinsfolk:—virtue is the one companion of our way.
Alone each creature sees the light, alone the world he leaves;
Alone of actions, wrong or right, the recompense receives.
Like log or clod, beneath the sod their lifeless kinsman laid,
His friends turn round and quit the ground; but virtue tends the dead.
Be then a hoard of virtue stored, to help in day of doom;
By virtue led, we cross the dread, immeasurable gloom."

See the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xix. for 1862, p. 303 f.

incensed at the delay and the king's apparent hesitation, strikes the queen with his staff, as she is dragged on by her husband. All this Harischandra endures with patience, uttering no complaint. Then the five Viśvedevas, merciful gods, exclaimed, " 'To what worlds shall this sinner Viśvamitra go, who has thrust down this most excellent of sacrificers from the royal dignity? Whose faith shall now sanctify the soma-juice poured out with recitation of texts at the great sacrifice, that we may drink it, and become exhibarated ' " (i. 7, 62. Atha viéve tada devah pancha prahuh kripalavah | Viśvamitrah supapo 'yam lokan kun samavapsyati | 63. Yenayam yajvanam śreshthah sca-rajyad avaropitah | kasya vā śraddhayā pūtam sutam somam mahādhvare | pītvā cayam prayasyamo mudam mantra - purassaram |). Viśvāmitra heard what they said, and by a curse doomed them to become men; he relented, however, so far as to exempt them from having offspring, and from other family ties and human weaknesses, and promised that they should eventually be restored to their pristine position as gods. They in consequence became partially incarnate as the five Pandus, the sons of Draupadi. Resuming the story of Harischandra, the writer tells us that he then proceeded with his wife and little son to Benares, imagining that this divine city, as the special property of Siva, could not be possessed by any mortal. Here he found the relentless Viśvāmitra waiting for him, and ready to press his demand for the payment of his sacrificial gift, even before the expiration of the full period of grace. In this extremity Saivyā the queen suggests with a sobbing voice that her husband should sell her. On hearing this proposal Harischandra swoons, then recovers, utters lamentations, and swoons again, and his wife, seeing his sad condition, swoons also. While they are in a state of unconsciousness, their famished child exclaims in distress, "O father, father, give me bread; O mother, mother, give me food: hunger overpowers me; and my tongue is parched" (i. 8, 35. Tāta tāta dadasvānnem ambamba bhojanam dada | kshud me balavatī jātā jihvāgram sushyate tathā). At this moment Viśvāmitra returns, and after recalling Hariśchandra to consciousness by sprinkling water over him, again urges payment of the present. The king again swoons, and is again restored. The sage threatens to curse him if his engagement is not fulfilled by sunset. Being now pressed by his wife, the king agrees to sell her, adding, however, "If my voice can utter such a wicked word, I do what the most inhuman wretches cannot perpetrate" (i. 8, 48 f. Nriśamsair api yat karttum na śakyam tat karomy aham I yadi me śakyate vani vaktum idrik sudurvachah). He then goes into the city, and in self-accusing language offers his queen for sale as a slave. A rich old . Brahman offers to buy her at a price corresponding to her value, to do his household work. Harischandra's heart was torn, and he could make no reply. The Brahman paid down the money, and was dragging away the queen by the hair of her head, when her little son Rohitasva, seeing his mother about to be taken away from him, began to cry, and laid hold of her skirts. The mother then exclaims: i. 8, 59, "Muncharyya muncha mām tavad vavat pasyamy aham sisum | durlabham darsanam tāta punar asya bhavishyati | 60. Paśyaihi vatsa mām evam mātaram dāsyatām gatām | mām mā sprākshīh rāja-puttra asprišyā 'ham tavādhuna" | 61. Tatah sa balah sahasa drishtea krishtam tu mataram | samabhyadhavad ambeti rudan sasravilekshanah | 62. Tam agatam dvijah kretā bālam abhyāhanat padā | vadams tathāpi so 'mbeti naivāmunchata mātaram | 63. Rājapatny uvācha | " prasādam kuru me nātha krīnīshvemam cha balakam | krītā 'pi nāham bhavato vinainam kāryya-sādhikā | 64. Ittham mamālpa-bhāgyāyāh prasāda-sumukho bhaca | mām samyojaya bālena vatseneva payasvinīm" | 65. Brāhmaņah uvācha | "grīhyatām vittam etat te diyatām bālako mama" | " Let me go, let me go, venerable sir, till I look upon my son. I shall hardly ever behold him again. Come, my darling, see thy mother now become a slave. Touch me not, young prince; I may no longer be handled by thee.' Seeing his mother dragged away, the child ran after her, his eyes dimmed with tears, and crying 'mother.' The Brahman purchaser kicked him when he came up; but he would not let his mother go, and continued crying 'mother, mother.' The queen then said to the Brahman, 'Be so kind, my master, as to buy also this child, as without him I shall prove to thee but a useless purchase. 64. Be thus merciful to me in my wretchedness; unite me with my son, like a cow to her calf.'179 The Brahman agrees: 'Take this money and give me the boy.'" When his wife and son were being carried away, Harischandra broke out into lamentations: i. 8, 68. Yam no väyur na chadityo nendur na cha prithag-janah | driehtavantah pura patnim seyam dasitvam agata | 69. Sürya-vamsa-prasūto 'yam sukumāra-karāngulih | samprapto vikrayam 178 The whole of this reads like a scene from "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

balo dhin mam astu sudurmatim | " She, my spouse, whom neither air, nor sun, nor moon, nor stranger had beheld, is now gone into slavery. This my son, a scion of the solar race, with his delicate hands and · fingers, has been sold. Woe to me, wicked wretch that I am." After the Brahman had gone out of sight with his purchases, Viśvamitra again appeared and renewed his demands; and when the afflicted Harischandra offered him the small sum he had obtained by the sale of his wife and son, he augrily replied, i. 8, 74: Kshattrabandho mamemām tvam sadrišīm gojna-dakshinām | manyase gadi tat kshipram paşga tvam me balam param | 75. Tapaso 'ttra sulaptasya brāhmanyasyāmalasya cha | mat-prabhavasya chograsya świdhasyadhyayanasya cha | \*\* 'If, miserable Kshattriya, thou thinkest this a sacrificial gift befitting my deserts, thou shalt soon behold the transcendent power of my ardent austere-fervour, of my spotless Brahmanhood, of my terrible majesty, and of my holy study." Harischandra promises an additional gift, and Visvamitra allows him the remaining quarter of the day for its liquidation. On the terrified and afflicted prince offering himself for sale, in order to gain the means of meeting this cruel demand, Dharma (Righteousness) appears in the form of a hideous and offensive Chandala, and agrees to buy him at his own price, large or small. Harischandra declines such a degrading servitude, and declares that he would rather be consumed by the fire of his persecutor's curse than submit to such a fate. Viśvāmitra however again comes on the scene. asks why he does not accept the large sum offered by the Chandala; and, when he pleads in excuse his descent from the solar race, threatens to fulminate a curse against him if he does not accept that method of meeting his liability. Harischandra implores that he may be spared this extreme of degradation, and offers to become Viśvāmitra's slave in payment of the residue of his debt; whereupon the sage rejoins, "If thou art my slave, then I sell thee as such to the Chandala for a hundred millions of money" (i. 8, 95. Yadi preshyo mama bhavan chandalaya tato maya | dasa-bhasam anuprapto datto vittarbudena vai |). The Chandala, delighted, pays down the money, and carries off Harischandra, bound, beaten, confused, and afflicted, to his own place of abode. Morning, noon, and evening the unfortunate prince repeats these words: i. 8, 99. Bālā dīna-mukhī drishtvā bālam dīna-mukham purah | mām smaraty asukhāvishtā "mochayishyati nau nripah | 100. Upātta-vitto

viprāya datīvā vittam ato 'dhikam" | na sā mām mṛiga-śāvākshī vetti pāpataram kritam | 101. Rājya-nāśah suhrit-tyāgo bhāryyā-tanaya-vikrayah | prapta chandalata cheyam aho duhkha-parampara | "My tender wife, dejected, looking upon my dejected boy, calls me to mind while she says, 'The king will ransom us (100) after he has gained money, and paid the Brahman a larger sum than he gave for us.' But my fawn-eyed spouse is ignorant that I have become yet more wretched than before. 101. Loss of my kingdom, abandonment of friends, sale of my wife and son, and this fall into the condition of a Chandala,what a succession of miseries!" Harischandra is sent by the Chandala to steal grave-clothes in a cemetery (which is described at tedious length, with all its horrors and repulsive features), and is told that he will receive two-sixths of the value for his hire; three-sixths going to his master, and one-sixth to the king. In this horrid spot, and in this degrading occupation, he spent, in great misery, twelve months, which seemed to him like a hundred years (i. 8, 127. Evam dvādaša-māsās tu nītāḥ śata-samopamāḥ). He then falls asleep and has a series of dreams suggested by the life he had been leading (smasanabhyasa-yogena, verse 129). After he awoke, his wife came to the cemetery to perform the obsequies of their son, who had died from the bite of a serpent (verses 171 ff.). At first the husband and wife did not recognize each other, from the change in appearance which had been wrought upon them both by their miseries. Harischandra, however, soon discovers from the tenor of her lamentations that it is his wife, and falls into a swoon; as the queen does also when she recognizes her husband. When consciousness returns, they both break out into lamentations, the father bewailing in a touching strain the loss of his son, and the wife the degradation of the king. She then falls on his neck, embraces him, and asks "whether all this is a dream, or a reality, as she is utterly bewildered;" and adds, that "if it be a reality, then righteousness is unavailing to those who practise it" (verse 210. Rajan svapno 'tha tathyam vā yad etad manyate bhavān | tat kathyatām mahābhāga mano vai muhyate mama | 211. Yady etad evam dharmajna nasti dharme sahayata |). After hesitating to devote himself to death on his son's funeral pyro without receiving his master's leave, (as such an act of insubordination might send him to hell) (verses 215 ff.), Harischandra resolves to do so, braving all the consequences, and consoling himself with the hopeful

anticipation: verse 224. Yadi dattam yadi hutam guravo yadi toshitah | paratra sangamo bhūyāt puttrena saha cha teayā | "If I have given gifts, and offered sacrifices, and gratified my religious teachers, then may I be reunited with my son and with thee (my wife) in another world." The queen determines to die in the same manner. When Hariśchandra, after placing his son's body on the funeral pile, is meditating on the lord Hari Nārāyana Krishna, the supreme spirit, all the gods arrive, headed by Dharma (Righteousness), and accompanied by Viśvāmitra. Dharma entreats the king to desist from his rash in-

180 In the following verses of the Atharva-veda a hope is expressed that families may be re-united in the next world: vi. 120, 3. Fattra subarddah suhrido madanti vihāya rogom tanvah svāyāh | ailogāh angair ahrutāh svarge tattra padyema pitarau cha putran | " In heaven, where our friends, and intimates live in blessedness, having left behind them the infirmities of their bodies, free from lameness or distortion of limb, -may we behold our parents and our children." ix. 5, 27. Ya purvam patim vittvä athänyam vindate param | panchaudanam cha tav ajam dadato na vi yoshatah | 28. Samanaloko bhavati punarbhuva 'parah patih | yo 'jam panchaudanam dakshinajyotisham dadati | "When a woman has had one husband before, and takes another, if they present the sja panchaudana offering they shall not be separated. 28. A second husband dwells in the same (future) world with his re-wedded wife, if he offers the aja panchaudana, illuminated by presents." xii. 3, 17. Seargam lokam abhi na nayāsi sam jūyayū saha puttraih syūms | " Mayest thou conduct us to heaven; may we be with our wives and children." xviii. 3, 23. Svan gochhatu te mano adha pitrin upa grave | " May thy soul go to its own (its kindred) and hasten to the fathers." From the texts cited by Mr. Colebrooke" on the duties of a faithful Hindu widow," (Misc. Ess. 116 ff.) it appears that the widow who becomes a sati (i.e. burns herself with her busband's corpse, or, in certain cases, afterwards) has the promise of rejoining her lord in another life, and enjoying celestial felicity in his society. In order to ensure such a result in all cases it was necessary either that both husband and wife should have by their lives merited equal rewards in another existence, or that the heroism of the wife, in secrificing berself on her husband's funeral-pile should have the vicarious effect of expiating his offences, and raising him to the same heavenly region with herself. And it is indeed the doctrine of the authorities cited by Mr. Colebrooke that the self-immolation of the wife had this atoning effect. But in other cases where the different members of a family had by their actions during life merited different kinds of retribution, they might, according to the doctrine of the transmigration of souls current in later ages, be re-born in the shape of different animals, and so rendered incapable of any mutual communication after death. In regard to the absence of any traces of the tenet of metempsychosis from the earliest Indian writings, see Professor Weber's remarks in the Journ, of the Germ, Or. Soc. ix, 327 ff. and the abstract of them given in Journ. Roy. As. Soc. for 1865, pp. 365 ff.

181 An attempt is here made, verses 234 f., to give the etymology of Visvamitra: Viiva-trayena yo mutram karttum na s'akitah pura | Visvamitras tu te maittrim ishtam chaharttum ichhati | "That Visvamitra, whom the three Visvas formerly could not induce to be their friend, wishes to offer thee his friendship, and whatsoever thou desirest."

tention; and Indra announces to him that he, his wife, and son have conquered heaven by their good works. Ambrosia, the antidote of death, and flowers, are rained by the god from the sky; and the king's son is restored to life and the bloom of youth. The king, adorned with celestial clothing and garlands, and the queen, embrace their son. Harischandra, however, declares that he cannot go to heaven till he has received his master the Chandala's permission, and has paid him a ransom. Dharma then reveals to the king that it was he himself who had miraculously assumed the form of a Chandala. The king next objects that he cannot depart unless his faithful subjects, who are sharers in his merits, are allowed to accompany him to heaven, at least for one day. This request is granted by Indra; and after Visvamitra has inaugurated Rohitāśva the king's son to be his successor, Harischandra, his friends and followers, all ascend in company to heaven. Even after this great consummation, however, Vasishtha, the family-priest of Harischandra, hearing, at the end of a twelve years' abode in the waters of the Ganges, an account of all that has occurred, becomes vehemently incensed at the humiliation inflicted on the excellent monarch. whose virtues and devotion to the gods and Brahmans he celebrates, declares that his indignation had not been so greatly roused even when his own hundred sons had been slain by Viśvāmitra, and in the following words dooms the latter to be transformed into a crane: i. 9, 9. Tasmād durātmā brahma-dviţ prājnānām avaropitah | mach-chhāpopahato mudhah sa vakateam avapayati | "Wherefore that wicked man, enemy of the Brahmans, smitten by my curse, shall be expelled from the society of intelligent beings, and losing his understanding shall be transformed into a Vaka." Visvāmitra reciprocates the curse, and changes Vasishtha into a bird of the species called Ari. In their new shapes the two have a furious fight, 153 the Ari being of the portentous height of two thousand vojanas (= 18000 miles), and the Vaka of 3090 vojanas. They first assail each other with their wings; then the Vaka smites his antagonist in the same manner, while the Ari strikes with his talons. Falling mountains, overturned by the blasts of wind raised by the

<sup>187</sup> On the subject of this fight the Bhagavata Purana has the following verse: ix. 7, 6. Traisenkave Harischandre Vissümitra-Vasishthayek | yan-nimittam abhud yuddham pakshiner bahu-vürshikam | "The son of Triianku was Harischundra, on whose account Visvamitra and Vasishtha in the form of birds had a battle of many

flapping of their wings, shake the whole earth, the waters of the ocean overflow, the earth itself, thrown off its perpendicular, slopes downwards towards Patala, the lower regions. Many creatures perish by these various convulsions. Attracted by the dire disorder, Brahma arrives, attended by all the gods, on the spot, and commands the combatants to desist from their fray. They were too fiercely infuriated to regard this injunction: but Brahma put an end to the conflict by restoring them to their natural forms, and counselling them to be reconciled: i. 9, 28. Na chāpi Kauśika-śreshthas tasya rājno 'parādhyate | svarga-präptikaro brahmann upakära-pade sthitah | 29. Tapo-vighnasya karttārau kāma-krodha-vašam gatau | parityajata bhadram no brahma hi prachuram balam | 'The son of Kuśika has not inflicted any wrong on Harischandra: inasmuch as he has caused the king's elevation to heaven he stands in the position of a benefactor. 29, Since ye have vielded to the influence of desire and anger ye have obstructed your austere fervour; leave off, bless you; the Brahmanical power is transcendent.' The sages were accordingly pacified, and embraced each other."

This interesting legend may be held to have had a double object, viz. first to portray in lively colours the heroic fortitude and sense of duty exhibited by Harischandra and his wife in enduring the long series of severe trials to which they were subjected; and secondly, to represent Visvamitra in an unamiable light, as an oppressive assertor of those sacerdotal prerogatives, which he had conquered for himself by his austerities, is to place him in striking contrast with the genuine Brahman Vasishtha who expresses strong indignation at the harsh procedure of his rival, and to recall the memory of those conflicts between

years duration." On this the Commentator remarks: Viścümitro rājasūya-dakahiņā-chhalena Harišchandrasya sarva-svam apahritya yūtayūmāsa | tach chhruteā kupito Vasishihle 'pi Viścümitram' "tram örī bhava" iti sašūpa | so 'pi "tram vako bhava" iti Vasishihlam šašūpa | tayos cha yuddham abhūd iti prasiddam | "Višvūmitra under pretence of taking a present for a rajasūya sacrifice, stripped Harischandra of all his property, and afflicted him. Vasishihla hearing of this, became incensed, and by an imprecation turned him into an Ārī. Višvūmitra retorted the curse and changed Vasishiha into a Vāka. And then a battle took place between them, as is well known." Here it will be seen that the Commentator changes the birds into which the rishis were transformed, making Vis'vāmitra the Ārī and Vasishiha the Vāka.

183 It is true that the Brühman rishi Durväsas also is represented as a very irascible personage. See vol. iv. of this work, pp. 105, 169, 208, 407; and Weber's Ind. St. iii. 398.

the Brāhmans and Kshattriyas, which were exemplified in the persons of these two sages, of whom the one is said to have been made the "lord of Brāhmans" (Vašishtham īšam viprāņām, M.Bh. Sāntip. v. 4499), and the other is declared in the story before us to have been the "enemy of the priests."

# SECT. X.—Contest of Vasishtha and Visvāmitra according to the Mahabharata.

In the Adiparvan of the Mahābhārata, verses 6638 ff., we find another legend, in the Brahmanical interest, regarding the same two great personages, which begins with a panegyric on Vasishtha, at the expense of the rival rishi:

6638. Brahmano manasah putro Vasishtho 'rundhati-patih | tapasa nirjitau śaśvad ajeyāv amarair api | kāma-krodhāv ubhau yasya charanau sameavāhatuh | yas tu nochchhedanam chakre Kušikānām udāra-dhīh | Viśvāmitrāparādhena dhārayan manyum uttamam | 6640. Putra-vyasanasantaptah šaktimon apy ašakta-vat | Višvāmitra-vināšāya na chakre karma darunam | mritam's cha punar aharttum yah sa putran Yama-kshayat | kritantam natichakrama velam iva mahodadhih | yam prapya vijitatmanam mahatmanam naradhipah | Iksheakavo mahipalah lebhire prithivim imām | purohitam imam prāpya Vasishtham rishi-sattamam | 1jire kratubhis chaira nripās te Kuru-nandana ; sa hi tān yājayāmāsa sarrān nripati-sattamān | brahmarshih Pāndava-śreshtha Vrihaspatir ivāmarān | 6645. Tasmād dharma-pradhānātmā veda-dharma-vid īpsitaḥ | brūhmaṇo gunavan kaśchit purodhah paridriśyatam | kshattriyenabhijatena prithivīm jetum ichhatā | pūrvam purohitah kūryyah pūrtha rājyābhisiddhaye | mahīm jigīshatā rājnā brohma kāryam purassaram | . . . 6666. Kshattriyo 'ham bhacan vipras tapah-scadhyaya-sadhanah | brahmaneshu kuto viryyam prašantesku dhritatmasu | arbudena gatām yas tram na dadāsi mamepsitam | sva-dharmam na prahāsyāmi neshyāmi cha balena gām | . . . . 6679. "Sthiyatām" iti tach ehhruteā Vasishthasya payasvinī | ūrddhvānchita-śiro-grīvā prababhau raudra-daršanā | 6680. Krodha-raktekshanā sā gaur hambhā-rava-ghana-svanā | Visvāmitrasya tat sainyams vyadrāvayata sarvašaķ | kašāgra-daņdābhihatā kālyamānā tatastatab | krodha-raktekshana krodham bhuya eva samadadhe | aditya iva madhyuhne krodha-dipta-vapur babhau | angara-varsham munchanti muhur baladhito

mahat | asrijat Pahlavān puchhāt prasravād Drāvidān Sakān | yoni-dešāch cha Yavanān šakritaḥ Savarān bahūn | . . . . 6691. Drishtvā tad mahad āšcharyam brahma-tejo-bhavam tadā | Višvāmitraḥ kshattra-bhāvād nirviṇno vākyam abravīt | "dhig balam kshattriya-balam brahma-tejo-balam balam | balābalam vinišchitya tapaḥ eva param balam" | sa rājyam sphītam utsrijya tām cha dīptām nripa-śriyam | bhogāmš cha prishthataḥ kritvā tapasy eva mano dadhe | sa gatvā tapasā siddhim lokān vishtabhya tejasā | 6695. Tatāpa sarvān dīptaujāḥ brāhmaṇatvam avāptavān | api-bach cha tataḥ somam Indrena saha Kaušikaḥ |

6638. "Vasishtha," a Gandharva informs Arjuna, "was the mindborn son of Brahmā and husband of Arundhatī. By his austere fervour, lust and anger, invincible even by the immortals, were constantly vanquished and embraced his feet. Restraining his indignation at the wrong done by Viśvāmitra, he magnanimously abstained from exterminating the Kuśikas. 6640. Distressed by the loss of his sons, he acted, although powerful, like one who was powerless, and took no

184 Arundhati is again mentioned as the wife of Vasishtha, in the following lines of the M. Bh. Adip. 7351 f. addressed to Draupadi: Yathendrani Harihaye Svaha chaira Vibhovasau | Rohini cha yatha Some Damayanti yatha Nale | yatha Vaisravane Bhadra Faiishthe chapy Arundhati | yatha Narayans Lakshmis tatha team bhaca bharttrishu | "What Indran! is to Indra, Svaha to the Sun, Robini to the Moon, Damayanti to Nala, Bhadru to Kuvera, Arundhati to Vasishtha, and Lakshmi to Narayana, that be thou to thy husbands." She is again noticed in verses 8455 ff. -Swereta ekapi kalyani sarea-bhuteshu eisrutu | Arundhati mahatmanam Vasishtham paryaiankata | visuddha-bhavam atyantam sada priya-hiteratam | soptarshi-madhyagam viram ovamene chu tam munim | apadhyanena sa tena dhumaruna-suma-probha | lakshya 'lakshya nabhirupa nimittam ico pasyati | "The fuithful and beautiful Arundhati, renowned among all creatures, was suspicious about the great Vasishtha, whose nature was eminently pure, who was devoted to the welfare of those he loved, who was one of the seven rishis, and heroic; and she despised the muni. In consequence of these evil surmises, becoming of the dusky colour of smoke, both to be seen and not to be seen, devoid of beauty, she looks like a (bad) omen." This version of the last line is suggested by Prof. Aufrecht. The Commentator explains it thus: "Nimittam" bharttur lakshmanam "iea paiyati" kapatena | atah eea "nabhirupa prachhannaresha | tena hetuwi "lakshyi 'lakshyi cha" | " She regards as it were ' i.e. by guile 'the omen' afforded by her husband's (bodily) marks, hence she assumed a disguise, and was 'both to be seen and not to be seen,"

165 As regards the magnanimous character here assigned to Vasishtha, I quote a passage from the Viahau Purana, i. 0, 15 ff., where the trascible Duryassa (to whom I lately referred, and who is said, in verse 2, to be a partial incarnation of S'iva, S'ankarasyōmiah), addressing Indra, who, he conceived, had insulted him, thus speaks of that sage's amiable temper, as contrasted with his own fierce and revengeful disposition: 15. Nāham kṛipālu-kṛidayo na cha mām bhajate kshamā | anys ts mun-

dreadful measures for the destruction of Visvamitra. To recover those sons from the abode of Yama, he would not overstep fate, as the ocean respects its shores. Having gained this great self-mastering personage, the kings of Ikshvaku's race acquired (the dominion of) this earth. Obtaining this most excellent of rishis for their family-priest, they offered sacrifices. This Brahman-rishi officiated as priest for all those monarchs, as Vrihaspati does for the gods. 6645. Wherefore let some desirable, virtuous Brahman, with whom righteousness is the chief thing, and skilled in Vedic observances, be selected for this office. Let a well-born Kshattriya, who wishes to subdue the earth, first of all appoint a family-priest in order that he may augment his dominion. Let a king, who desires to conquer the earth, give precedence to the Brahmanical power." The Gandharva then, at Arjuna's request, goes on (verses 6650 ff.) to relate the "ancient story of Vasishtha" (vāsishtham ākhyānam purānam) and to describe the cause of enmity between that rishi and Viśvāmitra. It happened that the latter, who was son of Gadhi, king of Kanyakubja (Kanouj), and grandson of Kusika, when out hunting, came to the hermitage of Vasishtha, where he was received with all honour, entertained together with his attendants with delicious food and drink, and presented with precious jewels and dresses obtained by the sage from his wonder-working cow, the fulfiller of all his desires. The cupidity of Viśvāmitra is aroused by the sight of this beautiful animal (all of whose fine points are enumerated in the legend), and he offers Vasishtha a hundred million cows, or his kingdom, in exchange for her. Vasishtha, however, replies that he is unable to part with her even in return for the kingdom. Viśvāmitra then tells him that he will, enforce the law of the stronger: 6665. "I am a Kshattriya, thou art a Brühman, whose functions are austere fervour, and sacred study. How can there be any vigour in Brahmans who are calm and selfrestrained? Since thou doest not give up to me, in exchange for a

ayah S'akra Durvõsosam avehi mām | Gautamādibhir anyais tram garvam āpādito mudhā | akshānti-sāra-sarvasram Durvõsasam avehi mām | 17. Vasishthādyair dayā-sāraih stotram kurvadhhir uchchakaih | garvam gato'si yenaisam mām athādyāva-manyass | 15. "I am not tender-hearted: patience lodges not in me. Those munis are different: know me to be Durväsas. 16. In vain hast thou been rendered proud by Gautama and others: know me to be Durväsas, whose nature and whose entire substance is irascibility. 17. Thou hast become proud through the load praises of Vasishtha and other merciful saints, since thou thus contempest me to-day."

hundred million of cows, that which I desire, I shall not abandon my own class-characteristic; I will carry away the cow by force." Vasishtha, confident, no doubt, of his own superior power, tells him to do as he proposes without loss of time. Viśvāmitra accordingly seizes the wonder-working cow; but she will not move from the hermitage, though beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither. Witnessing this, Vasishtha asks her what he, a patient Brahman, can do? She demands of him why he overlooks the violence to which she is subjected. Vasishtha replies: "Force is the strength of Kshattriyas, patience that of Brahmans. As patience possesses me, go, if thou pleasest" (6676. Kshattriyanam balam tejo brahmananam kshama balam | kshama mām bhajate yasmāt gamyatām yadi rochate). The cow enquires if he means to abandon her; as, unless he forsakes her, she can never be carried off by force. She is assured by Vasishtha that he does not forsake her, 1 and that she should remain if she could. "Hearing these words of her master, the cow tosses her head aloft, assumes a terrific aspect, (6680) her eyes become red with rage, she utters a deep bellowing sound, and puts to flight the entire army of Viśvāmitra. Being (again) beaten with whip and stick, and pushed hither and thither, she becomes more incensed, her eyes are red with anger, her whole body, kindled by her indignation, glows like the noonday sun, she discharges showers of firebrands from her tail, creates Pahlavas from the same member, Dravidas and Sakas, Yavanas, Sabaras," Kanchis, Sarabhas, Paundras, Kiratas, Sinhalas, Vasas, and other tribes of armed warriors from her sweat, urine, excrement, etc., who assail Viśvāmitra's army, and put it to a complete rout. 6692. "Beholding this great miracle, the product of Brahmanical might, Viśvāmitra was humbled at (the impotence of ) a Kahattriya's nature, and exclaimed, 'Shame on a Kahattriya's force; it is the force of a Brahman's might that is force indeed.' Examining what was and was not force, and (ascertaining) that austere fervour is the supreme force, he abandoned his prosperous kingdom and all its brilliant regal splendour; and casting all enjoyments behind its back, he devoted himself to austerity. Having by this means attained perfection, and Brahmanhood, he arrested the worlds by his flery vigour, and disturbed them all by the blaze of his glory; and at length the Kausika drank soma with Indra." 18

<sup>168</sup> Sec above, p. 342, and note 134.

The same legend is repeated in the Salyaparvan, verses 2295 ff. :

Tathā cha Kauśikas tāta tapo-nityo jitendriyah | tapasā vai sutaptena brāhmaņatvam avāptavān | Gādhir nāma mahān āsīt kshattriyah prathito bhuvi | tasya puttro bhavad rājan Viśvāmitrah pratāpavān | sa rājā Kauśikas tāta mahāyogy abhavat kila | sa puttram abhishichyātha Viśvāmitram mahātapāh | deha-nyāse manas chakre tam ūchuh pranatāh prajāḥ | " na gantavyam mahāprājna trāhi chāsmān mahābhayāt" | evam uktah pratyuvācha tato Gādhih prajās tatah | "višvasya jagato goptā bhavishyati suto mama" | 2300. Ity uktvā tu tato Gādhir Viśvāmitram nivešya cha | jagāma tridivam rājan Višvāmitro 'bhavad nripah | na sa šaknoti prithivim yatnavan api rakshitum | tatah šuśrava raja sa rakshasebhyo mahabhayam | niryayau nagarach chapi chatur-anga-balansitah | sa yātvā dūram adhvānam Vasishthāsramam abhyagūt | tasya te scinikāh rājams chakrus tattrālayān bahūn | tatas tu bhagavān vipro Vašishtho Brahmanah sutah | dadriśe tha tatah sarvam bhajyamanam mahazanam | tavya kruddho maharaja Vušishtho muni-sattamah | 2305. "Srijasva Savarān ghoran" iti svām gam uvācha ha | tathoktā sā 'srijad dhenuh purushan ghora-darsanan | te cha tad balam asadya babhanjuh sarvato disam | tach chhrutvā vidrutam sainyam Visvāmitras tu Gödhijah | tapah param manyamūnas tapasy eva mano dadhe | so 'smims tīriha-vare rājan Sarasvatyāh samāhitah | niyamais chopavāsais cha karshsyan deham ātmanah | jalāhāro vāyubhakshah parnāhāras cha so 'bhavst | tathā sthandila-śdył cha ye chanye niyamah prithak | asakrit tasya decas tu vratavighnam prachakrire | 2310. Na chāsya niyamād budéhir apayāti mahātmanah | tatah parena yatnena taptva bahu-vidham topah | tejasa bhaskarākāro Gādhijah samapadyata | tapasā tu tathā yuktam Viśvāmitram Pitāmahah | amanyata mahātejāh vara-do varam asya lat | sa tu vavre varam rājan " syām aham brākmaņas to" iti | talheti chābravīd Brahmā sarva-loka-pitāmahah | za labdhvā tapasogrena brihmanatvam mahāyašāh | vichachara mahim kritsnam kritakamah suropanah |

"2295. So too the Kauśika, constant in austerities, and subduing his senses, acquired Brahmanhood by the severity of his exercises. There was a great Kshattriya named Gādhi, renowned in the world, whose son was the powerful Viśvāmitra. This Kauśika prince (Gādhi) was greatly addicted to contemplation (mahāyogā): and after having installed his son as king, he resolved to abandon his corporal existence. His subjects, however, submissively said to him, 'Do not go, o great sage, but deliver

us from our great alarm.' He replied, 'My son shall become the protector of the whole world.' 2300. Having accordingly installed Viśvāmitra, Gādhi went to heaven, and his son became king. Viśvāmitra, however, though energetic, was unable to protect the earth. He then heard that there was great cause of apprehension from the Rakshasas, and issued forth from the city, with an army consisting of four kinds of forces. Having performed a long journey, he arrived at the hermitage of Vasishtha. There his soldiers constructed many dwellings. In consequence the divine Brahman Vasishtha, son of Brahma, beheld the whole forest being cut up; and becoming enraged, he said to his cow, (2805) 'Create terrible Savaras.' The cow, so addressed, created men of dreadful aspect, who broke and scattered in all directions the army of Viśvāmitra. Hearing of this rout of his army, the son of Gadhi devoted himself to austerities, which he regarded as the highest (resource). In this sacred spot on the Sarasvatī he maccrated his body with acts of self-restraint and fastings, absorbed in contemplation, and living on water, air, and leaves, sleeping on the sacrificial ground, and practising all the other rites. Several times the gods threw impediments in his way; (2310) but his attention was never distracted from his observances. Having thus with strenuous effort undergone manifold austerities, the son of Gādhi became luminous as the sun; and Brahmā regarded his achievements as most eminent. The boon which Viśvāmitra chose was to become a Brahman; and Brahma replied, 'So be it.' Having attained Brahmanhood, the object of his desire, by his severe austerities, the renowned sage traversed the whole earth, like a god."

We have already seen how the power of austere fervour (tapas) is exemplified in the legend of Nahusha (above, pp. 308 ff.). In regard to the sense of this word tapas, and the potency of the exercise which it denotes, I may refer to my articles in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, p. 348 f., and for 1864, p. 63, as well as to the fourth volume of this work, pp. 20 ff. and 288; and to pp. 23 and 28 of the present volume. In further illustration of the same subject I quote the following panegyric upon tapas from Manu, xi. 234 ff. where, however, the word cannot have the same sense in all the verses:

Tapo-mūlam idam sarvam daiva-mānushakam sukham | tapo-madhyam budhaiḥ proktam tapo'ntam veda-darsībhiḥ | 235. Brāhmaṇasya tapo jnānam tapaḥ kshattrasya rakshaṇam | vaisyasya tu tapo vārttā tapaḥ śūdrasyo sevanam | 236. Rishayah samyatātmānah phala-mūlānilāšanāh | tapasaiva prapašyanti trailokyam sa-charācharam | 237. Aushadhāny agado vidyā daivī eha vividhā sthitih | tapasaiva praviddhyanti tapas teshām hi sādhanam | 238. Yad dustaram yad durāpam yad durgam yach cha dush-karam | sarvam tu tapasā sūdhyam tapo hi duratikramam | 239. Mahāpā-takinaš chaiva šeshāš chākāryya-kārinah | tapasaiva sutaptena muchyante kilvishāt tatah | 240. Kītāš chāhi-patangāš cha pašavaš cha vayāmsi cha | sthāvarāni cha bhātāni divam yānti tapo-balāt | 241. Yat kinchid enah kurvanti mano-vāň-mūrttibhir janāh | tat sarvam nirdahanty āšu tapasaiva tapodhanāh | 242. Tapasaiva višuddhasya brāhmaṇasya divaukasah | ijyāš cha pratigrihṇanti kāmān samvarddhayanti cha | 243. Prajapatir idam šāstram tapasaivāsrijat prabhuh | tathaiva cedān rishayas tapasā pratipedire | 244. Ity etat tapasa devāh mahābhāgyam prachakshate | sarvasyāsya prapašyantas tapasah punyam uttamam |

"234. All the enjoyment, whether of gods or men, has its root, its centre, and its end in tapas; so it is declared by the wise who have studied the Veda. 235, Knowledge is a Brahman's topas; protection that of a Kshattriya; traffic that of Vaisya; and service that of a Sūdra. 236. It is by tapas that rishis of subdued souls, subsisting on fruits, roots, and air obtain a vision of the three worlds with all things moving and stationary. 237. Medicines, health, science, and the various divine conditions are attained by tapas alone as their instrument of acquisition. 238. Whatever is hard to be traversed, or obtained, or reached, or effected, is all to be accomplished through tapas, of which the potency is irresistible. 239. Both those who are guilty of the great sins, and all other transgressors, are freed from sin by fervid tapas. 240. Worms, serpents, insects, beasts, birds, and beings without motion attain to heaven through the force of tapas. 241. Whatever sin men commit by thought, word, or bodily acts, by tapas they speedily consume it all, when they become rich in devotion. 242. The gods both accept the sacrifices and augment the enjoyments of the Brihman who has been purified by tapas. 243. It was by tapas that Prajapati the lord created this scripture; and through it that the rishis obtained the Vedas. 244. Such is the great dignity which the gods ascribe to tapas, beholding its transcendent merit."

I return for a moment to the story of Vasishtha and his cow. Lassen remarks (Ind. Alt. 2nd ed. i. 631, note) that Atharvan is given in the Lexicons as a name of Vasishtha (see Wilson's Dictionry, s.v.). Weber (Ind. St. i. 289) quotes from Mallinatha's Commentary on the the Kiratārjunīya the following words: Atharvanas tu mantroddhāro Vasishthena kritah ity āgamah | "There is a passage of scripture to the effect that the mantras of the Atharvan were selected by Vasishtha." In Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v. Atharvan, it is noticed that the eleventh hymn of the fifth book of the Atharva-veda contains a conversation between Atharvan and Varuna about the possession of a wonderful cow bestowed by the latter on the former; and it is remarked that this circumstance may explain the subsequent identification of Atharvan with Vasishtha. Prof. Roth, however (Diss. on the A.V., Tübingen, 1865, p. 9), thinks the two sages are distinct. The cow is spoken of in A.V. vii. 104, as the "brindled cow given by Varuna to Atharvan which never lacked a calf" (prišnim dhenum Varunena dattām Atharvane nitya-vasām). The following is the curious hymn referred to:

A.V. v. 11, 1. Katham mahe amrāya abravīr iha katham pitre haraye tvesha-nrimrah | prišnim Varuna dakshinām dadāvān punarmaghateam 183 manasa 'chikitsīḥ | 2. Na kāmena punarmagho bhavāmi sam chakshe kam priknim etam upajo | kena nu tvam Atharcan karyena kena jatena asi jāta-vedāh | 3. Satyam aham gabhīrah kāvyena satyam jātena asmi jātavedāh | na me dāso na āryyg mahitvā vratam mīmāya yad aham dharishye | 4. Na tead anyah kavitaro na medhayā dhīrataro Varuna seadhavan | team ta viśca bhucanani vettha sa chid nu teaj jano mayl bibhāya | 5. Tvam hi anga Varuna svadhāvan višvā vettha janimā supranîte | kim rajasah end paro anyad asti end kim parena avaram amura | 6. Ekam rajasah ena paro anyad asti ena parah ekena durnasam chid arvāk | tat te vidvān Varuna pra bravīmi adhovarchasah panayo bhacantu | nīchair dāsāh upa sarpantu bhūmim | 7. Tvam hi anga Varuna braviski punarmagkesku avadyūni bhūri | mo sku paņīr abki etāvato bhūr mā tvā vochann arādhasam janāsah | 8. Mā mā vochann arādhasam janasah punas te prisnim jaritar dadami | stotram me viscam a yahi šachībhir antar višvāsu mānushīshu vikshu | 9. A te stotrāņi udyatāni yantu antar viśrasu manushīshu vikshu | dehi nu me yad me adatto asi yujyo me sapta-padah sakhā 'si | 10. Samāno bandhur Varuna samā jā vedāham tad yad nāv eshā samā jā | dadāmi tad yat te ādatto asmi yujyas

<sup>187</sup> This is the reading proposed by Professor Aufrecht instead of pussarmagha tvam, which is found in Roth and Whitney's edition of the A.V.

te sapta-padah sakhā 'smi | 11. Devo devāya griņate vayodāh vipro viprāya stuvate sumedhāh | ajījano hi Varuņa svadhāvann Atharvāṇam pitaram deva-bandhum | tasmai u rādhah kriņuhi suprasastam sakhā no asi paramas cha bandhuh |

1. (Atharvan speaks) "How hast thou, who art mighty in energy, declared before the great deity, how before the shining father (that the cow was mine)? 188 Having bestowed a brindled cow (on me) as a sacrificial gift, thou hast resolved in thy mind to take her back. 2. (Varuna replies) It is not through desire that I revoke the gift; I drive hither this brindled cow that I may contemplate her. But by what wisdom, o Atharvan, in virtue of what nature, doest thou know the nature of beings? 3. (Atharvan answers) In truth I am profound in wisdom; in truth by my nature I know the nature of beings. Neither Dasa nor Aryya can hinder the design which I shall undertake. 4. There is none other wiser or sager in understanding than thou, o self-dependent Varuna. Thou knowest all creatures; even the man of deep devices is afraid of thee. 5. Thou, o self-dependent Varuna, o wise director, knowest all creatures. What other thing is beyond this atmosphere? and what is nearer than that remotest thing, o thou unerring? 6. (Varuna replies) There is one thing beyond this atmosphere; and on this side of that one there is that which is near though inaccessible. Knowing that thing I declare it to thee. Let the glory of the niggards be cast down; let the Dasas sink downward into the earth. 7. (Atharvan rejoins) Thou, o Varuna, sayest many evil things of those who revoke their gifts. Be not thou numbered among so many niggards; let not men call thee illiberal. S. (Varuna replies) Let not men call me illiberal; I restore to thee, o worshipper, the brindled cow. Attend with all thy powers at every hymn in my honour among all the tribes of men. 9. (Atharvan answers) Let hymns ascend to thee among all the tribes of men. Give me that which thou hast taken from me; thou art to me an intimate friend of seven-fold value. 10. We two have a common bond, o Varuna, a common descent. I know what this common descent of ours is. (Varuna answers) I give thee that which I

<sup>188</sup> Professor Anfrecht thinks that Dyans, 'the Heaven,' is denoted by make asuraya, and that pitre haraye, if the correct reading, can only mean the Sun, the word hari being several times applied to that great luminary. I am otherwise indebted to Prof. A. for the correct sense of this line, and for other suggestions.

#### THE BRAHMANS AND KSHATTRIYAS.

have taken from thee. I am thy intimate friend of seven-fold vi who, myself a god, confer life on thee a god [or priest, devāya] w praisest me, an intelligent sage on thee a sage. (The poet says) Tho. o self-dependent Varuna, hast begotten our father Atharvan, a kinsman of the gods. Grant to him most excellent wealth; thou art our friend and most eminent kinsman."

## SECT. XI .- The same, and other legends, according to the Ramayana.

The story told in the preceding section is related at greater length in chapters 51-65 100 of the Balakanda, or first book, of the Ramavana. of which I shall furnish an outline, noting any important variations from, or aditions to, the account in the Mahabharata, and at the same time giving an abstract of the other legends which are interwoven with the narrative. There was formerly, we are told, a king called Kuśa, son of Prajapati, who had a son called Kuśanabha, who was father of Gadhi, the father of Viśvamitra. The latter ruled the earth for many thousand years. On one occasion, when he was making a circuit of the earth, he came to Vasishtha's hermitage, the pleasant abode of many saints, sages, and holy devotees (chapter 51, verses 11-29). where, after at first declining, he allowed himself to be hospitably entertained with his followers by the son of Brahma (ch. 52). Visvāmitra (ch. 53), however, coveting the wondrous cow, which had supplied all the dainties of the feast, first of all asked that she should be given to him in exchange for a hundred thousand common cows. adding that "she was a gem, that gems were the property of the king. and that, therefore, the cow was his by right" (53, 9. Ratnam hi bhagavann etad ratna-hari cha parthivah | 10. Tasmad me sabalam dehi mamaishā dharmato deija). On this price being refused, the king advances immensely in his offers, but all without effect. He then proceeds (ch. 54)-very ungratefully and tyrannically, it must be allowed-to have the cow removed by force, but she breaks away from his attendants, and rushes back to her master, complaining that he was deserting her. He replies that he was not deserting her, but that the king was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> These are the sections of Schlegel's and the Bombay editions, which correspond to sections 52-67 of Gorresio's edition.

### BARLY CONTESTS BETWEEN

more powerful than he. She answers, 54, 14: Na balam kshatyasyahur brahmanah balavattarah | brahman brahma-balam divyam hāttrāch cha balabattaram | aprameyam balam tubhyam na teayā balaattarah | Viśvāmitro mahāvīryo tejas tava durāsadam | niyunkshva mām ... mahātejas tvam brahma-bala-sambhritām | tasya darpam balam yatnam nāśayāmi durātmanah | "Men do not ascribe strength to a Kshattriya: the Brühmans are stronger. The strength of Brühmans is divine, and superior to that of Kshattriyas. 15. Thy strength is immeasurable. Viśvāmitra, though of great vigour, is not more powerful than thou. Thy energy is invincible. Commission me, who have been acquired by thy Brahmanical power, and I will destroy the pride, and force, and attempt of this wicked prince." 130 She accordingly by her bellowing creates hundreds of Pahlavas, who destroy the entire host (nasayunti balam sarvam, verse 19) of Viśvāmitra, but are slain by him in their turn. Sakas and Yavanas, of great power and valour, and well armed. were then produced, who consumed the king's soldiers, 191 but were routed by him. The cow then (ch. 55) calls into existence by her bellowing, and from different parts of her body, other warriors of various tribes, who again destroyed Visvāmitra's entire army, foot soldiers, elephants, horses, chariots, and all. A hundred of the monarch's sons, armed with various weapons, then rushed in great fury on Vasishtha, but were all reduced to ashes in a moment by the blast of that sage's mouth.192 Viśvāmitra, being thus utterly vanquished and humbled, appointed one of his sons to be regent, and travelled to the Himālaya, where he betook himself to austerities, and thereby obtained a vision of Mahadeva, who at his desire revealed to him the science of arms in all its branches, and gave him celestial weapons with which, elated and full of pride, he consumed the hermitage of Vasishtha, and put its inhabitants to flight. Vasishtha then threatens Visvamitra and

191 We had been before told that they had been killed, so that this looks like a

slaving of the slain, as no resuscitation of the army is alluded to.

<sup>190</sup> Compare Manu, xi. 32 : Sea-vīryād rūja-vīryāch cha sea-vīryam balavattaram | tanuat remaire viryens nigribulyad arin drijah [ " Of the two, his own, and a king's might, let a Brahman know that his own is superior. By his own might alone, therefore, let him restrain his enemies."

<sup>192</sup> On this the Commentator remarks that "though these princes were Kahattriyas, they were not actual kings, and had acted tyrannically; so that a very slight expintion was required for killing them" (kahattriyates pi prithivi-patitväbhövät tad-badhs alpa-präyaichittam ätatäyiteäch cha [].

uplifts his Brahmanical mace. Viśvāmitra, too, raises his fiery weapon and calls out to his adversary to stand. Vasishtha bids him to show his strength, and boasts that he will soon humble his pride. He asks: . (56, 4) Kva cha te kshattriya-balam kva cha brahma-balam mahat | paśya brahma-balam divyam mama kshattriya-pāmsana | tasyāstram Gādhiputrasya ghoram ügneyam udyatam | brahma-dandena tach chhantam agner cegah ivāmbhasā | " What comparison is there between a Kshattriya's might, and the great might of a Brahman? Behold, thou contemptible Kshattriya, my divine Brahmanical power.' The dreadful fiery weapon uplifted by the son of Gadhi was then quenched by the rod of the Brahman, as fire is by water." Many and various other celestial missiles, as the nooses of Brahmā, Kāla (Time), and Varuņa, the discus of Vishņu, and the trident of Siva, were hurled by Viśvāmitra at his antagonist, but the son of Brahma swallowed them up in his all-devouring mace. Finally, to the intense consternation of all the gods, the warrior shot off the terrific weapon of Brahma (brahmastra); but this was equally ineffectual against the Brahmanical sage. Vasishtha had now assumed a direful appearance: (58, 18) Roma-kûpeshu sarveshu Vaśishthasya mahatmanuh | marichyah iva nishpetur agner dhumakularchishah | prajcalad brahma-dandas cha Vasishthasya karodyatah | vidhumah ica kalagnir Yama-dandah icaparah | "Jets of fire mingled with smoke darted from the pores of his body; (19) the Brahmanical mace blazed in his hand like a smokeless150 mundane conflagration, or a second sceptre of Yama." Being appeased, however, by the munis, who proclaimed his superiority to his rival, the sage stayed his vengeance; and Viśvāmitra exclaimed with a groan: (56, 23) Dhig balam kshattriya-balam brahma-tejo-balam balam | ekena brahma-dandena sarvāstrāni hatāni me | " Shame on a Ksbattriya's strength: the strength of a Brahman's might alone is strength: by the single Brahmanical mace all my weapons have been destroyed." No alternative now remains to the humiliated monarch, but either to acquiesce in this helpless inferiority, or to work out his own elevation to the Brahmanical order. He embraces the latter alternative: (56, 24) Ted etat prasamikshyaham prasannendriya-manasah | tapo mahat samāsthāsye yad vai brahmatva-kāranam | "Having pondered well this defeat, I shall betake myself, with composed senses and mind,

<sup>193</sup> The Bombay edition has ridhumah. Schlegel's and Gorresio's editions have sadhumah, "enveloped in smoke."

to strenuous austere fervour, which shall exalt me to the rank of a Brāhman." Intensely vexed and mortified, groaning and full of hatred against his enemy, he travelled with his queen to the south, and carried his resolution into effect; (ch. 57) and we are first of all told that three sons Havishyanda, Madhusyanda, and Dridhanetra were born to him. At the end of a thousand years Brahma appeared, and announced that he had conquered the heaven of royal sages (rajarshis); and, in consequence of his austere fervour, he was recognised as having attained that rank. Viśvāmitra, however, was ashamed, grieved, and incensed at the offer of so very inadequate a reward, and exclaimed: "I have practised intense austerity, and the gods and rishis regard me only as a rajarshi! 184 Austerities, it appears, are altogether fruitless'" (57, 5. Jitāh rājarshi-lokās te tapasā Kušikātmaja | 6. Anena tapasă tram hi răjarshir iti vidmahe | . . . . 7. Viśvāmitro 'pi tach chhrutvā hriyā kinchid avān-mukhah | duhkhena mahatā "vishtah samanyur idam abravīt | tapaš cha sumahat taptam rajarshir iti mām viduh | devah sarshi-qunah sarve nasti manye tapah-phalam |). Notwithstanding

184 The Vishnu Purana, iii. 6, 21, says: "There are three kinds of rishis: Brahmärshis, after them Devarshis, and after them Rajarshis" (jneyah brahmarshayah pürvam tebhyo derarshayah punah | rojarshayah punas tebhyah rishi-prakritayas trayed | ). Böhtlingk and Roth, s.e. riski, mention also (on the authority of the vocabulary called Trikundasesha) the words maharshi (great risht), paramarshi (most eminent rishi), drutarshi (secondary rishi), and kandarshi, who is explained s.r. to be a teacher of a particular portion (könda) of the Veda. Decarshis are explained by Professor Wilson (V.P., iii. p. 68, paraphrasing the text of the Vishnu Purana), to be "sages who are demi-gods also;" Brahmarshis to be "sages who are sons of Brahma or Brahmans;" and Rajorshis to be "princes who have adopted a life of devotion." In a note he adds: "A similar enumeration is given in the Vayu, with some additions: Rishi is derived from rish, 'to go to,' or 'approach;' the Brahmarshis, it is said, are descendants of the five patriarchs, who were the founders of races or gotras of Brahmans, or Kasyapa, Vasishtha, Angiras, Atri, and Bhrigu; the Devarshis are Nara and Nārāyana, the sons of Dharma; the Balakhilyas, who sprang from Kratu; Kardama, the son of Pulaha; Kuvera, the son of Pulastya; Achala, the son of Pratyūsha; Nūrada and Parvata, the sons of Kadyapa. Rūjurshis are ikshvāku and other princes. The Bruhmarshis dwell in the sphere of Bruhma; the Devarshis in the region of the gods; and the Rajarshis in the heaven of Indra." Brahmarshis are evidently rishis who were priests; and Rajarshis, rishis of kingly extraction. If so, a Devarshi, having a divine character, should be something higher than either. Professor Roth, following apparently the Trikandas caha, defines them as "rishis dwelling among the gods." I am not aware how far back this classification of rishis goes in Indian literature. Roth, s.vv. rishi, brahmarshi and devarshi does not give any references to these words as occurring in the Brahmanas; and they are not found in the hymns of the R.V. where, however, the "seven rishis" are mentioned. Regarding rajarshis see pp. 266 ff. above.

this disappointment, he had ascended one grade, and forthwith recommenced his work of mortification.

At this point of time his austerities were interrupted by the following occurrences: King Triśanku, one of Ikshvāku's descendants, had conceived the design of celebrating a sacrifice by virtue of which he should ascend bodily to heaven. As Vasishtha, on being summoned. declared that the thing was impossible (aśakyam), Triśanku travelled to the south, where the sage's hundred sons were engaged in austerities, and applied to them to do what their father had declined. Though he addressed them with the greatest reverence and humility, and added that "the Ikshvakus regarded their family-priests as their highest resource in difficulties, and that, after their father, he himself looked to them as his tutelary deities" (57, 22. Ikshvākunām hi sarveshām purodhah parama gatih | tasmad anantaram sarce bhacanto dairatam mama), he received from the haughty priests the following rebuke for his presumption: (58, 2) Pratyākhyāto'si durbuddhe gurunā satyavādinā | tam katham samatikramya śūkhantaram upeyivan | 3. Ikshvakunam hi sarvesham purodhah parama gatih | na chatikramitum sakyam vachanam satyavādinah | 4. "Ašakyam" iti chovācha Vašishtho bhagavān rishih | tam vayam vai samāharttum kratum šaktāh katham tava | 5. Bālišas team nara-śreshtha gamyatām sva-puram punah | yājane bhagavān šaktas trailokyasyapi parthiva | avamanam katham kartum tasya sakshyamahe vayam | "Fool, thou hast been refused by thy truth-speaking preceptor. How is it that, disregarding his authority, thou hast resorted to another school (śākhā)? 100 3. The family-priest is the highest oracle of all the Ikshvākus; and the command of that veracious personage cannot be transgressed. 4. Vasishtha, the divine rishi, has declared that 'the thing cannot be;' and how can we undertake thy sacrifice? 5. Thou art foolish, king; return to thy capital. The divine (Vasishtha) is competent to

186 It does not appear how Trisanku, in asking the aid of Vasishtha's sons after applying in vain to their father, could be charged with resorting to another sākhā (school), in the ordinary sense of that word: as it is not conceivable that the sons should have been of another Sakhā from the father, whose cause they espouse with so much warmth. The Commentator in the Bombay edition explains the word sākhāntaram as = yōjanādinā rakhāntaram, "one who by sacrificing for thee, etc., will be another protector." Gorresio's Gauda text, which may often be used as a commentary on the older one, has the following paraphrase of the words in question, ch. 60, 3 Mūlam utsrijya kanmāt tram šākhās tehhasi tambitum | "Why, forsaking the root, dost thou desire to hang upon the branches."

act as priest of the three worlds; how can we shew him disrespect?" Trisanku then gave them to understand, that as his preceptor and "his preceptor's sons had declined compliance with his requests, he should think of some other expedient." In consequence of his venturing to express this presumptuous intention, they condemned him by their imprecation to become a Chandala (58, 7. "Pratyākhyāto bhagavatā guruputrais tathaica cha | anyām gatim gamishyāmi wasti vo 'stu tapodhanāh" | rishi-putrās tu tach chhrutvā vākyam ghorābhisamhitam | śepuh parama-sankruddhāś " chūndālatvam gamishyasi" [). As this curse soon took effect, and the unhappy king's form was changed into that of a degraded outcast, he resorted to Viśvāmitra (who, as we have seen, was also dwelling at this period in the south), enlarging on his own virtues and piety, and bewailing his fate. Viśvāmitra commiserated his condition (ch. 59), and promised to sacrifice on his behalf, and exalt him to heaven in the same Chandala-form to which he had been condemned by his preceptors' curse. "Heaven is now as good as in thy possession, since thou hast resorted to the son of Kuśika" (59, 4. Guru-śāpa-kritam rupam yad idam teayi varttate | anena saha rupena sasariro gamishyasi | hasta-praptam akam manye svargam tava naradhipa | yaz tvam Kausikam agamya saranyah saranam gatah |). He then directed that preparations should be made for the sacrifice, and that all the rishis, including the family of Vasishtha, should be invited to the ceremony. The disciples of Viśvāmitra, who had conveyed his message, reported the result on their return in these words: (59, 11) Srutvā te vachanam zaree samäyänti deijätayah | sarea-deseshu chagachhan varjayitvä Mahodayam | Väsishtham tach ehhatam saream krodha-paryakulaksharam | yad uvācha vacho ghoram śrinu tvam muni-pungava | "kshattriyo yājako yasya chandalanya viseshatah | katham sadani bhoktaro havis tasya surarshayah | brāhmanāh vā mahātmāno bhuktvā chandāla-bhojanam | katham wargam gamishyanti Viścāmitrena pālitāḥ'' | etad vachana-naishthuryyam üchuh samrakta - lochanah | Vasishthah muni-sardula saree saha-mahodayāh | " Having heard your message, all the Brahmans are assembling in all the countries, and have arrived, excepting Mahodaya (Vasishtha?). Hear what dreadful words those hundred Vasishthas, their voices quivering with rage, have uttered: 'How can the gods and rishis 196 con-

<sup>196</sup> The rish's as priests (riteik) would be entitled to cut the remains of the sacrifice, according to the Commentator.

sume the oblation at the sacrifice of that man, especially if he be a Chandala, for whom a Kshattriva is officiating-priest? How can illustrious Brühmans ascend to beaven, after eating the food of a Chandala, and being entertained by Viśvāmitra?' These ruthless words all the Vasishthas, together with Mahodaya, uttered, their eyes inflamed with anger." Viśvāmitra, who was greatly incensed on receiving this message, by a curse doomed the sons of Vasishtha to be reduced to ashes, and reborn as degraded outcasts (mritapah) for seven hundred births, and Mahodaya to become a Nishada. Knowing that this curse had taken effect (ch. 60), Viśvāmitra then, after eulogizing Triśanku, proposed to the assembled rishis that the sacrifice should be celebrated. To this they assented, being actuated by fear of the terrible sage's wrath. Viśvāmitra himself officiated at the sacrifice as yājāka; 191 and / the other rishis as priests (riteriah) (with other functions) performed all the ceremonies. Viśvāmitra next invited the gods to partake of the oblations: (60, 11) Nabhyagaman yadā tattra bhāgārtham sarva-decatāh | tatah kopa-samāvishto Viścāmitro mahāmunih | sruvam udyamya sakrodhas Trišankum idam abravīt | "pašya me tapaso vīryam svārjitasya nareśvara | esha teām avašarīrena nayāmi svargam ojasā | dushprāpyam waśartrena svargam gachchha nareśwara | svarjitam kinchid apy asti mayā hi tapasah phalam | " When, however, the deities did not come to receive their portions, Viśvamitra became full of wrath, and raising aloft the sacrificial ladle, thus addressed Trisanku: 'Behold, o monarch, the power of austere fervour acquired by my own efforts. I myself, by my own energy, will conduct thee to heaven. Ascend to that celestial region which is so arduous to attain in an earthly body. I have surely carned some reward of my austerity." Trisanku ascended instantly to heaven in the sight of the munis. Indra, however, ordered him to be gone, as a person who, having incurred the curse of his spiritual preceptors, was unfit for the abode of the celestials ;-and to fall down headlong to earth (60, 17. Trisanko gachha bhūyas tram nāsi svargakritalayah | guru-sapa-hato mudha pata bhumim avak-sirah |). He accordingly began to descend, invoking loudly, as he fell, the help of his spiritual patron. Viśvāmitra, greatly incensed, called out to him to stop : (60, 20) Tato brahma-tapo-yogāt Prajāpatir ivāparah | sasarjja dakshine bhage saptarshin aparan punah | dakshinam disam asthaya

<sup>181</sup> This means as antheorym according to the Commentator.

rishi-madhye mahayasah | nakshattra-malam aparam asrijat krodhamūrchhitah | anyam Indram karishyāmi loko vā syād anindrakah | daivatany api sa krodhat srashtum samupachakrame | 199 " Then by the power of his divine knowledge and austere fervour he created, like another Prajapati, other Seven Rishis (a constellation so called) in the southern part of the sky. Having proceeded to this quarter of the heavens, the renowned sage, in the midst of the rishis, formed another garland of stars, being overcome with fury. Exclaiming, 'I will create another Indra, or the world shall have no Indra at all,' he began, in his rage, to call gods also into being." The rishis, gods (Suras), and Asuras now became seriously alarmed and said to Viśvāmitra, in a conciliatory tone, that Triśanku, "as he had been cursed by his preceptors, should not be admitted bodily into heaven, until he had undergone some lustration" (60, 24. Ayam rājā mahābhāga guru-śāpa-parikshatah | sašarīro dieam yātum nārhaty akrita-pāvanah |).199 The sage replied that he had given a promise to Triśanku, and appealed to the gods to permit his protegé to remain bodily in heaven, and the newly created stars to retain their places in perpetuity. The gods agreed that "these numerous stars should remain, but beyond the sun's path, and that Trisanku, like an immortal, with his head downwards, should shine among them, and be followed by them," adding "that his object would be thus attained, and his renown secured, and he would be like a dweller in heaven" (60, 29. Evam bhavatu bhadram te tishthante etani sarvasah | gagane tany anekāni vaišvānara - pathād vahih | nakshattrāni muni - śreshtha teshu jyottishshu jajvalan | avāk-śirās Trišankuś cha tishthate amara-sannibhah | anuyasyanti chaitani jyotimshi nripa-sattamam | kritartham kirttimantam cha svarga-loka-gatam yatha |). Thus was this great dispute adjusted by a compromise, which Viśvāmitra accepted.

This story of Triśanku, it will have been observed, differs materially from the one quoted above (p. 375 ff.) from the Harivamśa; but brings out more distinctly the character of the conflict between Vaśishtha and Viśvāmitra.

When all the gods and rishis had departed at the conclusion of the

<sup>186</sup> I follow Schlegel's text, which differs verbally, though not in substance, both from the Bombay edition and from Gorresio's.

The last compound word akritapöranah, "without lustration," is given by Schlegel and Gorresio. The Bombay edition has instead of it eva tapodhana, "o sage rich in austerity."

sacrifice, Viśvāmitra said to his attendant devotees: (61, 2) Mahān vighnah pravritto 'yam dakshinam asthito disam | disam anyam prapatsyamas tattra topsyamahe tapah | "This has been a great interruption [to our austerities] which has occurred in the southern region : we must proceed in another direction to continue our penances." He accordingly went to a forest in the west, and began his austerities anew. Here the narrative is again interrupted by the introduction of another story, that of king Ambarisha, king of Ayodhya, who was, according to the Rāmāyana, the twenty-eighth in descent from Ikshvāku, and the twentysecond from Triśanku. (Compare the genealogy in the Rāmāyana, i. 70, and ii. 110, 6 ff., with that in Wilson's Vishnu Parana, vol. iii. pp. 260 ff. 280, 284 ff. and 303; which is different.) Viśvāmitra is nevertheless represented as flourishing contemporaneously with both of The story relates that Ambarisha was engaged in these princes. performing a sacrifice, when Indra carried away the victim. The priest said that this ill-omened event had occurred owing to the king's bad administration; and would call for a great expiation, unless a human victim could be produced (61, 8. Prāyaśchittam mahad hy clad naram cā purusharshabha | anoyasca pāšum šīghram yāvat karma pravarttate |). After a long search the royal-rishi (Ambarīsha) came upon the Brāhman-rishi Richika, a descendant of Bhrigu, and asked him to sell one of his sons for a victim, at the price of a hundred thousand cows. Richika answered that he would not sell his eldest son; and his wife added that she would not sell the youngest: "eldest sons," she observed, "being generally the favourites of their fathers, and youngest sons of their mothers" (61, 18. Prayena hi nara-śreshtha jyeshthah pitrishu vallabhah | mātrīnām cha kanīyāmsas tasmād rakshe kanīyasam | ). The second son, Sunassepa, then said that in that case he regarded himself as the one who was to be sold, and desired the king to remove him. The hundred thousand cows, with ten millions of gold-pieces and heaps of jewels, were paid down, and Sunassepa carried away. As they were passing through Pushkara (ch. 62) Sunassepa beheld his maternal uncle Viśvāmitra (see Rāmāyana, i. 34, 7,200 and p. 352 above) who was engaged in austerities there with other rishis, threw himself into his arms,

<sup>200</sup> Pūrvajā bhaginī chāpi mama Rāghava suvratā | nāmnā Satyavatī nāma Richīke pratipāditā | "And I have a religious sister older than myself called Satyavatī, who | was given in marriage to Richīka."

and implored his assistance, urging his orphan, friendless, and helpless state, as claims on the sage's benevolence (62, 4. Na me 'sti mata na pită jnateyo bandhevah kutah | tratum erhasi mam saumya dharmena muni-pungava | . . . . 7. No me natho hy anathasya bhava bhavyena chetasa |). Viśvāmitra soothed him; and pressed his own sons to offer themselves as victims in the room of Sunassepa. This proposition met with no favour from Madhushyanda 201 and the other sons of the royal hermit, who answered with haughtiness and derision: (62, 14) Katham ātma-sutān hiteā trāyase 'nya-sutān vibho | akāryyam iea pasyāmah svamāmsam ica bhojane | "How is it that thou sacrificest thine own sons, and seekest to rescue those of others? We look upon this as wrong, and like the eating of one's own flesh," 500 The sage was exceedingly wroth at this disregard of his injunction, and doomed his sons to be born in the most degraded classes, like Vasishtha's sons, and to eat dog's flesh, and for a thousand years. He then said to Sunassepa: (62, 19) Pavitrapāśair ābaddho rakta-mālyānulepanah | Vaishnasam yūpam āsādya sāgbhir Agnim udahara | ime cha gathe dee divye gayethah muni-puttraka | Ambarishasya yaine 'smims tatah siddhim acopsyasi | "When thou art bound with hallowed cords, decked with a red garland, and enointed with unguents, and fastened to the sacrificial post of Vishnu, then address thyself to Agni, and sing these two divine verses (gathas), at the sacrifice of Ambarisha; then shalt thou attain the fulfilment of thy desire]." Being furnished with the two gathas, Sunassepa proposed at once to king Ambarisha that they should set out for their destination. When bound at the stake to be immolated, dressed in a red garment, "he celebrated the two gods, Indra and his younger brother (Vishnu), with the excellent verses. The Thousand-eyed (Indra) was pleased with the secret hymn, and bestowed long life on Sunassepa" (62, 25. Sa baddho vägbhir agryābhir abhitushtava vai surau | Indram Indranujam chaica yathacad muni-puttrakah | tasmai pritah sahasraksho

<sup>201</sup> The word is written thus in Schlegel's and Gorresio's editions. The Bombay edition reads Madhuchhanda.

<sup>205</sup> Schlegel and Gorresio read reaminisam, "one's own flesh," which seems much more appropriate than rea-mainisam, "dog's flesh," the reading of the Bombay edition.

To Gorresio's edition alone reads sea-mömea-vrittoyah, "subsisting on your own flesh," and makes this to be allusion to what the sons had just said and a punishment for their impertinence (64, 16. Yasmāt sea-mömsam uddishtam yushmöbhir avamanya mām).

rahasya-stuti-toshitah | dīrgham āyus tadā prādāch Chhunaššephāya Vāsasah |). King Ambarīsha also received great beuefits from this sacrifice. Višvāmitra meanwhile proceeded with his austerities, which he prolonged for a thousand years.

At the end of this time (ch. 63) the gods came to allot his reward; and Brahma announced that he had attained the rank of a rishi, thus apparently advancing an additional step. Dissatisfied, as it would seem, with this, the sage commenced his task of penance anew. After a length of time he beheld the nymph (Apsaras) Menaka, who had come to bathe in the lake of Pushkara. She flashed on his view, unequalled in her radiant beauty, like lightning in a cloud (63, 5. Rapenapratimām tattra vidyutam jalade yathā). He was smitten by her charms, invited her to be his companion in his hermitage, and for ten years remained a slave to her witchery, to the great prejudice of his austerities." At length he became ashamed of this ignoble subjection, and full of indignation at what he believed to be a device of the gods to disturb his devotion; and, dismissing the nymph with gentle accents. he departed for the northern mountains, where he practised severe austerities for a thousand years on the banks of the Kausiki river. The gods became alarmed at the progress he was making, and decided that he should be dignified with the appellation of great rishi (maharshi); and Brahma, giving effect to the general opinion of the deities, announced that he had conferred that rank upon him. Joining his hands and bowing his head, Viśvāmitra replied that he should consider himself to have indeed completely subdued his senses, if the incomparable title of Brahman-rishi were conferred upon him (63, 31. Brahmarshi-sabdam atulam svarjitaih karmabhih subhaih | yadi me bhagavan aha tato 'ham vijitendriyah |). Brahma informed him in answer, that he had not yet acquired the power of perfectly controlling his senses; but should make further efforts with that view. The sage then began to put himself through a yet more rigorous course of ansterities, standing with his arms erect, without support, feeding on air, in summer exposed to five fires (i.e. one on each of four sides, and the sun overhead), in the rainy season remaining unsheltered from the wet, and in

205 Compare Mr. Leckie's History of Rationalism, vol. i. p. 86.

<sup>204</sup> I have alluded above, p. 358, note, to the differences which exist between this legend of S'unas'epa and the older one in the Aitareya Brühmana.

winter lying on a watery couch night and day. This he continued for a thousand years. At last Indra and the other deities became greatly distressed at the idea of the merit he was storing up, and the power which he was thereby acquiring; and the chief of the celestials desired (ch. 64) the nymph Rămbhā to go and bewitch him by her blandishments. She expressed great reluctance to expose herself to the wrath of the formidable muni, but obeyed the repeated injunction of Indra, who promised that he and Kandarpa (the god of love) should stand by ber, and assumed her most attractive aspect with the view of overcoming the sage's impossibility. He, however, suspected this design, and becoming greatly incensed, he doomed the nymph by a curse to be turned into stone and to continue in that state for a thousand years." The curse took effect, and Kandarpa and Indra slunk away. In this way, though he resisted the allurements of sensual love, \*\* he lost the whole fruit of his austerities by yielding to anger; and had to begin his work over again. He resolved to check his irascibility, to remain silent, not even to breathe for hundreds of years; to dry up his body; and to fast and stop his breath till he had obtained the coveted character of a Brahman. He then (ch. 65) left the Himalaya and travelled to the east, where he underwent a dreadful exercise, unequalled in the whole history of austerities, maintaining silence, according to a vow, for a thousand years. At the end of this time he had attained to perfection, and although thwarted by many obstacles, he remained unmoved by anger. On the expiration of this course of austerity, he prepared some food to est; which Indra, coming in the form of a Brahman, begged that he would give him. Viśvamitra did so, and though he had none left for himself, and was obliged to remain fasting, he said nothing to the Brahman, on account of his vow of silence. 65, 8. Tasyānuchchhvasamānasya mūrdhni dhūmo vyajāyata | 9. Trailokyam yena sambhrantam atapitam ivabhavat | . . . . 11. " Bahubhih karanair deva Visvamitro mahamunih | lobhitah krodhitas chaiva tapasā chābhicardhate | . . . . 12. Na dīyate yadi tv asya manasā yad abhīpsitam | 13. Vināšayati trailokyam tapasā sa-charācharam | vyākulāš

<sup>300</sup> On this the Commentator remarks that this incident shews that anger is more difficult to conquer than even lust (etema kāmēid api krodho durjeyah iti sūchitam).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>507</sup> The Commentator, however, suggests that the sudden sight of Rambha may at first have excited in him some feelings of this kind (öpötato Rambha-dariana-pracrittya kamenöpi tapah-kahayah).

cha disah sareah na cha kinchit prakasate | 14. Sagarah kshubhitah sarea višīryante cha parvatāh | prakampate cha vasudhā vāyur vātīha sankulah | 15. Brahman na pratijanīmo nāstiko jāyato janaļ | . . . 16. Buddhim na kurute yacad nāśe deva mahāmunih | 17. Tāvat prasādyo bhagavān agnirāpo mahādyutiķ" | . . . . 19. Brahmarshe svāgatam te 'stu tapasā smah sutoshitah | 20. Brahmanyam tapasogrena praptavan asi Kausika | dîrgham ûyus che te brahman dadāmi sa-marud-ganah | 21. . . . . svasti prapnuhi bhadram te gachha saumya yathasukham | . . . 22. . . . brahmanyam yadi me praptam dirgham ayus tathaica cha | 23. Omkaro 'tha vashatkāro vedāš cha varayantu mām | kshattra-veda-vidām šreshtho brahma-veda-vidām api | 24. Brahma-putro Vašishtho mām evam vadatu devatāḥ | . . . . 25. Tatah prasādito decair Vašishtho japatām carah | sakhyam chakara brahmarshir " evam astv" iti chabravit | 26. " Brahmarshitcam na sandshah saream sampadyats tava" | . . . 27. Viśvāmitro 'pi dhormātmā labdhvā brāhmanyam uttamam | pājayāmāsa brahmarshim Vasishtham japatam caram | "As he continued to suspend his breath, smoke issued from his head, to the great consternation and distress of the three worlds." The gods, rishis, etc., then addressed Brahma: "The great muni Viśvāmitra has been allured and provoked in various ways, but still advances in his sanctity. If his wish is not conceded, he will } destroy the three worlds by the force of his austerity. All the regions of the universe are confounded, no light anywhere shines; all the oceans are tossed, and the mountains crumble, the earth quakes, and the wind blows confusedly. 15. We cannot, o Brahma, guarantee that mankind shall not become atheistic. . . . . 16. Before the great and glorious sage of fiery form resolves to destroy (everything) let him be propitiated." . . . . The gods, headed by Brahma, then addressed Viśvāmitra: " 'Hail Brahman rishi, we are gratified by thy austerities; o Kausika, thou hast, through their intensity, attained to Brühmanhood. I, o Brühman, associated with the Maruts, confer on thee long life. May every blessing attend thee; depart wherever thou wilt.' The sage, delighted, made his obeisance to the gods, and said: 'If I have obtained Brahmanhood, and long life, then let the mystic monosyllable (omkara) and the sacrificial formula (vāshāţkāra) and the Vedas recognise me in that capacity. And let Vasishtha, the son of Brahma, the most eminent of those who are skilled in the Kshattra-veda, and the Brahma-veda (the knowledge of the Kshattriya and the Brahmanical disciplines), address me simi-

larly.' . . . . Accordingly Vasishtha, being propitiated by the gods, became reconciled to Viśvāmitra, and recognised his claim to all the prerogatives of a Brahman rishi. . . . Viśvāmitra, too, having attained the Brahmanical rank, paid all honour to Vasishtha." Such was the grand result achieved by Viśvāmitra, at the cost of many thousand years of intense mortification of the body, and discipline of the soul. During the course of the struggle he had manifested, as the story tells us, a power little, if at all, inferior to that of Indra, the king of the gods; and as in a former legend we have seen King Nahusha actually occupying the throne of that deity, we cannot doubt that-according to the recognised principles of Indian mythology-Viśvāmitra had only to recommence his career of self-mortification in order to raise himself yet higher than he had yet risen, to the rank of a devarshi, or divine rishi (if this be, indeed, a superior grade to that of brahmarshi), or to any other elevation he might desire. But, as far as the account in the Rāmāyana informs us, he was content with his success. He stood on a footing of perfect equality with his rival Vasishtha, and became indifferent to further honours. In fact, it was not necessary for the purpose of the inventors of the legend to carry him any higher. They . only wished to account for his exercising the prerogatives of a Brahman; and this had been already accomplished to their satisfaction.

In the story of Sakuntala, however, as narrated in the Mahabharata, Adiparvan, sixty-ninth and following sections, we are informed that, to the great alarm of Indra, Viśvāmitra renewed his austerities, even long after he had attained the position of a Brähman, verse 2914 : Tapyamanah kila pura Viśvamitro mahat tapah | subhriśam tapayamasa Sakram sura-ganeśvaram | tapasā dipta-viryyo'yam sthānād mām chyūvayed iti | "Formerly Viśvāmitra, who was practising intense austerefervour, occasioned great distress to Sakra (Indra), the lord of the deities, lest by the fiery energy so acquired by the saint he himself should be cast down from his place." Indra accordingly resorted to the usual device of sending one of the Apsarases, Menaka, to seduce the sage by the display of her charms, and the exercise of all her allurements, "by beauty, youth, sweetness, gestures, smiles, and words" (verse 2920, Rupa-yauvana-madhuryya-cheshtita-smita-bhashitaih), into the indulgence of sensual love; and thus put an end to his efforts after increased sanctity. Menaka urges the dangers of the mission arising from the great power

and irascibility of the sage, of whom, she remarked, even Indra himself was afraid, as a reason for excusing her from undertaking it; and refers to some incidents in Viśvāmitra's history, verse 2923: Mahābhāgam " Vasishtham yah putrair ishtair vyayojayat | kshattra-jatas cha yah parvam abhavad brāhmano balāt ; šauchārtham yo nadīm chakre durgamām bahubhir jalaih | yam tam punyatumam loke Kausikiti cidur janah | 2925. Babhāra yatrāsya purā kāle durge mahātmanah | dārān Matango dharmātmā rājarshir vyādhatām gatah | atīta-kāle durbhikshe abhyetya punar āśramam | munih Pāreti nadyāh vai nāma chakre tadā prabhuh | Matangam yajayanchakre yatra prita-manah scayam | team cha somam bhayad yasya gatah patum sureśvara | chakaranyam cha lokam vai kruddho nakshattra-sampada | pratisravana-purvani nakshattrani chakara yah | guru-śāpa-hatasyāpi Triśankoh śaranam dadau | "2923. He deprived the great Vasishtha of his beloved sons; and though born a Kshattriya, he formerly became a Brahman by force. For the purpose of purification he rendered the holy river, known in the world as the Kausiki, unfordable from the mass of water. 2925. His wife was once maintained there in a time of distress by the righteous rajarshi Matanga, who had become a hautsman; and when the famine was past, the muni returned to his hermitage, gave to the river the name of Para, and being gratified, sacrificed for Matanga on its banks; and then thou thyself, Indra, from fear of him wentest to drink his soma. He created, too, when incensed, another world, with a garland of stars, formed agreeably to his promise, and gave his protection to Triśanku, even when smitten by his preceptor's curse." Menaka, however, ends by saying that she cannot decline the commission which has been imposed upon her; but begs that she may receive such succours as may ensure her success. She accordingly shows herself in the neighbourhood of Viśvāmitra's hermitage. The saint yields to the influence of love, invites her to become his companion, and as a result of their intercourse Sakuntalā is born. The Apsaras then returns to Indra's paradise.

SECX. XII.—Other accounts, from the Mahabharata, of the way in which Visvamitra became a Brahman.

In the Udyogaparvan of the Mahābhārata, sections 105-118, a story is told regarding Viśvāmitra and his pupil Gālava, in which a different

account is given of the manner in which Viśvāmitra attained the rank of a Brahman; viz. by the gift of Dharma, or Righteousness, appearing in the form of his rival. M. Bh. Udyogap. 3721; Viscamitram tapasyantam Dharmo jijnāsayā purā | abhyūgachhat svayam bhūtvā Vašishtho bhagavan rishih | . . . . 3728. Atha varsha-sate purne Dharmah punar upāgamat | Vāšishtham vešam āsthāya Kaušikam bhojanepsayā | sa drishțeă śirasă bhaktam dhriyamānam maharshinā | tishthatā vāyubhakshena Viśvāmitrena dhīmatā | pratigrikya tato Dharmas tathaicoshnam tathā navam | bhuktvā " prīto 'smi viprarsho" tam uktvā sa munir gatah | kshattra-bhāvād apagato brāhmanatvam upāgatah | Dharmasya vachanāt prito Viscamitras tatha 'bhavat | "Dharma, assuming the personality of the sage Vasishtha, once came to prove Visvāmitra, when he was living a life of austerity;" and after consuming some food, given him by other devotees, desired Viśvāmitra, who brought him some freshly cooked charu, quite hot, to stand still for the present. Viśvāmitra accordingly stood still, nourished only by air, with the boiled rice on his head. "The same personage, Dharma, in the same disguise, reappeared after a hundred years, desiring food, and consumed the rice (still quite hot and fresh), which he saw supported upon the hermit's head, while he himself remained motionless, feeding on air. Dharma then said to him, 'I am pleased with thee, o Brahman rishi;' and went away. . Viśvāmitra, having become thus transformed from a Kshattriya into a Brahman by the word of Dharma, was delighted."

In the Anuśasanaparvan of the Mahabharata, we have another reference to the story of Viśvāmitra. King Yudhishthira enquires of Bhīshma (verse 181) how, if Brāhmanhood is so difficult to be attained by men of the other three castes, it happened that the great Kshattriya acquired that dignity. The prince then recapitulates the chief exploits of Viśvāmitra: 183. Tena hy amita-vīryena Vašishthasya mahātmanah | hatam putra-šatam sadyas tapasā 'pi pitāmaha | yātudhānāš cha bahavo rākshasās tigma-tejasah | manyunā "vishta-dehena srishtāh kālāntakopamāh | 185. Mahān Kušika-vamšaš cha brahmarshi-šata-sankulah | sthāpito nara-loke 'smin vidvān brāhmaṇa-samyutah | Richīkasyātmajaš chaiva Sunahšepho mahātapāḥ | vimokshito mahāsattrāt pašutām apy upāgataḥ | Harišchandra-kratau decāms toshayiteā "tma-tejasā | putratām anusamprāpto Viśvāmitrasya dhīmataḥ | nābhicādayato jyoshṭhām Devarātam narā-

dhipa | pullrah panchasad evapi saptah svapachatam gatah | Trisankur bandhubhir muktah Aikshvakuh priti-purcakam | avak-śirah dicam nito dakshinām āśrito diśam | . . . . tato vighnakarī chaiva Panchachūdā su-≠ammatā | Rambhā nāmāpsarāḥ śāpād yasya śailatvam āgatā | tathaivāsya bhoyad baddhva Vasishthah salile pura | atmanam majjayan sriman vipāšah punar utthitah | "For he destroyed Vasishtha's hundred sons by the power of austere-fervour; when possessed by anger, he created many demons, fierce and destructive as death; he (185) established the great and wise family of the Kusikas, which was full of Brahmans and hundreds of Brahman rishis; he delivered Sunassepha, son of Richīka, who was on the point of being slaughtered as a victim, and who became his son, after he had, at Harischandra's sacrifice, through his own power, propitiated the gods; he cursed his fifty sons who would not do homage to Devarata, (adopted as) the eldest, so that they became outcastes; through affection he elevated Triśanku, when forsaken by his relations, to heaven, where he remained fixed with his head downwards in the southern heavens; (191) . . . , he changed the troublesome nymph Rambha, known as Panchachūdā, by his curse into a form of stone; he occasioned Vasishtha through fear to bind and throw himself into the river, though he emerged thence unbound;" and performed other deeds calculated to excite astonishment. Yudhishthira ends by enquiring, "how this Kshattriya became a Brahman without transmigrating into another body" (197. Dehantaram anasadya katham sa brāhmano 'bhavat |). In answer to this question, Bhīshma (verses 200 ff.) deduces the descent of Viśvāmitra from Ajamīdha, of the race of Bharata, who was a pious priest, or sacrificer (yajrā dharma-bhritām varah), the father of Jahnu, who again was the progenitor of Kuśika, the father of Gadhi; and narrates the same legend of the birth of Visvāmitra, which has been already extracted from the Vishnu Purāna (see above, pp. 349 f.). The conclusion of the story as here given is, that the wife of Richīka bore Jamadagni, while "the wife of Gādhi, by the grace of the rishi, gave birth to Viśvāmitra, who was a Brahman rishi, and an utterer of the Veda; who, though a Kshattriya, attained to Brahmanhood, and became afterwards also the founder of a Brahman race" (246. Viśrāmitram chājanayad Gādhi-bhāryyā yaśasvinī | risheh prosādād rājendra brahmarshim brahmavādinam | tato brāhmanatām yāto Visvāmitro mahātapah | kshattriyah so 'py atha tathā brahma-vamsasya kārakah |). of which the members are detailed, <sup>209</sup> including the great rishi Kapila. In regard to the mode in which Viśvāmitra was transformed from a Kshattriya into a Brāhman, we are only told that he belonged to the former class, and that "Richīka infused into him this exalted Brāhmanhood" (259. Tathaiva kshattriyo rājan Viśvāmitro mahātapāḥ | Richīkenāhitam brahma param etad Yudhishthira |).

This version of the story is different from all those preceding ones which enter into any detail, as it makes no mention of Viśvāmitra having extorted the Brahmanical rank from the gods by force of his austerities; and ascribes his transformation to a virtue communicated by the sage Richīka.

I have above (p. 296 f.) quoted a passage from Manu on the subject of submissive and refractory monarchs, in which reference is made to Viśvāmitra's elevation to the Brahmanical order. Nothing is there said of his conflict with Vaśishtha, or of his arduous penances, endured with the view of conquering for himself an equality with his rival. On the contrary, it is to his submissiveness, i.e. to his dutiful recognition of the superiority of the Brūhmans, that his admission into their class is ascribed. Kullūka, indeed, explains the word submissiveness (vindyo) to mean virtue in general; but the contrast which is drawn between Prithu, Manu, and Viśvāmitra, on the one hand, and Vena, Nahusha, Sudās, and Nimi, the resisters of Brāhmanical prerogatives (as all the legends declare them to have been), on the other, makes it tolerably evident that the merit which Manu means to ascribe to Viśvāmitra is that of implicit submission to the spiritual authority of the Brāhmans.

## SECT. XIII .- Legend of Saudasa.

In the reign of Mitrasaha, also called Saudāsa, and Kalmāshapāda, the son of Sudāsa, and the descendant of Triśanku in the twenty-second generation (see p. 337, above), we still find Vaśishtha figuring în the legend, as the priest of that monarch, and causing him, by an imprecation, to become a cannibal, because he had, under the influence of a delusion, offered the priest human flesh to cat. I shall not extract the

<sup>205</sup> The names in this list differ considerably from those given above, p. 352, from the Hariyaman.

version of the story given in the Vishnu Purāna in detail (Wilson, V.P. vol. iii. pp. 304 ff.), as it does not in any way illustrate the rivalry of Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra.

. The Mahabharata gives the following variation of the history (Adiparvan, sect. 176): "Kalmāshapāda was a king of the race of Ikshvāku. Viśvāmitra wished to be employed by him as his officiating priest; but the king preferred Vasishtha" (verse 6699. Akāmayat tam yājyārthe Visvāmitrah pratāpavān | sa tu rājā mahātmānam Vasishtham rishi-sattamam |). It happened, however, that the king went out to hunt, and after having killed a large quantity of game, he became very much fatigued, as well as hungry and thirsty. Meeting Saktri, the eldest of Vasishtha's hundred sons, on the road, he ordered him to get out of his way. The priest civilly replied (verse 6703): Mama panthah maharaja dharmah esha sanatanah | rajna sarveshu dharmeshu deyah panthah dvijataye | " The path is mine, o king; this is the immemorial law; in all observances the king must cede the way to the Brahman." Neither party would yield, and the dispute waxing warmer, the king struck the muni with his whip. The muni, resorting to the usual expedient of offended sages, by a curse doomed the king to become a man-eater. "It happened that at that time enmity existed between Viśvāmitra and Vasishtha on account of their respective claims to be priest to Kalmashapāda" (verse 6710. Tato yājya-nimittam tu Viśvāmitra-Vašishthayoh | vairam asīt tadā tam tu Viśvāmitro 'nvapadyata |). Viśvāmitra had followed the king; and approached while he was disputing with Saktri. Perceiving, however, the son of his rival Vasishtha, Visvāmitra made himself invisible, and passed them, watching his opportunity. The king began to implore Saktri's elemency: but Viśvāmitra wishing to prevent their reconciliation, commanded a Rakshasa (a man-devouring demon) to enter into the king. Owing to the conjoint influence of the Brühman-rishi's curse, and Viśvāmitra's command, the demon obeyed the injunction. Perceiving that his object was gained, Viśvāmitra left things to take their course, and absented himself from the country. The king having happened to meet a hungry Brahman, and sent him, by the hand of his cook (who could procure nothing else), some human flesh to eat, was cursed by him also to the same effect as by Saktri. The curse, being now augmented in force, took effect, and Saktri himself was the first victim, being caten up by the king. The same fate

befell all the other sons of Vasishtha at the instigation of Visvamitra: 6736. S'aktrim tam tu mritam drishted Visedmitrah punah punah | Vasishthasyaiva putreshu tad rakshah sandidesa ha ; sa tan Saktry-avaran putran Vasishthasya mahatmanah | bhakshayamasa sankruddhah simhah kshudra-, mrigan ica | Vasishtho ghātitān śrutcā Viscamitrena tan sutān | dhārayāmāsa tam šokam mahādrir iva medinīm | chakre chātma-vināšāya buddhim sa muni-sattamah | na tv eca Kauśikochhedam mene matimatām varah | 6740. Sa Meru-kütüd atmanam mumocha bhagavan rishih | gires tasya śilāyām tu tūla-rāšāv ivāpatat | na mamāra cha pātena sa yadā tena Pandava | tadā 'gnim iddham bhagavān samviveśa mahāvans | tam tadā susamiddho'pi na dadāha hutāsanah | dīpyamāno'py amitra-ghna šīto 'qnir abhavat tatah | za samudram abhiprekshya šokārishto mahāmunih | baddhea kanthe śilam gureim nipapata tada 'mbhasi | sa samudrormi-vegena sthale nyasto mahamunih | jagama za tatah khinnah punar evāśramam prati | 6745. Tato drishtvā "śrama-padam rahitam taih sutair munih | nirjagama sudukkharttah punar apy asramat tatah | 10 'pasyat saritam pürnam pravrit-kale navambhasa | erikshan bahuvidhan partha harantim tira-jan bahun | atha chintam samapede punah kaurava-nandana | " ambhasy asyām nimajjeyam" iti duhkha-zamanvitah | tatah pāśais tadā "tmānam gādham baddheā mahāmunih | tasyāh jale mahānadyāh nimamajja suduhkhitah | atha chhittvā nadī pāśāms tasyāri-bala-sūdana | sthala-stham tam riskim kritea vipāśam samavāsrijat | 6750. Uttatāra tatah pāśair vimuktah sa mahān rishih | Vipāśeti cha nāmānyāh nadyāś chakre mahan rishih | . . . . 6752. Drishtva sa punar evarshir nadim haimavatīm tadā | chandragrāhavatīm bhīmām taxyāh srotasy apūtayat | sā tam agni-samam vipram anuchintya sarid varā | śatadhā vidrutā yasmāch śatadrur iti viśrutā | . . . . 6774. Saudāso'ham mahābhāga yājyas te muni-sattama | asmin kale yad ishtam te brahi kim karevani te | Vaśinhtha wacha | vrittam etad yatha-kalam gachha rajyam praśadhi vai | brūhmaṇāms tu manushyendra mā 'vamamsthāḥ kadāchana | rājā uvācha | nāvamamsye mahābhāga kadāchid brāhmanarshabhān | tvan-nideše sthitah samyak pājayishyāmy aham dvijān | Ikshvākūnām cha yenāham anrinah syam dvijottama | tat tvattah praptum ichhami sarca-veda-vidam vara | apatyam īpsitam mahyam dātum arhasi sattama | "Perceiving Saktri to be dead, Viśvāmitra again and again incited the Rākshasa against the sons of Vasishtha; and accordingly the furious demon devoured those of his sons who were younger than Saktri, as a lion cats up the small

beasts of the forest.200 On hearing of the destruction of his sons by Viśvāmitra, Vasishtha supported his affliction, as the great mountain sustains the earth. He meditated his own destruction, but never thought of exterminating the Kausikas. 6740. This divine sage hurled himself from the summit of Meru, but fell upon the rocks as if on a heap of cotton. Escaping alive from his fall, he entered a glowing fire in the forest; but the fire, though fiercely blazing, not only failed to burn him, but seemed perfectly cool. He next threw himself into the sea with a heavy stone attached to his neck; but was cast up by the waves on the dry land. He then went home to his hermitage; (6745) but seeing it empty and desolate, he was again overcome by grief and went out; and seeing the river Vipāšā which was swollen by the recent rains, and sweeping along many trees torn from its banks, he conceived the design of drowning himself into its waters: he accordingly tied himself firmly with cords, and threw himself in; but the river severing his bonds, deposited him unbound (vipāša) on dry land; whence the name of the stream, as imposed by the sage. 20 6752. He afterwards saw and threw himself into the dreadful Satadru (Sutlej), which was full of alligators, etc., and derived its name from rushing away in a hundred directions on seeing the Brahman brilliant as fire. In consequence of this he was once more stranded; and seeing he could not kill himself, he went back to his hermitage. After roaming about over many mountains and countries, he was followed home by his daughter-in-law Adrisyanti, Saktri's widow, from whose womb he heard a sound of the recitation of the Vedas, as she was pregnant with a child, which, when born, received the name of Parasara, verse 6794. Learning from her that there was

200 See above (pp. 327 ff.), the passages quoted from the Brahmanas, about the slaughter of Vasishtha's sons. In the Panchaviña's Br. (cited by Prof. Weber, Ind St. 1. 32) Vasishtha is spoken of as pattra-hatah.

<sup>10</sup> The Nirukta, ix. 26, after giving other etymologies of the word Vipās', adds a verse: Pās'āḥ asyām vyapās'yanta Fasishthasya mumūrshataḥ | tasmād Fipāḍ uchyate pūrvam āsād Urunjirā | "In it the bonds of Vasishtha were loosed, when he was on the point of death: hence it is called Vipās'. It formerly bore the name of Urunjirā." It does not appear whether or not this verse is older than the Mahābhārata. On this text of the Nirukta, Durga (as quoted by Prof. Müller, Rig-veda, ii. Pref. p. liv.) annotates: Fasishthaḥ kila nimamajā asyām mumūrshuḥ puttra-marana-iokārttaḥ pāsiair ātmānam baddhvā | tasya kila te pāsāḥ asyām cyapās'yanta vyasuuchyanta udakena | "Vasishtha plunged into it, after binding himself with bonds, wishing to die when grieved at the death of his sons. In it (the river) his bonds were loosed by the water."

thus a hope of his line being continued, he abstained from further attempts on his own life. King Kalmashapada, however, whom they encountered in the forest, was about to devour them both, when Vusishtha stopped him by a blast from his mouth; and sprinkling him with a water consecrated by a holy text, he delivered him from the curse by which he had been affected for twelve years. The king then addressed Vasishtha thus: "'Most excellent sage, I am Saudāsa, whose priest thou art: what can I do that would be pleasing to thee?' Vasishtha answered: 'This which has happened has been owing to the force of destiny: go, and rule thy kingdom; but, o monarch, never contemn the Brahmans.' The king replied: 'Never shall I despise the most excellent Brahmans; but submitting to thy commands I shall pay them all honour. And I must obtain from thee the means of discharging my debt to the Ikshvakus. Thou must give me the offspring which I desire.'" Vasishtha promised to comply with his request. They then returned to Ayodhya. And Vasishtha having been solicited by the king to beget an heir to the throne In (verse 6787. Rajnas tasyajnaya devī Vašishtham upachakrame | maharshih samvidam kritva sambabhuva tayā saha | decyā divyena vidhinā Vašishtho bhagavān rishih), the queen became pregnant by him, and brought forth a son at the end of twelve years. This extraordinary proceeding, so contrary to all the recognized rules of morality, is afterwards (verses 6888-6912) explained to have been necessitated by the curse of a Brahmani, whose husband Kalmashapads had devoured when in the forest, and who had doomed him to die if he should attempt to become a father, and had foretold that Vasishtha should be the instrument of propagating his race (verse 6906; Patnīm ritāv anuprāpya sadyas tyakshyasi jīvitam | yasya charsher Vašishthasya tvayā putrāh vināšitāh | tena sangamya te bhāryyā tanayam janayishyati).111

<sup>211</sup> The same story is told in the Vishgu Pur. iv., 4, 38 (Wilson, vol. 3, p. 310).

312 This incident is alluded to in the Adip., section 122. It is there stated that in the olden time women were subject to no restraint, and incurred no blame for abandoning their husbands and cohabiting with anyone they pleased (verne 4719. Anisyritäh kila purä striyah äsan vardnane | käma-chära-vihärinyah svatanträs chäru-häsini | täsää vyuchcharamänänää kaumärät subhage putin | nääharmo 'bhūd carūrohe sa hi dharmah purä 'bhavet, compare verse 4720). A stop was, however, put to this practice by Uddālaka S'vetaketu, whose indignation was on one occasion aroused by a Brähman taking his mother by the hand, and inviting her to go away with him, although his father, in whose presence this occurred, informed him that

The Mahābhārata has a further legend, regarding Viśvāmitra's jealousy of Vaśishtha, which again exhibits the former in a very odious light, and as destitute of the moral dispositions befitting a saint, while Vaśishtha is represented as manifesting a noble spirit of disinterestedness and generosity.

Salyap. 2360. Viścāmitrasya viprarsher Vašishthasya cha Bhārata | bhrisam vairam abhūd rājams tapah-sparddhā-kritam mahat | āsramo vai Vašishthasya sthānu-tīrthe 'bhavad mahān | pūrvatah pūršvataš chāsīd Viśvāmitrasya dhīmatah | . . . . 2366. Viśvāmitra - Vašishthau tāv ahany ahani Bharata | sparddham tapah-kritam tieram chakratus tau tapo-dhanau | tattrūpy adhika-santapto Viścāmitro mahāmuniķ | drishtvā tejo Vasishthanya chintām ati jagāma ha | tasya buddhir iyam hy āsīd dharma-nityasya Bhārata | iyam Sarasvatī tūrnam mat-samīpam tapo-dhanam | anayishyati vegena Vasishtham japatam varam | ihagatam dvija-śreshtham hanishyami na samśayah | 2370. Evam niśchitya bhagavan Viscamitro mahamunih ! sasmara saritam sreshtham krodhasamrakta-lochanah | sā dhyātā muninā tena vyākulatvam jugāma ha | jajne chainam mahāvīryyam mahākopam chu bhāvinī | tatah enam vepamānā vivarnā prānjalis tadā | upatasthe muni-varam Visvāmitram Sarusvati | hata-vīrā yathā nārī sā 'bhavad duhkhitā bhrisam | brūhi kim karavanīti provācha muni-sattamam | tām uvācha munih kruddho "Vašishtham sighram anaya | yavad enam nihanmy adya" tach chhrutca vyathita nadî | 2375. Pranjalin tu tatah kritea pundarîka-nibhekshana | there was no reason for his displeasure, as the custom was one which had prevailed from time immemorial (verse 4726. S vetaketoh kila pura samaksham mataram pituh) jagrāka brākmaņah poņau " gachbora" iti chābravīt | rishis-puttras tatah kopam chakārāmarsha-choditah | mātaram tām tathā drishtvā nīyamānām balād iva | kruddham tam tu pita drishtva S'vetaketum uvācha ha | " mā tāta kopam karshis tvam exha dharmah sanatanah | "). But S'vetaketa could not tolerate the practice, and introduced the existing rule (verse 4730. Rishi-puttro 'tha tam dharmam S'estaketur ns chakshame | chakara chaica maryadam imam stri-punusayor bhuvi | ). A wife and a husband indulging in promiscuous intercourse were therefore thenceforward guilty of sin. But a wife, when appointed by her husband to raise up seed to him (by having intercourse with another man), is in like manner guilty if she refuse (4734, Patyo niyuktā yā chawa patnī puttrārtham sea cha | na karishyati tasyās cha bhavishyati tad eva hi | iti tena pura bhiru maryada sthapita balat | ). Pandu, the speaker, then proceeds to give an instance of the latter procedure in the case of Madayanti, the wife of Saudasa, who, by her husband's command, visited Vasishtha for the purpose in question (4736. Saudosena cha rambhoru myuktū puttra-janmani | Madayanti jagamarshim Vasishtham iti nah irutam | ). Compare what is said above, p. 224, of Angirus, and in pp. 232 and 233 of Dirgatamus or Dirghatapus; and see p. 423, below.

prākampata bhriśam bhītā vāyunevāhatā latā | ... 2377. Sā tasya vachanam śrutva jnatca papa-chikirshitam | Vaśishthasya prabhacam cha jananty apratimam bhuvi | sā'dhigamya Vasishtham cha imam artham achodayat | yad uktā saritām śreshthā Viśvāmitrena dhimatā | ubhayoh śāpayor bhītā vepamānā punah punah | . . . 2380. Tām krišām cha vivarnām cha drishtea chinta-samanvitam | uvacha rajan dharmatma Vasishtho dvipadām varah | Vašishthah uvācha | " pāhy ātmānam sarich-chhresthe caha mām sīghra-gāmini | Viscāmitrah saped hi teām mā krithās tvam vichāraņam" | tasya tad vachanam śrutvā kripā-śīlasya sā sarit | chintayāmāsa Kauravya kim kritvā sukritam bhavet | tasyā's chintā samutpannā " Vasishtho mayy atīva hi | kritavān hi dayām nityam tasya kāryyam hitam mayā" | atha kule svake rājan japantam rishi-sattamam | juhvānam Kauśikam prekshya sarasvaty abhyachintayat | 2385. "Idam antaram" ity eva tatah sa saritam cara | kulapaharam akarot evena vegena sa sarit | tena kūlāpahārena Maitrāvarunir auhyata | ühyamānah sa tushfāra tadā rājan Sarasvatīm | Pitāmahasya sarasah pravrittā 'si Sarasvati | vyāptam chedam jagat sarvam tavaivambhobhir uttamaih | tvam etakāša-gā devi megheshūtsrijaso payah | sarvāš chāpas tram eveti tratto rayam adhīmahi | pushtir dyutis tathā kirttih siddhir buddhir umā tathā | tvam eva vānī svāhā tvam tavāyattam idam jagat | 2390. Tram eva sarva-bhūteshu vasasiha chaturvidhā | . . . . 2392. Tam ānitam Sarasvatyā drishtvā kopa-samanvitāh | athānveshat praharaṇam Vasishthanta-karom tadā | tam tu kruddham abhiprekshya brahma-badhya-bhayad nadi | apovaha Vasishtham tu prāchīm disam atandritā | ubhayoh kurvatī vākyam vanchayitva cha Gadhijam tato 'pavahitam drishtva Vasishtham rishisattamam | 2395. Abravid duhkha-sankruddho Viśvāmitro hy amarzhanah | " yasmād mām tvam sarich-chhreshthe vanchayitea punargata | sonitam vaha kalyani raksho-'gra-mani-sammatam'' | talah Sarasvatī šaptā Višvāmitrena dhīmatā | avahach vhhonitonmišram toyam samvatsāram tadā | . . . . 2401. Athājagmus tato rojan rākshasās tattra Bharata | tattra te śonitam sarce pivantah sukham asate | . . . 2402. Nrityantas cha hasantas cha yathā svarga-jitas tathā | . . . . 2407. ton drishtva rakshasan rajan munayah samsita-vratah | paritrane Sarasvatyāh param yatnam prachakrire

"2360. There existed a great enmity, arising from rivalry in their austerities, between Viśvāmitra and the Brūhman rishi Vaśishtha. Vaśishtha had an extensive hermitage in Sthānutīrtha, to the east of

which was Viśvāmitra's . . . . 2366. These two great ascetics were every day exhibiting intense emulation in regard to their respective austerities. But Viśvāmitra, beholding the might of Vasishtha, was the most chagrined; and fell into deep thought. The idea of this sage, constant in duty (!), was the following: 'This river Sarasvatī will speedily bring to me on her current the austere Vasishtha, the most eminent of all mutterers of prayers. When that most excellent Brahman has come, I shall most assuredly kill him.' 2370. Having thus determined, the divine sage Viśvāmitra, his eyes reddened by anger, called to mind the chief of rivers. She being thus the subject of his thoughts, became very anxious, as she knew him to be very powerful and very irascible. Then trembling, pallid, and with joined hands, the Sarasvatī stood before the chief of munis. Like a woman whose husband has been slain, she was greatly distressed; and said to him, 'What shall I do?' The incensed muni replied, 'Bring Vasishtha hither speedily, that I may slay him.' 2375. The lotus-eyed goddess, joining her hands, trembled in great fear, like a creeping plant agitated by the wind." . . . . Viśvāmitra, however, although he saw her condition, repeated his command. 2377. "The Sarasvatī, who knew how sinful was his design, and that the might of Vasishtha was unequalled, went trembling, and in great dread of being cursed by both the sages. to Vasishtha, and told him what his rival had said. 2380. Vasishtha seeing her emaciated, pale, and anxious, spoke thus: 'Deliver thyself, o chief of rivers; earry me unhesitatingly to Visvamitra, lest he curse thee.' Hearing these words of the merciful sage, the Sarasvatī considered how she could act most wisely. She reflected, 'Vasishtha has always shown me great kindness; I must seek his welfare.' Then observing the Kausika sage [so in the text, but does not the sense require Vasishtha?] praying and sacrificing on her brink, she regarded (2385) that as a good opportunity, and swept away the bank by the force of her current. In this way the son of Mitra and Varuna (Vasishtha) 218 was carried down; and while he was being borne along, he thus celebrated the river: 'Thou, o Sarasvati, issuest from the lake of Brahma, and pervadest the whole world with thy excellent streams. Residing in the sky, thou dischargest water into the clouds. Thou alone art all waters. By thee we study.' [Here the river Sarasvat1 is identified with Saras-

213 See above, pp. 316 and 320 f.

vatī the goddess of speech. ] 344 'Thou art nourishment, radiance, fame, perfection, intellect, light. Thou art speech; thou art Svaha; this world is subject to thee. 2390. Thou, in fourfold form, dwellest in all creatures.' . . . . 2392. Beholding Vasishtha brought near by the Sarasvatī, Viśvāmitra searched for a weapon with which to make an end of him. Perceiving his anger, and dreading lest Brahmanicide should ensue, the river promptly carried away Vasishtha in an easterly direction; thus fulfilling the commands of both sages, but cluding Visvāmitra. Seeing Vašishtha so carried away, (2395) Višvāmitra, impatient, and enraged by vexation, said to her: 'Since thou, o chief of rivers, hast eluded me, and hast receded, roll in waves of blood acceptable to the chief of demons," [ which are fabled to gloat on blood ]. "The Sarasvati, being thus cursed, flowed for a year in a stream mingled with blood. . . . 2401. Räkshasas came to the place of pilgrimage, where Vasishtha had been swept away, and revelled in drinking to satisfy the bloody stream in security, dancing and laughing, as if they had conquered heaven." Some rishis who arrived at the spot some time after were horrified to see the blood-stained water, and the Räkshasas quaffing it, and (2407) "made the most strenuous efforts to rescue the Sarasvati." After learning from her the cause of the pollution of her waters, they propitiated Mahadeva by the most various austerities, and thus obtained the restoration of the river to her pristine purity (2413 ff.).

We have another reference to the connection of the families of Sudas and Vasishtha in the legend of Parasurama, and the destroyer of the Kshattriyas, in the 49th section of the Santiparvan of the Mahabharata. Sarvakarman, a descendant of Sudas, is there mentioned as one of those

<sup>254</sup> See the remarks on Sarasvati in my "Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic Theogony and Mythology No. II.," in the Journ. R. A. S., for 1866, pp. 18 ff.

Parasurāma was the son of Jamadagnī, regarding whose birth, as well as that of Viávāmitra and the incarnation of Indra in the person of his father Gādhi, the same lagend as has been already given above, p. 349 if, is repeated at the commencement of the story referred to in the text. In discoursing with his wife Satyavatl about the exchange of her own and her mother's messes, Richīka tells her, verse 1741: Brahmabhūtam hi sakalam pitus tava kulam bhavet | "All the family of thy father (Gādhi) shall be Brahmanical;" and Vāsudeva, the narrater of the the legend, says, verse 1745: Višeāmitram cha dāyādam Gādhiḥ Kraikanandanah | yam prūpa brahmasammitam višeair brahmanganair yutam | "And Gādhi begot a son, Višvāmitra, whom he obtained equal to a Brāhman, and possessed of all Brahmanical qualities."

Kshattriyas who had been preserved from the general massacre by Parāśara, grandson of Vaśishtha: verse 1792. Tathā 'nukampamānena yajvanā 'mita-tejasā | Parāśarena dāyādah Saudāsasyābhirakshitah | sarva-karmāni kurute śūdra-vat tasya vai dvijah | Sarvakarmety abhikhyātah sa mām rakshatu pārthivah | "Sarvakarman, the son of Saudāsa, was preserved by the tender-hearted priest Paraśara, who performed, though a Brāhman, all menial offices for him, like a Sūdra; whence the prince's name;—may this king protect me (the earth)." The same book of the Mahābhārata, when recording a number of good deeds done to Brāhmans, has also the following allusion to Mitrasaha and Vaśishtha: verse 8604. Rājā Mītrasahaś chāpi Vaśishthāya mahātmane | Damayantīm priyām dattvā tayā saha divam gatah | "King Mītrasaha, having bestowed his dear Damayantī on Vaśishtha, ascended to heaven along with her."

The same passage has two further allusions to Vasishtha, which, though unconnected with our present subject, may be introduced here. In verse 8591 it is said: Rantidevas cha Sānkrityo Vasishthāya mahātmane | apah pradāya sītoshnāh nāka-prishthe mahīyate | "Rantideva, son of Sankriti, who gave Vasishtha tepid water, is exalted to the heavenly regions." (See the Bhāg. Pur. ix. 21, 2-18, where the various acts of self-sacrifice practised by this prince are celebrated.) It is said of Vasishtha in verse 8601: Avarshati cha Parjanyo sarva-bhūtāni bhūta-krit | Vasishtho jīvayūmāsa prajāpatir ivāparah | "When Parjanya failed to send rain, the creative Vasishtha, like Brahmā, gave life to all beings."

Vasishtha, in short, is continually reappearing in the Mahabharata. I will here adduce but one other passage. In the Santiparvan, verses 10,118 ff., it is said: Tasya Vrittrardditasyatha mohah asich chhatakratoh | rathantarena tam tattra Vasishthah samabodhayat | Vasishthah uvacha | deva-śreshtho'si devendra daityasura-nibarhana | trailokya-bala-

This appears to refer to the story told above, p. 418 ff., of Kalmäshapāda (who was the same as Mitrasaha), allowing Vasishtha to be the agent in propagating the royal race; for both there (v. 6910) and in the Vishnu Pur. (Wilson, vol. iii., pp. 308 and 310), the name of the queen is said to have been Madayantī, which is probably the right reading here also, the first two letters only having been transposed. If so, however, it is to be observed that a quite different turn is given to the story here, where it is represented as a meritorious act on the king's part, and as a favour to Vas'ishtha, that the queen was given up to him; whilst, according to the other account, the king's sole object in what he did was to get progeny.

samyuktah kasmāch chhakra nishīdasi | esha Brahmā cha Vishaus cha S'was chaiva jagat-patih | Somas cha bhagavān devah sarve cha paramarshayah | mā kārshāh kasmalam S'akra kaschid evetaro yathā | āryyām yuddhe matim kritvā jahi satrān surādhipa | "By reciting the Rathantāra, Vasishtha encouraged Indra, when he had become bewildered and distressed in his conflict with Vrittra, saying to him, 'Thou art the chief of the gods, o slayer of the Daityas and Asuras, possessing all the strength of the three worlds: wherefore, Indra, dost thou despond? There are here present Brahmā, Vishnu, Siva, the divine Soma, and all the chief rishis. Faint not, o Indra, like an ordinary being. Assume a heroic spirit for the fight, and slay thine enemies, etc." Strength was thus infused into Indra.

In a later work, the Raja Tarangini, Book IV, verses 619-655 (pp. 188 ff. and note, pp. 521 and 522, of Troyer's edition, vol. i. and vol. ii. 189, 469, note), a curious echo of these old legends is found still reverberating. A story is there told of a king Jayapīda who oppressed his people, and persecuted the Brahmans, and was eventually destroyed by them in a miraculous manner. He is compared to Saudasa in verse 625: Sa Saudāsah ivāneka - loka - prānāpahārakrit | astutya - kritya - sauhityam scapne 'pi na samayayau | "Like Saudasa, depriving many persons of their lives, he was not satiated with wicked deeds even in his dreams." One of the Brahmans stood up on behalf of the rest to remonstrate: Aha sha "Viścāmitro vā Vašishtho vā taponidhih | tvam Agastyo'thavā kim stha'' iti darpeņa tam nripah | . . . . bhavān yotra Harischandras Trisankur Nahusho 'pi vā | Viscāmitra-mukhebhyo 'ham tattraiko bhavitum kshamah | vihanyovācha tam rājā "Viscāmitrādikopatah | Harischandrayo nashtas tvayi kruddho tu kim bhavet" | pāninā tādayann ūrvim tatah kruddho 'bhyadhād deijah | " mayi kruddhe kshanad eva brahma-dandah pated na kim" | tach chhrutva vihasan raja kopād brāhmanam abravīt | " patatu brahma-dando 'sau kim advāvi vilambate" | nanv ayam patito jälmety atha viprena bhashite | rajnah kanaka-dando 'nge vitāna-skhalito 'patat | "The king haughtily asked him: 'Art thou Visvamitra, or Vasishtha, so rich in devotion? or Agastya? or what art thou?' . . . . The Brahman answered, swelling with indignation: 'Just as thou art a Harischandra, a Trisanku, or a Nahusha, so too have I power to be a Viśvāmitra, or one of those other rishis.' The king answered with a smile of contempt : 'Harischandra

and the rest perished by the wrath of Viśvāmitra and the other sages: but what will come of thy wrath?' The Brāhman angrily replied, smiting the ground with his hand, 'When I am incensed, shall not the Brahmanical bolt instantly descend?' The king retorted with an angry laugh: 'Let it descend; why does it not come down at once?' 'Has it not fallen, tyrant?' said the Brāhman; and he had no sooner spoken, than a golden beam fell from the canopy and smote the king," so that he became tortured by worms, and shortly after died; and went, as the story concludes, to hell.

Professor Lassen, who quotes the stories regarding Vasishtha and Viśvāmitra (Ind. Alt. 2nd ed. i. 718 f.), makes the following remarks

on their import :

"The legend of the struggle between Vasishtha and Visvamitra embraces two distinct points: one is the contest between the priests and warriors for the highest rank; the other is the temporary alienation of the Ikshvākus from their family priests. Vasishtha is represented as the exemplar of such a priest; and the story of Kalmashapada is related for the express purpose of showing by an example that the Ikshvakus, after they had retained him, were victorious, and fulfilled perfectly the duties of sacrifice (see above, p. 390); in his capacity of priest he continues to live on, and is the representative of his whole race. We may conclude from the legend that his descendants had acquired the position of family priests to the Ikshvakus, though neither he himself nor his son Saktri belonged to their number. Triśanku is the first prince who forsook them, and had recourse to Viśvāmitra. His successor Ambarisha received support from that personage, as well as from Richīka, one of the Bhrigus; -a family whose connection with the Kusikas appears also in the story of Parasurama. The hostility between the Ikshvākus and the family of Vasishtha continued down to Kalmāshapāda. Viśvāmitra is represented as having intentionally fostered the alienation; while Vasishtha is described as forbearing (though he had the power) to annihilate his rival.

"The conflict between the two rivals with its motives and machinery is described in the forms peculiar to the fully developed epos. To this style of poetry is to be referred the wonder-working cow, which supplies all objects of desire. There is no ground for believing in any actual war with weapons between the contending parties, or in

any participation of degraded Kshattriyas, or aboriginal tribes, in the contest; for all these things are mere poetical creations. Besides, the proper victory of Vasishtha was not gained by arms, but by his rod. The legend represents the superiority of the Brühmans as complete, since Viśvāmitra is forced to acknowledge the insufficiency of a warrior's power; and acquires his position as a Brühman by purely Brahmanical methods.

"From Viśvāmitra are derived many of the sacerdotal families, which bear the common name of Kauśika, and to which many rishis famous in tradition belong. As there were also kings in this family, we have here an example of the fact that one of the old Vedic races became divided, and in later times belonged to both of the two higher castes. It appears impossible that any of the aboriginal tribes should have been among the descendants of Viśvāmitra's sons, as the legend represents; and the meaning of this account may therefore be that some of his sons and their descendants accepted the position of priests among these tribes, and are in consequence described as accursed."

Sect. XIV.—Story from the S'atapatha Brûhmana about king Janaka becoming a Brûhman.

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa has the following account of a discussion between Janaka, king of Videha, and some Brāhmans: 218

xi. 6, 2, 1. Janako ha vai Vaideho brāhmanair dhāvayadbhir samājagāma Svetaketunā Āruneyena Somaśushmena Sātyayajninā Yājnavalkyena | tān ha uvācha "katham katham agnihotram juhutha" iti | 2. Sa
ha uvācha Svetaketur Āruneyo "gharmāv eva samrād aham ajasrau
yaśasā visyandamanāv anyo'nyasmin juhomi" iti | "katham tad" iti |
ādityo vai gharmas tam sūyam agnau juhomi agnir vai gharmas tam
pratar āditye juhomi" iti | "kim sa bhavati yah evam juhoti" | "ajasraḥ eva śriyā yaśasā bhavaty etayoś cha devatayoh sūyujyam salokatām
jayati" iti | 3. Atha ha uvācha Somaśushmah Sātyayajnih "tojah eva
samrād aham tejasi juhomi" iti | "katham tad" iti | "Ādityo vai tejas
tam sāyam agnau juhomi | agnir vai tejas tam prātar āditye juhomi"

<sup>217</sup> See also Prof. Müller's Anc. Sansk. Lit., pp. 80 f., 383 f., 408, 413 ff., 485 f.
218 This passage is referred to and translated by Prof. Müller, Anc. Sansk. Lit. pp.
421 ff.

iti | "kim sa bhavati yah evam juhoti" iti | "tejasvi yasasvy annado bhavaty etayos chaiva devalayoh sayujyam salokatam jayati" iti | 4. Atha ha uvācha Yājnavalkyah " yad aham agnim uddharāmy agnihotram eva tad udyachhāmi | ādityam vai astam yantam sarve devāḥ anuyanti | te me etam agnim uddhritam drishtva upavarttante atha aham patrani nir nijya upavāpya ūgnihotrīm dohavitvā pašyan pašyatas tarpayūmi" iti \ tram nedishtham yajnavalkya agnihotrasya amimamsishthah | dhenuśatam dadāmi" iti ha uvācha "na to eca enayos tvam utkrāntim na gatim na pratishtham na triptim na punaravrittim na lokam pratyuthayinam" | ity uktea ratham asthaya pradhaeayan chakara | 5. Te ha üchur "ati vai no 'yam rajanyabandhur avadīd hanta enam brahmodyam aheayamahai" iti | sa ha weacha Yajnacalkyo "brahmanah rai rayam smo rajanyabandhur asau yady amum rayam jayema kam ajaishma iti brayama atha yady asac asman jayed brahmanan rājanyabandhur ajaishīd iti no brūyuh | mā idam ādridheam" iti | tad ha asya jajuuh | atha ha Yajnavalkyo ratham asthaya pradhavayūnehakāra tam ha aneŭjagāma | sa ha uvūeha "agnihotram Yājnavalkya veditum" iti | " agnihotram samrād" iti | 6. " Te vai ete āhutī hute utkrāmatas te antariksham āvišatas te antariksham eva āhavanīyam kurvate väynin samidham marichir eva sukrām ahutim te antariksham tarpayatas te tatah utkrāmatah | 7. Te diram āvišatas te diram eva āhavanīyam kurvāte ādityam samidham chandramasam eva šukrām āhutim te divam tarpayatas te tatah avarttete | 8. Te imam avisatas te imam eva āhavanīyam kurvāte agnim samidham oshadhīr eva śukrām āhutim te imām torpayatas te talah utkrāmatah | 9. Te purusham āvišatas tasya mukham eva ühavaniyam kurvate jihvüm samidham annam eva sukrām āhutim te purusham tarpayatah | sa yah evam vidvān asnāty-agnihotram eva asya hutam bhavati | le tatah utkrāmatah | 10. Te striyam ūvišatas tasyāh upastham era āharanīyam kurrūte dhārakām samidham (dhārakā ha vai nāma eshā | etayā ha vai Prajāpatih prajāh dhārayānchakāra) retah eva sukrām āhutim te striyam tarpayatah | sa yah evam videān mithunam upaity agnihotram eva asya hutam bhavati yas tatah putro jäyste sa lokah pratyutthayī | etad agnihotram Yājnavalkya na atah param asti" iti ha weacha | tasmai Yajnacalkyo caram dadau | sa ha ucācha "kāmaprašnah eva me tvayi Yājnavalkya asad" iti | tato brahmā Janakah asa |

<sup>&</sup>quot;Janaka of Videha met with some travelling Brahmans, Svetaketu

Aruneya, Somaśushma Sātyayajni, and Yājnavalkya, and said to them, 'How do ye respectively offer the agnihotra oblation?' 2. Svetaketu replied, 'I, o monarch, in sacrificing, throw the one of the two eternal heats which pervade the world with their splendour into the other.' . 'How is that done,' asked the king. (S. replied), 'Aditya (the sun) is one heat; in the evening I throw him into Agni (Fire). Agni is the other heat; in the morning I throw him into Adityn.' 'What' (enquired the king) 'does he become who thus sacrifices?' 'He acquires' (replied S.) 'perpetual prosperity and renown; conquers for himself an union with these two deities, and dwells in the same region as they.' 3. Then Somasushma answered, ' I, o monarch, in sacrificing, throw light into light.' 'How is that done,' asked the king. 'The Sun" (answered S.) 'is light; in the evening I throw him into Fire: and Fire is light; in the morning I throw him into the Sun.' 'What' (enquired the king) 'does he become who thus sacrifices?' 'He becomes' (rejoined S.) 'luminous, and renowned, an eater of food, and conquers for himself an union with these two deities, and dwells in the same region as they.' 4. Then Yajnavalkya said, 'When I take up the fire I lift the agnihotra. All the gods follow the Sun when he sets; and when they see me take up the Fire, they come back to me. Then, after washing and putting down the vessels, and having the Agnihotra Cow milked, beholding them as they behold me. I satisfy them (with sacrificial food).' The king answered, 'Thou hast approached very close to a solution of the Agnihotra, o Yajnavalkva; I give thee a hundred milch-cows: but thou hast not discovered the ascent of these two (oblations), nor the course, nor the resting-place. nor the satisfaction, nor the return, nor the world where they reappear (?).' Having so spoken, Janaka mounted his car and drove away. 5. The Brahmans then said amongst themselves, 'This Rajanya has surpassed us in speaking; come, let us invite him to a theological discussion.' Yājuavalkya, however, interposed, 'We are Brāhmans, and he a Rajanya; if we overcome him, we shall ask ourselves, whom have we overcome? but if he overcome us, men will say to us, a Rajanya has overcome Brahmans. Do not follow this course.' They assented to his advice. Then Yajnavalkya mounted his car, and drove after the king; and came up to him. Janaka asked, 'is it to learn the agnihotra (that thou hast come), Yājnavalkya?' 'The agnihotra, o

monarch,' said Y. 6. The king rejoined, 'These two oblations, when offered, ascend; they enter the air, they make the air their ahavaulya fire, the wind their fuel, the rays their bright oblation, they satisfy the air, and thence ascend. 7. They enter the sky, they make the sky their ahavaniya fire, the sun their fuel, the moon their bright oblation; they satisfy the sky, they return thence. 8. They enter this earth, they make this earth their ahavaniya fire, Agni their fuel, the plants their bright oblation; they satisfy the earth, they ascend thence. They enter man, they make his mouth their ahavaniya fire, his tongue their fuel, food their bright oblation; they satisfy man. (He who, thus knowing, cats, truly offers the agnihotra). 9. They ascend from him, they enter into woman [the details which follow are better left untranslated], they satisfy her. The man who, thus knowing, approaches his wife, truly offers the agnihotra. The son who is then born is the world of re-appearance. This is the agnihotra, o Yajnavalkya; there is nothing beyond this.' Y. offered the king the choice of a boon. He replied, 'Let me enquire of thee whatever I desire, o Yājnavalkya.' Henceforward Janaka was a Brāhmān." no

By Brahman in the last sentence we have, I presume, to understand a Brahman. Even if it were taken to dignify a priest of the kind called Brahman, the conclusion would be the same; as at the time when the Satapatha Brahmana was written, none but Brahmans could officiate as priests.<sup>230</sup>

Janaka's name occurs frequently in the Mahābhārata. In the Vanaparvan of that poem (8089) he is called a rājarshi. In the Sānti-parvan, verse 6640, it is said: Atrāpy udāharantīmam itihūsam purātunam | gītam Videha-rājena Janakena prašāmyatā | "anantam vata me vittam yasya me nāsti kinchana | Mithilāyām pradīptāyām na me dahyati kinchana" | "They here relate an ancient story,—the words recited by Janaka the tranquil-minded king of Videha:

> 'Though worldly pelf I own no more, Of wealth I have a boundless store: While Mithila the flames devour, My goods can all defy their power.'"

219 The Commentator explains brahma by brahmishthah, "Most full of divine knowledge,"

233 Prof. Müller remarks in his article on Caste (Chips from a German Workshop, ii. 338): "That king Janaka of Videha possessed superior knowledged is acknowledged by one of the most learned among the Brahmans, by Yūjaavalkya himself; and in the S'atapatha Brāhmana, which is believed to have been the work of Yūjaavalkya, it is said that king Janaka became a Brahman."

The same sentiment is ascribed to the same royal rishi in verse 7891:

Api cha bhavati Maithilena gitam nagaram upāhitam agninā 'bhivīkshya |

"na khalu mama hi dahyate 'ttra kinchit' vayam idam āha sma bhūmipālaḥ | "And these words were repeated by the king of Mithilā when "
he beheld the city enveloped in fire, 'nothing of mine is burnt here;'
—so said the king himself."

Another "ancient story" of Janaka is related in verses 7882-7983 of the same book. It is there stated that this king was constantly engaged in thinking on matters connected with a future life; and that he had a hundred religious teachers to instruct him on different points of duty (verse 7884). He was, however, visited by the rishi Panchašikha 221 (verses 7886, 7888), a pupil of Asuri (verse 7890), who so confounded the king's hundred instructors by his reasoning, that they were abandoned by their pupil, who followed this new teacher (7898. Upetya śatam āchāryān mohayāmāsa hetubhih | 7899. Janakas tv abhisamraktah Kāpileyānudaršanāt | utsrijya šatam āchāryyān prishthato 'nujagāma tam). Panchasikha appears also, at verse 11839, as his instructor. At verse 10699 Janaka is again brought forward as receiving religious information from Paraśara; in verses 11545-11836 as being taught by the rishi Yājnavalkya the principles of the Yoga and Sankhya philosophies; and in verses 11854-12043 as holding a conversation with a travelling female mendicant (bhikshuki), named Sulabhā, who sought to prove him, and to whom he declares himself to be a pupil of Panchasikha (here said to belong to the family of Parasara, verse 11875), and an adept in the systems just mentioned; and from whom, in answer to some reproaches he had addressed to her regarding her procedure, he learns that she belongs to the Rajanya class, like himself, of the family of the rajarshi Pradhana, that she had obtained no suitable husband, and wandered about, following an ascetic life, and seeking final emancipation (verses 12033 ff.).

A further story in illustration of Janaka's indifference to worldly objects is told in the Asvamedhikaparvan, verses 887 ff.

<sup>271</sup> See Prof. Wilson's Sünkhya-kärikä, p. 190; and Dr. Hall's Preface to his edition of the Sünkhya-pravachana-bhāshya, pp. 9 ff.

Sect. XV.—Other instances in which Brühmans are said to have been instructed in divine knowledge by Kshattriyas.

Two other cases in which Brahmans are recorded to have received instruction from Kshattriyas are thus stated by Professor Müller: 120

"For a Kshattriya to teach the law was a crime (sea-dharmātikrama), and it is only by a most artificial line of argument that the dogmatic philosophers of the Mīmamsā school tried to explain this away. The Brāhmans seem to have forgotten that, according to their own Upanishads, Ajātaśatru, the king of Kāśi, possessed more knowledge than Gārgya, the son of Balāka, who was renowned as a reader of the Veda, and that Gārgya desired to become his pupil, though it was not right, as the king himself remarked, that a Kshatriya should initiate a Brāhman. They must have forgotten that Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, king of the Panchālas, silenced Svetaketu Āruṇeya and his father, and then communicated to them doctrines which Kshatriyas only, but no Brāhmans, had ever known before." I subjoin two separate versions of each of these stories. The first is that of Ajātaśatru:

Kaushītakī Brāhmaṇa Upanishad, iv. 1. Atha ha vai Gārgyo Bālākir anūchānah samspashṭaḥ āsa | so'vasad Ušīnareshu savasan Matsyeshu Kuru-panchāleshu Kāśi-videheshv iti | sa ha Ajātaśatrum Kāśyam āvrajya uvācha "brahma te bravāṇi" iti | tam ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "sahasram dadmaḥ" iti "etasyām vāchi | 'Janako Janakaḥ' iti vai u janāḥ dhāvanti" iti | . . . . 19. Tataḥ u ha Bālākis tūshūm āsa | tam ha uvācha Ajātaśatrur "etāvad nu Bālāke" iti | "etāvad" iti ha uvācha Bālākiḥ" | tam ha uvācha Ajātaśatrur "mṛishā vai khalu mā samvādayishṭhāḥ "brahma te bravāṇi" iti | yo vai Bālāke eteshām purushāṇām karttā yasya vai tat karma sa vai veditavyaḥ" iti | tataḥ u ha Bālākiḥ samit-pāṇiḥ pratichakrame "upāyāni" iti | tam ha uvācha Ajātaśatruḥ "pratiloma-rūpam eva tad manye yat kshattriyo brāhmaṇam upanayeta ehi vy eva tvā jnapayishyāmi" iti | tam ha pāṇāv abhipadya pravavrājā |

"Now Gargya Bālāki was renowned as a man well read in the Veda. He dwelt among the Uśīnaras, Matsyas, Kurus, Panchālas, Kāsis, and Videhas, travelling from place to place. He came to

<sup>221</sup> Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. p. 338.

Ajātašatru, the Kāśya, and said, 'Let me declare to thee divine knowledge.' Ajātaśatru said, 'We bestow on thee a thousand (cows) for this word.' Men run to us crying, 'Janaka, Janaka.'" The learned man accordingly addresses Ajātaśatru in a series of statements regarding the object of his own worship, but is silenced by the king's display of superior knowledge on every topic. 355 The story ends thus: 19. "Then the son of Balaka remained silent. Ajātasatru said to him, 'Dost (thou know only) so much, o Bālāki.' 'Only so much,' he answered. The king rejoined, 'Thou hast vainly proposed to me, let me teach thee divine knowledge.' He, son of Balaka, who is the maker of these souls, whose work that is, - he is the object of knowledge.' Then the son of Balaka approached the king with fuel in his hand, and said, 'Let me attend thee (as thy pupil).' The king replied, 'I regard it as an inversion of the proper rule that a Kshattriva should initiate a Brahman. (But) come, I will instruct thee. Then, having taken him by the hand, he departed."

Satapatha Brühmana, xiv. 5, 1, 1 (= Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, ii. 1, 1, p. 334 of Cal. edit.). Driptabālākir ha anūchāno Gārgyah āsa | sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatrum Kāśyam "brahma te bravāṇi" iti | sa uvācha Ajātaśatruh "sahasram etasyām vāchi dadmah 'Janako Janakah' iti vai janāh dhāvanti" iti | . . . . 12. Sa ha tūshnīm āsa Gārgyah | 13. Sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatrur "etavad nu" iti | "etāvad hi" iti | "na etāvatā viditam bhavati" iti | sa ha uvācha Gārgyah "upa tvā ayāni" iti | 14. Sa ha uvācha Ajātaśatruh "pratilomam vai tad yad brūhmanah kshattriyam upeyād 'brahma me vakshyati' iti | vy eva tvā jnāpayishyāmi" iti | tam pāṇāv ādāya uttasthau |

"Driptabâlâki Gārgyya was well read in the Veda. He said to Ajātaśatru, the Kāśya, 'Let me declare to thee divine knowledge.' Ajātaśatra replied, 'We give thee a thousand (cows) for this word. Men run to me calling out, "Janaka, Janaka." At the end of their conversation we are told: 12. "Gārgya remained silent. 13. Then Ajātaśatru asked him, '(Dost thou know) so much only?' 'Only so much,' he replied. 'But this,' rejoined Ajātaśatru, 'does not comprehend the whole of knowlege.' Then said Gārgya, 'Let me come to thee (as thy disciple).' Ajātasatru answered, 'This is an inversion of the proper rule, that a Brāhman should attend a Kshattriya with the view

200 See Prof. Cowell's Translation of the Upanishad, pp. 167 ff.

of being instructed in divine knowledge. (But) I will teach thee.' He took him by the hand, and rose."

The second story is that of Pravahana Jaivali:

Satapatha Brāhmana, xiv. 9, 1, 1 (= Brihadāranyaka Upanishad, vi. 2, 1, p. 1030 of Cal. edit.). Svetaketur ha vai Aruneyah Panchalanam parishadam ojagāma | sa ājagāma Pravāhanam Jaivalim pariehorayamānam | tam udikshya abhyuvāda "kumāra" iti | sa "bhoh" iti pratišusrūva | "anuśishto no asi pitrā" | "om" iti ha uvācha | 2. "Vettha yatha imah prajah prayatyo vipratipadyante" iti | "na" iti ha uvacha 1 "vetthu yatha imam lokam punar apadyanto" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvācha | "vettha yathā 'sau lokah evam bahubhih punah punah prayadbhir na sampuryyate" iti | " na" iti ha eva uvācha | 3. "Vettha yatithyam ahutyam hutayam apah purusha-vacho bhutva samutthaya vadanti" iti | "na" iti ha eva uvacha | "vettha u devayanasya va pathah pratipadam pitriyanasya va yat kritva devayanam va panthanam pratipadyate pitriyanam va | 4. Api hi nah risher vachah srutam (R.V. x. 88, 15 - Vaj. S. 19, 47) ' dvo sritt akrinacam pitrīnām aham decanam uta marttyanam | tabhyam idam viscam ejat sameti yad antara pitaram mataram cha" iti | "na aham atah ekanchana ceda" iti ha uvācha | 5. Atha ha enam vasatyā upamantrayānchakre | anādritya vasatim kumārah pradadrāva | sa ājagāma pitaram | tam ha uvācha " iti vāca kila no bhavān purā 'nuśishtān avochah'' 224 iti | " katham sumedhah" iti | " paneha mā prašnān rājanyabandhur aprākshīt tato na ekanchana veda" iti ha uvacha | "katame te" iti | "ime" iti ha pratikany udājahāra | 6. Sa ha weācha | " tathā nas tvam tāla jānīthāh yathā yad aham kincha veda sarvam aham tut tubhyam avocham | prehi tu tattra pratitya brahmacharyyam eatsyava" iti | bhavan eva gachhate" iti | 7. Sa ājagāma Gautamo yatra Pravāhanasya Jaivaler āsa | tasmai asanam aharyya waakam aharayanchakara | atha ha asmai argham 330 chākara | 8. Sa ha weācha "varam bhavate Gautamāya dadmah" iti | sa ha uvācha " pratijnāto me esha varah | yām tu kumārasya ante vächam abhāshathās tām mo brūhi" iti | 9. Sa ha uvācha "daiveshu vai Gautama tad vareshu | mānushāṇām brūhi" iti | 10. Sa ha weacha "vijnayate ha asti hiranyasya apattam go-akranam dasinam pravaranam paridhananam | ma no bhavan bahor anantasya

<sup>224</sup> The text of the Brihadaranyaka Up. reads evochat.

<sup>225</sup> The Brih. Ar. reads abritya.

aparyantasya abhy avadānyo bhūd" iti | "sa vai Gautama tīrthena ichhāsai" iti | "upaimy aham bhavantam" iti "vāchā hū sma eva pūrve upayanti" | 11. Sa ha upāyana-kīrttā " uvācha | "tathā nas tvam Gautama mā parādhās tava cha pitāmahāḥ yathā | iyam vidyā itaḥ pūrvam na kasmimschana brāhmane uvāsa | tām tv aham tubhyam vakshyāmi | ko hi tvā evam bruvantam arhati pratyākhyātum" iti |

"Svetaketu Āruņeya came to the assembly of the Panchalas. He came to Pravahana Jaivali, who was receiving service from his attendants. Seeing Svetaketu, the king said, 'o youth.' 'Sire,' he answered. (King) 'Hast thou been instructed by thy father?' (Svetaketu) 'I have.' 2. (K.) 'Dost thou know how these creatures, when departing, proceed in different directions?' (S.) 'No.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how they return to this world?' (S.) 'No.' (K.) Dost thou know how it is that the other world is not filled with those numerous beings who are thus constantly departing?' (S.) 'No.' 3. (K.) 'Dost thou know after the offering of what oblation the waters, acquiring human voices, rise and speak?' (S.) 'No.' (K.) Dost thou know the means of attaining the path which leads to the gods, or that which leads to the Pitris; by what act the one or the other is gained? 4. And we have heard the words of the rishi: (R.V. x. 88, 15 = Vaj. S. 19, 47) "I have heard of two paths for mortals, one to the pitris, another to the gods. By these proceeds every moving thing that exists between the father and the mother (i.e. between Dyaus and Prithivī, heaven and earth)." 'I know none of all these things,' answered Svetaketu. 5. The king then invited him to stay. The youth, however, did not accept this invitation, but hastened away, and came to his father, to whom he said, 'Thou didst formerly declare me to be instructed.' 'How now (my) intelligent (son)?' asked his father. 'The Rajanya,' replied the son, 'asked me five questions, of which I know not even one.' 'What were the questions?' 'They were these,' and he told him the initial words of each of them. 6. The father then said, 'Be assured, my son, that I told thee all that I myself know. But come, let us proceed thither, and become (his) pupils.' 'Do thou thyself go,' rejoined the son. 7. Gantama accordingly arrived (at the abode) of Pravahana Jaivali, who caused a seat to be brought, and water and the madhuparka mess to be 227 The text of the Brih. Ar. Up. roads kerttvo wedsa.

presented: 8. and said, 'We offer thee a boon, Gautama.' Gautama replied, 'Thou hast promised me this boon: explain to me the questions which thou hast proposed to the youth.' 9. The king replied, 'That is one of the divine boons; ask one of those that are human.' 10. Gautama rejoined, 'Thou knowest that I have received gold, cows, horses, female slaves, attendants, raiment; be not illiberal towards us in respect to that which is immense, infinite, boundless.' 'This, o Gautama,' said the king, 'thou rightly desirest.' 'I approach thee (as thy) disciple,' answered Gautama. The men of old used to approach (their teachers) with words (merely). He (accordingly) attended him by merely intimating his intention to do so.<sup>223</sup> 'Do not,' then said the king, 'attach any blame to me, as your ancestors (did not). This knowledge has never heretofore dwelt in any Brahman; but I shall declare it to thee. For who should refuse thee when thou so speakest?''

Chhandogya Upanishad, v. 3, 1. Svetaketur ha Āruneyah Panchālānāņi samitim eyaya | tam ha Pravahano Jaicalir weacha "kumara anu tea 'śishat pita" iti | " anu hi bhagavah" iti | 2, " Vettha yad ito 'dhi prajāh prayanti" iti | "na bhagavah" iti | "vettha yathā punar avarttante" iti | " na bhagavab" iti | "vettha pathor deva-yanasya pitriyanasya cha vyavarttune" iti | "na bhagavah" iti | 3. "Vettha yatha 'sau loko na sampuryyate" | "na bhagavah" iti | "vettha yatha punchamyam ahutae apah purusha-cachaso bhacanti" iti | "naico bhagacah" iti | 4. "Atha nu kim anusishto vochathah | yo hi imani na vidyat katham so 'nusishto bravita'' iti | sa ha ayustah pitur arddham eyaya | tam ha uvacha "ananusishya rava kila ma bhagavan abravid 'anu tea 'śisham' '' iti | 5. " Pancha mā rājanyabandhuh praśnān aprākahīt teshām na ekanehana asakam vivaktum" iti | sa ha uvācha " yathā mā tvam tada etan avado yatha 'ham ceham na ekanchana veda yady aham imān avedishyam katham to na avakshyam" iti | 6. Sa ha Gautamo rājno 'rddham eyāya | tasmai ha prāptāya arhām chakāra | sa ha prātah sabhāgah udeyāya | tam ha uvācha " mānushasya bhagaran Gautama rittasya varam vrinīthāh" iti | so ha wacha "tava eva rājan mānusham viltam | yam eva kumārasya ante vācham abhāshathās tām eva me brūhi" iti | 7. Sa ha krichhri babhwea | tam ha "chiram casa" ity ajnapayan-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> Or, "by merely intimating, not performing, the respectful mode of approach by touching his feet," according to the Commentator.

chakāra | tam ha wvācha "yathā mā tvam Gautama avado yathā iyam na prāk tvattah purā brāhmaṇān guchhati tasmād u sarveshu lokeshu kshattrasya eva prašāsanam abhūd" iti | tasmai ha uvācha |

"1. Svetaketu Aruneya came to the assembly of the Panchalas. Pravahana Jaivali asked him, 'Young man, has thy father instructed thee?' 'He has, sire,' replied Svetaketu. 2. 'Dost thou know,' asked the king, 'whither living creatures proceed when they go hence?' (S.) 'No, sire.' (King) 'Dost thou know how they return?' (S.) 'No, sire.' (K.) 'Dost thou know the divergences of the two paths whereof one leads to the gods, and the other to the pitris?' (S.) ' No, sire.' 3. (K.) 'Dost thou know how it is that the other world is not filled?' (S.) 'No, sire.' (K.) 'Dost thou know how at the fifth oblation the waters acquire human voices?' (S.) 'I do not, sire.' 4. (K.) 'And hast thou then said "I have been instructed?" for how can he who does not know these things allege that he has been so?' The young man, mortified, went to his father, and said, 'Thou didst tell me, I have instructed thee, when thou hadst not done so. 5. That Rajanya proposed to me five questions, of which I could not solve even one.' The father replied, 'As thou didst then say to me regarding these five questions, I know not one of them,-(so I ask thee whether) if I had known them, I would not have told them to thee?' 6. Gautama went to the king, who received him with honour. In the morning, having received his share (of attention), he presented himself before the king, who said to him, 'Ask, o reverend Gautama, a present of human riches.' He replied, 'To thee, o king, belongs wealth of that description. Declare to me the questions which thou proposedst to the youth.' 7. The king was perplexed and desired him to make a long stay: and said to him, 'As thou hast declared to me, o Gautama, that this knowledge has not formerly reached the Brahmans (who lived) before thee, it has therefore been among all peoples a discipline inculcated by the Kshattriva class alone.' He then declared it to him."

Sucr. XVI .- Story of King Viscantara and the Syaparna Brahmans.

Aitaroya Brāhmaṇa, vii. 27. Viśvantaro ha Saushadmanaḥ S'yāparnān purichakahāṇo viśyāparṇam yajnam ājahre | tad ha anubudhya S'yāparṇāz tam yajnam ājagmuḥ | te ha tad-antarvēdy āsānchakrire | tān ha drishṭvā

uvācha "pāpasya vai imo karmanah karttārah ūsate apūtāyai vācho vaditaro yach chhyaparnah iman utthapayata ime me 'ntarvedim asishata" iti | "tatha" iti tan utthapayanchakruh | to ha utthapyamanah ruruvire "ye tebhyo Bhatavirebhyah Asitamrigah Kasyapanam somapitham abhijigyuh Parikshitasya Janamejayasya vikasyape yaine tais te tattra vīracantah ūsuh | kah svit so 'smāka asti vīro yah imam somapītham abhijeshyati" iti | " ayam aham asmi vo vīrah" iti ha uvācha Rāmo Mārgaveyah | Ramo ha asa Margaveyo 'nachanah Syaparniyah | tesham ha uttishthatam uvacha " opi nu rajann itthamvidam ceder utthapayanti" iti | " yas team katham cettha brahmabandho" iti | 28. " Yattra Indram devatāh paryacrinjan Visvarūpam Teāshtram abhyamamsta Vrittram astrita yatın salavrikebhyah pradad Arurmaghan avadhid Brihaspateh pratyaeadhīd" iti | "tattra Indrah somapīthena vyārdhyata | Indrasya anu vyriddhim kshattram somapīthena vyūrdhyata | api Indrah somapīthe 'bhavat Tvashtur amushya somam | tad vyriddham eva adyapi kshattram somapīthena | sa yas tam bhaksham vidyād yaḥ kxhattrasya somapīthena vyriddhasya yena kshattram samridhyate katham tam veder utthupayanti" iti | "vettha brahmana tvam tam bhaksham" | "veda hi" iti | "tam vai no brāhmana brūki" iti | " tasmai vai te rūjann" iti ha uvācha | 29. Trayanam bhakshanam ekam aharishyanti somam sa dadhi sa apo sa | sa yadi somam brāhmanānām sa bhakshah | brāhmanāms tena bhakshena jinvishyasi | brāhmana-kalpas te prajūyām ajanishyate adayī apāyī avasāyī yathā-kama-prayapyah | yadā eai kshattriyaya papam bhacati brāhmana-kalpo 'aya prājāyām ājāyate īśvaro ha asmād dvitīyo vā tritīyo vā brāhmanatām abhyupaitoh sa brahmabandhavena jijyāshatah | atha yadi dadhi vaisyonom sa bhakshah | vaisyoms tena bhakshena jinvishyasi | caiśya-kalpas te prajayam ajanishyate 'nyasya bali-krid anyasya adyo yatha-kama-jyeyah | yada vai kshattriyaya papam bhavati vaisya-kalpo 'sya prajāyām ūjāyate īścaro ha asmād dvitīyo cā tritīyo vā vaišyatām abhyupaitoh sa vaisyataya jijyushitah | atha yady apah sudranam sa bhakshah | śūdrāms tena bhakshena jinvishyasi | śūdra-kalpus te prajāyam ajanishyate 'nyasya preshyah kamotthapyo yathakama vadhyah | yadā vai kshattriyāya pāpam bhacati śūdra-kalpo 'sya prajāyām ājāyate | iśvaro ha asmād dvitīyo vā tritīyo vā śūdratām abhyupaitoh | sa śūdratayā jijyūshitah | 30. Ete vai te trayo bhakshāh rājann" iti ha weācha " yesham asam na iyat kehattriyo yajamanah atha asya eeha soo'bhakshah" ityadi |

"Viśvantara, the son of Sushadman, setting aside the Syaparnas, was performing a sacrifice without their aid. Hearing of this the Syaparnas came to the ceremony, and sat down within the sacrificial enclosure Observing them, the king said, 'Remove these Svaparnas, doers of evil . deeds, and speakers of impure language, 200 who have sat down within my sacrificial enclosure.' Saying, 'So be it,' they removed them. When they were being removed, they exclaimed, 'The Kasyapas found champions in the Asitamrigas who conquered for them from the Bhūtavīras the soma-draught at the sacrifice which Janamejava, the son of Parikshit, was performing without their (the Kasyapas') aid. Who is the champion who will conquer for us this soma-draught?' 'I am your champion,' cried Rāma Mārgaveya. This Rāma was a learned man, belonging to the Syaparna race. When the Syaparnas were moving away, he said, 'Do they, o king, remove from the sacrificial enclosure a man who possesses such knowledge [as I]?' 'How dost thou possess it, Brahman?' asked the king. 28. (Rama answered) "When the deities rejected Indra, who had killed Tväshtra, 200 prostrated Vrittra, given over the Yatis to the wolves, slain the Arurmaghas, and contradicted Brihaspati, then he (Indra) forfeited the some-draught. In consequence of his forfeiture, the Kshattra (Kshattriya) class lost it

279 Prof. Weber (Ind. St. i., 215) thinks the words "doers of evil deeds" appear to refer to some variety of ceremonial peculiar to the S'yāparņas, and the words "speakers of impure language" to a difference in their dialect; and he is inclined to derive the patronymic of Rama, Margaveya, from the impure caste of Margavas mentioned in Manu, x. 34; by which supposition, he thinks, a ground would be discovered for the reproaches which Visyantara addresses to the Syaparpa family. In reference to the story of Janameiava, alluded to in this passage, Weber remarks (Ind. Stud. i. 204): "The same work (the Aitareya Brahmana, vii., 27) makes mention of a dispute which this king had with the sacerdotal family of the Bhūtavīrus, a branch of the Kasyapas; and which was adjusted by the intervention of the Asitamrigas, who belonged to the same race." A Syaparna is alluded to in S P. Br. x., 4, 1, 10 (quoted by Prof. Weber, Ind. St. i., 215): Etad ha sma vai tad vidran Syoparnah Sayakayanah aha " yad cai me idam karma samapayata mama esa praja Salvanam rajano bhavishyan mama brahmanah mama vailyah | yat tu me etacat karmanah samopi tena me ubhayatha Salvon praja 'tirekshyate" iti | "Knowing this Sayakayana, the S'yaparna, said, 'If this my rite had been completed, my offspring would have become the kings of the Salvas, mine their Brahmans, mine their Vaisyas. But as (only) so much of the rite has been completed, my offspring shall, in both respects, excel the Salvas." See also Ind. St. x. 18.

210 See Dr. Haug's note, p. 487, where he states why he cannot follow Sayana in rendering abhyamameta by "killed." Prof. Weber (Ind. St. ix. 326) defends

Sayana's interpretation.

also. (But Indra recovered a share in the soma-draught, having stolen Tvashtri's soma.) Hence at present also the Kshattriyas are excluded from the soma-draught. Why do they remove from the sacrificial en-· closure a man who knows that (other) draught which (properly belongs) to the Kshattriyas who are excluded from the soma-draught, and by which they are rendered prosperous?' 'Dost thou, o Brahman, know that draught?' asked the king. 'I know it,' answered Rama. 'Declare it then to us,' rejoined the prince. 'I declare it to thee, o king. said the other. 29. 'Of the three draughts they shall bring one, either soma, or curds, or water. If he (the priest, bring) the soma, that is the draught of the Brahmans, and with it thou shalt satisfy the Brahmans. One like a Brahman shall be born in thy line, a receiver of gifts, a drinker (of soma), a seeker of food, "a rover at will." Whenever the offence (of drinking the Brahman's draught) is chargeable to a Kshattriya, one like a Brahman is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Brahman, and likes to live as a Brahman. Next, if (the priest bring) curds, that is the Vaisya's draught; with it thou shalt satisfy the Vaisyas. One like a Vaisya shall be born in thy line, one who is tributary to another, who is to be used (lit. eaten) by another, and who may be oppressed at will. Whenever the offence (of consuming the Vaisya's portion) is chargeable to a Kshattriya, one like a Vaisya is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Vaisya, and is desirous of living as a Vaisya. Next, if (the priest bring) water, that is the Sudra's draught; with it thou shalt satify the Sudras. One like a Sudra shall be born in thy line, the servant of another, who may be expelled and slain at pleasure. When the offence (of drinking the Sudra's draught) is chargeable against a Kshattriya, one like a Sūdra is born in his line, who in the second or third generation from him has the power of becoming a Sudra, and desires to live like a Sudra. 30. 'These, o king, are the three draughts, which the Kshattriya when sacrificing should not desire. His own proper draught is as follows: Let him squeeze the descending branches

<sup>231</sup> Prof. Weber (Ind. Stud. ix. 326) would prefer to translate acasayi (überali-) wohnend, "dwelling everywhere."

<sup>253</sup> Dr. Hang translates "when there is any fault on the Kshattriya (who, when sacrificing, eats the Brühmana portion)," etc. See the beginning of par. 30 below.

of the nyagrodha (Indian fig) tree, with the fruits of the udumbara, the sévattha, and the plaksha trees, and drink these juices. This is his own proper draught."

The continuation may be read in Dr. Haug's translation, pp. 486 ff. After the priest has given the king a deal of further information the result is told in par. 34, as follows:

Tam evam etam bhaksham provācha Rāmo Mūrgaveyo Višvantarāya Saushadmanāya | tasmin ha uvācha prokte "sahasram u ha brāhmana tubhyam dadmah | sasyāparnah u me yajnah" iti |

"This draught did Rāma Mārgaveya declare to Viśvantara the son of Sushadman. When it had been declared the king said, 'Brāhman, we give thee a thousand (cows): and my sacrifice (shall be performed) with (the aid of the) Syāparnas.'"

SECT. XVII.—Story of Matanga who tried in vain to raise himself to the position of a Brahman.

The legend of Matanga, which is narrated in the Anuśasana-parvan of the Mahabharata, verses 1872 ff., is introduced by a question which Yudhishthira addresses to Bhishma, verse 1867: Kshattriyo yadi va vaikyah śūdro vā rājasattama | brāhmanyam prāpnuyād yena tad me vyākhyātum arhasi | tapasā vā sumahatā karmanā vā śrutena vā | brāhmanyam atha ched ichhet tad me brūhi samāsatah | Bhīshmah weācha | 1870. Brāhmanyam tāta dushprāpyam varnaih kshattrādibhis tribhih | param hi sarca-bhūtānām sthānam etad Yudhishthira | bahvīs tu samsaran yonir jayamanah punah punah | paryaye tata kasmimschid brahmano nama jayate | "Explain to me the means-whether it be intense austere-fervour, or ceremonies, or Vedic learning-whereby a Kshattriya, a Vaisya, or a Sudra, if he desire it, can attain to the state of a Bråhman. Bhishma replies (1870), The state of a Bråhman is hard to be acquired by men of the other three classes, the Kshattriyas, etc.; for this Brahmanhood is the highest rank among all living creatures. It is only after passing through numerous wombs, and being born again and again, that such a man, in some revolution of being, becomes a Brahman," Bhīshma proceeds to illustrate this principle by the case of Matanga, who was apparently the son of a Brahman, was distinguished for his good qualities, and was esteemed to be himself of the same class as his

father (verse 1873 : dvijāteh kasyachit tāta tulya-varņah sutas to abhūt | Matango nāma nāmnā vai sarvaih samudito gunaih |) He was, however, discovered to be of spurious birth in the following manner: He happened to be sent somewhere by his father to perform sacrifice, and was travelling in a car drawn by asses. On his way he repeatedly pierced on its nose with the goad the colt which was conveying him along with its mother. Feeling for the wound thus inflicted on her offspring, the she-ass said: "Be not distressed, my son, it is a Chandala who is on the car. There is nothing dreadful in a Brāhman; he is declared to be kindly, a teacher who instructs all creatures: how then can he smite any one? This man of wicked disposition shows no pity to a tender colt, and thereby indicates his origin; for it is birth which determines the character" (verse 1876, Uvācha mā šuchah puttra chandālas to adhitishthati | brāhmane dārunam nāsti maitro brāhmana uchyate | āchāryaḥ sarva-bhūtānām šāstā kim praharishyati | ayam tu pāpa-prakritir bāle na kurute dayām | sva-yonim mānayaty esha bhāvo bhāvam niyachhati |). Overhearing this colloquy, Matanga instantly got down from the car and besought the she-ass, whom he honoured with the epithet of "most intelligent," to tell him how she knew him to be a Chandala and how his mother had been corrupted. The she-ass informs him that his mother when intoxicated had received the embraces of a low-born barber, and that he was the offspring of this connection and consequently no Brahman (verse 1882. Brahmanyam vrishalena tvam mattāyām nāpitena ha | jātas tvam asi chandālo brāhmanyam tena te 'našat |). On receiving this unwelcome revelation, Matanga returned home, and being questioned by his reputed father about the cause of his speedy reappearance, he told him what he had heard; and expressed his determination to enter on a course of austerities. He does so accordingly with such effect that he alarms the gods, and receives the offer of a boon from Indra. He asks for Brahmanhood; but Indra tells him that he must perish if he continues to make that request, as the high position he seeks cannot be obtained by one born as a Chandala (verse 1895). Matanga, however, continues his exercises for a hundred years, when Indra repeats his former determination, and supports it by reasons, explaining (1901 ff.) that a Chandala can only become a Sudra in a thousand births, a Sūdra a Vaisya after a period thirty times as long, a Vaisya a Rajanya after a period sixty times the length, a Rajanya a Brāhman after a period of sixty times the duration, and so on, a Brāhman only becoming a Kāndaprishtha, a Kāndaprishtha a Japa, a Japa a Srotriya, after immense intervals. Indra therefore advises Matanga to choose some other boon. But the devotee is still dissatisfied with the god's decision, and renews his austerities for a thousand years. At the end of that period he receives still the same answer, and the same advice. But though distressed he did not yet despair; but proceeded to balance himself on his great toe; which, although reduced to skin and bone, he succeeded in doing for a hundred years without falling. At length, when he was on the point of tumbling, Indra ran up and supported him; but continued inexorably to refuse his request; and though further importuned, would only consent to give him the power of moving about like a bird, and changing his shape at will, and of being honoured and renowned (verses 1934 ff.).

The assertion here made of the impossibility of a Kshattriya becoming a Brāhman until he has passed through a long series of births is of course in flagrant contradiction with the stories of Viśvāmitra, Vitahavya, and others.

Matanga (or a Matanga) is mentioned in a passage already quoted in p. 411 as a rajarshi who supported Viśvāmitra's family and for whom that sage sacrificed. He is also named in the Sabhā-parvan, verse 340, as sitting in Yama's assembly along with Agastya, Kāla, and Mrityu, etc., etc.; in the Vana-parvan, 8079, as a great rishi (maharshi); and in the Sānti-parvan, 10875, as one of certain sages who had acquired their position by austerities (see above, p. 132). His disciples, he himself, and his forest are mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, iii. 73, 23, 29, 30.

Sucr. XVIII.—Legend of the Brāhman Paraśurāma, the exterminator of the Kshattriyas.

As Parasurama belonged to the race of the Bhrigus, it may be advisable to premise some particulars regarding that family.

In his Lexicon, s.v., Professor Roth tells us that the Bhrigus were a class of mythical beings, who, according to the Nirukta, xi. 19, belonged to the middle or aërial class of gods ("mādhyamiko deva-gaṇaḥ" iti Nairuktāḥ). They were the discoverers of fire and brought it to men

(R.V. x. 46, 2, etc.) He adds, however, that this race has also a connection with history, as one of the chief Brahmanical families bears this name, and allusions are made to this fact even in the hymns of the Rig-veda (vii. 18, 6; viii. 3, 9, 16; viii. 6, 18; viii. 91, 4). Bhrigu is also, as Prof. Roth observes, the name of a rishi representing a family, who is mentioned in Atharva-veda, v. 19, 1, as suffering injury at the hands of the Srinjayas (see above, p. 286). As regards his birth, it is said in the Aitareya Brahmana, iii. 34, that first the Sun, and then Bhrigu arose out of the seed which had issued from Prajapati,234 that Bhrigu was adopted by Varuna, and was consequently called Varuni, etc. (Tasya yad retasah prathamam udadipyata tad asav adityo 'bhavat | yad deitiyam āsīt tad Bhrigur abhavat | tam Faruno nyagrihnīta | tasmat sa Bhrigur Varunih). He is accordingly called by this name in the S. P. Br. xi. 6, 1, 1, where he is said to have conceived himself to be superior in knowledge to his father Varuna (Bhrigur ha vai Vārunir Varunam pitaram vidyayā 'timene'); and also in the Taittirīya Upamishad (Bibl. Ind. p. 123 : Bhrigur vai Varunir Varunam pitaram upasasāra). The preceding story of Bhrigu's birth is developed and modified in the Anuśasana-parvan of the Mahabharata, verse 4104 ff. : Vašishthah uvācha | api ehedam purā Rāma śrutam me Brahma-daršanam | Pitāmahasya yad vrittam Brahmanah paramōtmanah | devasya mahatas tāta Vārunim bibhratas tanum | aiśvaryye vārune Rāma Rudrasyeśasya vai prabhoh | "Vasishtha said, 4104: I have also heard, o Rama (i.e. Parasurama), of this vision of Brahma, of that which occurred regarding Pitāmaha, Brahma, the supreme spirit, the great god (i.e. Mahādeva), Rudra, Iśa, the lord, assuming the body of Varuna, and invested with the dominion of Varuna." After this singular description of Mahadeva as identified with Brahma, Brahma the supreme spirit, and Varuna, the speaker goes on to tell us that the munis, the gods headed by Agni, the embodied portions of the sacrifice, and the Vedas, etc., assembled on the occasion referred to, and then proceeds, verse 4112: Esha Brahmā Sico Rudro Varuno 'gnih Prajāpatih | kirttyate bhagavan decah sarva-bhata-patih sivah | tasya yajnah

See my article on "Manu, the progenitor of the Aryyan Indians" in Journ. R. A. S. for 1863, p. 415 f.; and above, pp. 168 and 170.

<sup>224</sup> The commoncement of the story, of which this is part of the sequel, is given above, p. 107 f.

<sup>223</sup> See Ind. Stud. ii. 231, and Journ. of the German Or. Soc. ix. 240.

Paśupates tapah kratava eva cha | dīkshā dīpta-vratā devī diśaś cha sadigiścarah | deva-patnyaś cha kanyaś cha devanam chaiva matarah | ajagmuh sahitas tattra tada Bhriqu-kulodeaha | 4115. Yajnam Paśupateh pritah Varunasya mahatmanah | Svayambhuvas tu tah drishtva retah samapatad bhuvi | tasya sukrasya visyandat pamsan sangrihya bhūmitah | prāsyat Pūshā karābhyām vai tasminn eva hutāšane ! tatas tasmin sampravritte sattre jvalita-pāvake | Brahmano juhvatas tattra pradurbhavo babhava ha | skanna-matram cha tach chhukram śrucena parigrihya sah | ajya-rad mantratas chapi so 'juhod Bhrigu-nandana | tatas tu janayūmāsa bhūta-grāmam cha vīryyavān | . . . . 4121. Sukre hute gnau tasmims tu prādurāsams trayah prabho | purushāh capuzhā yuktah svaih svaih prasava-jair-gunaih | "bhrig" ity eva Bhriguh purcam angarebhyo'ngira'bhavat | angara-samsrayach chaico Kavir ity aparo bhavat | saha jvālābhir utpanno Bhrigus tasmād Bhriguh smritah | . . . . 4140. " Varunas ehesvaro devo labhatām kāmam īpeitam" | nisargād Brahmanas chāpi Varuno yādasāmpatiķ | jagrāka vai Bhrigum pūrvam apatyam sūrya-varchasam | Īśvaro ngirasam châgner apatyārtham akalpayat | Pitămahas tv apatyam vai Kavim jagrāha tattva-vit | tadā sa Varunah khyato Bhriquh prasava-karma-krit | Agneyas to Angirah śriman Kavir Brahmo mahayaśah | Bhargavangirasau loke loku-santāna-lakshanau | ete hi prasavāh sarve prajānām patayas trayah | sarvam santānam eteshām idam ity upadhāraya | Bhrigos tu puttrāh saptāsan sarve tulyāh Bhrigor gunaih | Chyavano Vajrašīrshas cha Suchir Aureas tathaira cha | Sukro Varenyas cha Vibhuh Saranas cheti sapta te | Bhargavah Varunah sarve yesham vamso bhavan api | "4112. This adorable and gracious god, lord of all creatures, is known as Brahmā, Siva, Rudra, Varuna, Agni, Prajāpati. This Pasupati (had) a sacrifice. 256 Austere-fervour, Oblations, Consecration, (Diksha) that goddess with brilliant rites, the Points of the compass, their regents, the wives, daughters and mothers of the gods came all together with joy (4115) to this sacrifice of Pasupati the great Varuna. When Svayambhū (Brahmā) saw these goddesses his seed fell to the ground. Pūshan in consequence collected the particles of dust which were thus moistened, and threw them into the fire. When the sacrifice with its blazing fires had begun, there was seen an apparition of Brahma offering an oblation. Collecting with the sacrificial ladle that which had fallen,

<sup>236</sup> Such seems to be the construction of this line.

he cast it, like butter, with sacred texts, into the fire. And thence the powerful god generated all beings. . . . . 4121. When the seed had been cast into the fire, there arose three men endowed with bodies, and with their own respective qualities derived from their generation. Bhrigu sprang first from bhrik (the blazing of the fire), Angiras from the cinders, and Kavi 27 from a heap of cinders. Bhrigu was so named because he was produced together with flames." The god, called Mahadeva, Varuna, and Pavana, claimed these three men as his own, and the fruit of his sacrifice (verse 4133 f.). Agni and Brahmā also claimed them (4135 f.). The other gods, however, entreated Brahma to accede to the wishes of Agni and Varuna: "4140. 'And let Varuna, the lord, the god, also receive the object of his desire.' By the gift of Brahma, Varuna, lord of sea-monsters, first received for his offspring Bhrigu brilliant as the sun. And Iśvara (Mahadeva) appointed Angiras to be Agni's son. And Pitamaha, who knows the reality of things took Kavi as his offspring, Then Bhrigu, the progenitor of creatures, was named the son of Varuna, Angiras the son of Agni, and the glorious Kavi the son of Brahma. The Bhargava and the Angirasa are distinguished in the world as the propagators of mankind. For all these three lords of creatures were propagators. Know the whole of this world to be their offspring. Bhrigu had seven sons, all equal to their father in good qualities, Chyavana, Vajrašīrsha, Suchi, Aurva, Sukra, Varenya, Vibhu, and Savana. These were all Bhargavas, and Varunas, to whose race you (Paraśurāma) yourself also belong."

In another passage of the M. Bh. Adip. 869, it is similarly said: Bhrigur makarshir bhagaean Brahmana vai Svayambhuva | Varunasya kratau jatah pavakad iti nah śrutam | "We have heard that the great and venerable rishi Bhrigu was produced by Brahma from fire at the sacrifice of Varuna."

The Nirukta, iii. 17, has the following etymology of Bhrigu: Archishi Bhriguh sambabhaea | Bhrigur bhrijyamāno na dehe | "Bhrigu was produced in the flame; though roasted, he was not consumed."

The Taitt. Br. i. 8, 2, 5, has a different account: Indrasya sushwanasya tredhā indryam viryyam parāpatat | Bhrigus tritīyam abhavat |

<sup>237</sup> In the M. Bh. Adip. v. 2606, Kavi is said to be Bhrigu's son (Bhrigob puttrah Kavir videān S'ukraḥ). On the other hand he, or another person of the same name, is said in the Anusasana-p. 4150, to be, along with Kavi, a son of Kavi.

"While Indra was continuing to pour out Soma, his manly vigour fell in three portions. The third became Bhrigu."

Bhrigu is declared in the Vishnu P. (see above, p. 65) to have been one of the nine Brahmas, mental sons of Brahma. The Bhag. P. iii. 12, 23, says he sprang from the skin of the creator (Bhrigus teachi). The M. Bh. Adip. 2605, on the contrary declares: Brahmano hridayam bhittva nissrito bhagavan Bhrigub | "The venerable Bhriga, having split Brahmā's heart, issued forth" (Weber, Ind. St. ii. 231). So, too, the Vayu P. i. 9, 100: Bhrigus tu hridayāj jajne rishih Salilajanmanah | "Bhrigu was produced from the heart of the Water-born (Brahmā);" and adds, verse 103: Ity ete manasah puttrah vijneyah Brahmanah sutăh | Bhrige-adayas tu ye srishtah navaite brahma-cadinah | 104. Grihamedhinah puranas dharmas taih prak pracarttitah | "These were the mind-born sons of Brahma. Bhrigu, and the others, nine in all, who were created, were declarers of sacred knowledge and ancient householders; by them was duty of old established." Manu mentions Bhrigu (i. 35, see above, p. 36) as one of his own ten sons. He also speaks of him (i. 59, 60, above, p. 38) as commissioned by himself (Manu) to promulgate his code. In Manu, v. 1. however, the sage is said to have sprung from fire (idam achur mahatmanam anala-prabhavam Bhrigum). As, however, he had been previously declared to be one of Manu's ten sons, and is so called also in the third verse of book v. and the second of book vii... where he is styled Manaco Bhriguh, Kullūka thinks it necessary to explain this other alleged descent from fire by saying that that had been the sage's origin in a previous mundane era (Kalpa): Yadyapi prathamādhyāye daša-prajāpati-madhye "Bhrigum Nāradam eva cha" iti Bhrigu-srishtir api Manutah eva uktā tathāpi kalpu-bhedena aqni-prabhavatvam uchyate | tathā cha śrutih " tanya yad retasah prathamam dedipyato tad asav adityo 'bhavat | yad dvitīyam asīd Bhrigur'' iti | atah eea bhrashtad retasah utpannatead Bhriguh | "Though the creation of Bhrigu, as one of the ten Prajapatis, is declared, in the 35th verse of the first book, to have proceeded from Manu, still he is here said to have been produced from fire, from the difference in the manner of his birth in the different Kalpas. And so the Veda says (in the passage quoted above from the Ait. Br.). Hence he is called Bhrigu, because he sprang from the seed which fell (bhrashtāt),208

223 See Prof. Wilson's note, Vishnu Purana, vol. i. p. 100 ff., in the course of

Professor Roth (Lit. and History of the Veda, p. 135) says: "The Bhrigus are one of the most important Vedic families, to which Jamadagni, Chyavana, Aurva, Apnavana, and other rishis are assigned. Many conjectures might be formed in connection with the part which these several Bhrigus play in the later legends; but it seems to me unsafe to draw any conclusions till we are in possession of the intermediate links, and especially till we have learnt more precisely from the Vedic hymns themselves the relations of these families to each other. Nevertheless I will remark that Sunahsepha, the adopted son of Visvāmitra, is, according to the Puranas, a Bhrigu; and consequently the Bhrigus appear in intimate connection with the enemy of Vasishtha; and further, that Sagara, who was reared by the Bhrigu Aurva, is restrained by Vasishtha in his war of extermination against the Sakas and other barbarous tribes. His enemies, when hard pressed, had resorted to Vasishtha as an intercessor." (See above, p. 337, and Wilson's Vishnu Purana, vol. iii. p. 291.)

The story of Parasarama and the Kshattriyas is briefly mentioned in the second section of the Adiparvan of the Mahābhārata (verses 272–280), where the events referred to are said to have occurred in the interval between the Tretà and Dvāpara ages (Tretā-dvāparayoḥ sandhau Rāmaḥ śastra-bhritām varaḥ | asakrit pārthivam kshattram jaghānāmar-sha-choditaḥ | sa sarcam kshattram utsādya sva-vīryyeṇānala-dyutiḥ |). The history is more fully told in other parts of the Mahābhārata. In the 178th-180th sections of the Ādiparvan there is a legend in which no mention is made of Paraśurāma, or the slaughter of the Kshattriyas; but in which we have the following particulars: Parāśara was son of Saktri, and grandson of Vaśishtha, as we have seen above, p. 417. When he heard of the way in which his father had met his death, he determined to execute a general slaughter of all creatures (v. 6800); 225 but his grandfather restrained him by narrating the history of the

which he says, "The Vayu has also another account of their (the Prajapatis) origin, and states them to have sprung from the fires of a sacrifice offered by Brahma; an allegorical mode of expressing their probable original—considering them to be in some degree real persons—from the Brahmanical ritual, of which they were the first institutors and observers."

<sup>229</sup> Reference is made in the commencement of the Vishnu Purana to the same circumstance (Wilson's Vishnu Purana, vol. i. pp. 7 ff.) Parasara is the narrator of the Vishnu Purana (ibid. p. 11).

Bhrigus and Kshattriyas, as follows: There was a king named Kritavīrvya, by whose liberality the Bhrigus, learned in the Vedas, who officiated as his priests, had been greatly enriched with corn and money (verse 6802. Yājyo veda-vidām loke Bhrigunām pārthivarshabhah | sa tan agra-bhujas tata dhanyena cha dhanena cha | somante tarpayamasa vipulena visampate 1). After he had gone to heaven, his descendants were in want of money, and came to beg for a supply from the Bhrigus, of whose wealth they were aware. Some of the latter hid their money under ground, others bestowed it on Brahmans, being afraid of the Kshattriyas, while others again gave these last what they wanted. It happened, however, that a Kshattriya, while digging the ground, discovered some money buried in the house of a Bhrigu. The Kshattriyas then assembled and saw this treasure, and, being incensed, slew in consequence all the Bhrigus, whom they regarded with contempt, down to the children in the womb (verse 6809. Aremenya tatah krodhād Bhrigāms tān šaranāgatān | nijaghnuḥ paramesheāsāḥ sareāms tan nisitaih saraih | a-garbhad avakrintantas cheruh sarvam canundharām |). The widows, however, fled to the Himālaya mountains. One of them concealed her unborn child in her thigh. The Kshattriyas, hearing of its existence from a Brahmani informant, sought to kill it; but it issued forth from its mother's thigh with lustre, and blinded the persecutors. After wandering about bewildered among the mountains for a time, they humbly supplicated the mother of the child for the restoration of their sight; but she referred them to her wonderful infant Aurva into whom the whole Veda, with its six Vedangas, had entered (verse 6823, Shad-angas chākhilo vedah imam garbhastham eva ha | viceśa Bhrigu-vamśanya bhuyah priya-chikirshayā |), as the person who (in retaliation of the slaughter of his relatives) had robbed them of their eyesight, and who alone could restore it. They accordingly had recourse to him, and their eyesight was restored. Aurva, however, meditated the destruction of all living creatures, in revenge for the slaughter of the Bhrigus, and entered on a course of austerities which alarmed both gods, asuras, and men; but his progenitors (Pitris) themselves appeared, and sought to turn him from his purpose by saying that they had no desire to be revenged on the Kshattriyas: 6834. Namisair hi tadā tāta Bhrigubhir bhāvitātmabhih | badho hy upekshitah sarvaih kshattriyanam vihimsatam | ayusha viprakrishtena yada nah

kheda avisat | tada 'smabhir badhas tata kehattriyair ipsitah svayam | nikhātam yach cha vai vittam kenachid Bhrigu-vesmani | vairāyaiva tadā nyastam kshattriyan kopayishnubhih | kim hi vittena nah karyyam svargepsunām dvijottama | . . . . 6841. Mā badhīh kshattriyāms tāta na lokan sapta puttraka | dashayantam tapas-tejah krodham utpatitam jahi | "6834. It was not from weakness that the devout Bhrigus overlooked the massacre perpetrated by the murderous Kshattriyas. When we became distressed by old age, we ourselves desired to be slaughtered by them. The money which was buried by some one in a Bhrigu's house was placed there for the purpose of exciting hatred, by those who wished to provoke the Kshattriyas. For what had we, who were desiring heaven, to do with money?" They add that they hit upon this device because they did not wish to be guilty of suicide, and concluded by calling upon Aurva to restrain his wrath; and abstain from the sin he was meditating, verse 6841: "Destroy not the Kshattriyas, o son, nor the seven worlds. Suppress thy kindled anger which nullifies the power of austere-fervour." Aurva, however, replies that he cannot allow his threat to remain unexecuted. His anger, unless wreaked upon some other object, will, he says, consume himself. And he argues on grounds of justice, expediency, and duty, against the clemency which his progenitors recommend. He is, however, persuaded by the Pitris to throw the fire of his anger into the sea, where they say it will find exercise in assailing the watery element, and in this way his threat will be fulfilled. "It accordingly became the great Hayasiras, known to those who are acquainted with the Veda, which vomits forth that fire and drinks up the waters" (Mahad Hayasiro bhūtrā yat tad redavido viduh | tam agnim udgirad vaktrāt pibaty āpo mahodadhau). It is worthy of remark that in a legend, one object of which, at least, would seem to be to hold up to abhorrence the impiety of the Kshattriyas in oppressing the Brahmans, we should thus find a palliation of the conduct of the oppressors, coming from the other world. But here the principle of the nothingness of mundane existence asserts itself; and the final superiority of the Brahmans is vindicated, while their magnanimity is exemplified.

The next version of this legend, which I shall quote, is that given in the 115th-117th sections of the Vanaparvan. Arjuna, son of Kritavirya, and king of the Haihayas, had, we are told, a thousand arms.

He obtained from Dattatreya an aërial car of gold, the march of which was irresistible. He thus trod down gods, Yakshas, rishis, and oppressed all creatures (10137. Avyāhala-gatis chaica rathas tasya mahātmanah | rathena tena tu tadā vara-dānena vīryyavān | mamardda devān yakshūm̃s cha rishīm̃s chaiva samantatah | bhūtūm̃s chaiva sa sarvūm̃s tu pīdayāmāsa sarvataķ |). The gods and rishis applied to Vishnu, and he along with Indra, who had been insulted by Arjuna, devised the means of destroying the latter. At this time, the story goes on, there lived a king of Kanyakubja, called Gadhi, who had a daughter named Satyavatī. The marriage of this princess to the rishi Richīka, and the birth of Jamadagni, are then told in nearly the same way as above narrated in page 350. Jamadagni and Satyavatī had five sons, the youngest of whom was the redoubtable Parasurama. By his father's command he kills his mother (who, by the indulgence of impure desire, had fallen from her previous sanctity), after the four elder sons had refused this matricidal office, and had in consequence been deprived of reason by their father's curse. At Parasurama's desire, however, his mother is restored by his father to life, and his brothers to reason; and he himself is absolved from all the guilt of murder; and obtains the boon of invincibility and long life from his father. His history now begins to be connected with that of king Arjuna (or Kartavirya). The latter had come to Jamadagni's hermitage, and had been respectfully received by his wife; but he had requited this honour by carrying away by force the calf of the sage's sacrificial cow, and breaking down his lofty trees. On being informed of this violence, Parasurama was filled with indignation, attacked Arjuna, cut off his thousand arms, and slew him. Arjuna's sons, in return, slew the peaceful sage Jamadagni, in the absence of Parasurama. The narrative thus proceeds:

10201. Dadāhu pitaram chāgnau Rāmah para-puranjayah | pratijajne badham chāpi sarva-kehattrasya Bhārata | sa kruddho'tibalah sankhye śastram ūdūya vīryyavān | jaghnivān Kārttavīryyasya sutān eko'mtak-opamah | Teshām chānugatāh ye cha kshattriyāh kshattriyarshabha | tāmš cha sarvān avāmridhnād Rāmah praharatām varah | trissapta-kritvah prithivīm kritvā nihkshattriyām prabhuh | samantapanchake pancha chakāra raudhirān hradān | 10205. Sa teshu tarpayūmāsa Bhrigūn Bhrigu-kulodvahah | sākshād dadarša charchīkam sa cha Rāmam

nyavedayat | tato yajnena mahatā Jāmadognyah pratāpavān | tarpayāmāsa devendram ritvigbhyah pradadau mahīm | vedīm chāpy adadād haimīm Kaśyapāya mahātmane | daśa-vyāmāyatām kritvā navotsedhām višāmpate | tām Kaśyapasyānumater brāhmanāh khandaśas tadā | vyabhajams te tadā rājan prakhyātāh Khāndavāyanāh | sa pradāya mahīm tasmai Kaśyapāya mahātmane | asmin mahendre śailendre vasaty amitavikramah | evam vairam abhūt tasya kshattriyair loka-vāsibhih | prithivī chāpi vijitā Rāmenāmita-tejasā |

"Rāma, after performing, on his return, his father's funeral obsequies, vowed to destroy the whole Kshattriya race; and executed his threat by killing first Arjuna's sons and their followers. Twenty-one times did he sweep away all the Kshattriyas from the earth, and formed five lakes of blood in Samantapanchaka; (10,205) in which he satiated the manes of the Bhrigus, and beheld face to face (his grandfather) Richīka, who addressed himself to Rāma. The latter gratified Indra by offering to him a grand sacrifice, and gave the earth to the officiating priests. He bestowed also a golden altar, ten fathoms long and nine high, on the mighty Kaśyapa. This, by his permission, the Brāhmans divided among themselves, deriving thence the name of Khāṇḍavāyanas. Having given away the earth to Kaśyapa, Paraśarāma himself dwells on the mountain Mahendra. Thus did enmity arise between him and the Kshattriyas, and thus was the earth conquered by Rāma of boundless might."

The means by which the Kshattriya race was restored are described in the following passage from the Adiparvan, verses 2459 ff.:

Trissapta-kritvah prithivīm kritvā nihkshattriyām purā | Jāmadagnyas tapas tepe Mahendre parvatottame | 2460. Tadā nihkshattriye loke Bhārgaveṇa krite sati | brāhmaṇān kshattriyāḥ rājan sutārthinyo 'bhichakramuḥ | tābhiḥ saha samāpetur brāhmaṇāḥ śamsita-vratāḥ | ritāv ritau nara-vyāghra na kāmād nānritau tathā | tebhyaś cha lebhire garbham kshattriyās taḥ sahasraśaḥ | tataḥ sushuvire rājan kshattriyān vīryyavattarān | kumāramś cha kumārīś cha punaḥ kshattrābhivriddhyaye | evam tad brāhmaṇaiḥ kshattram kshattriyāsu tapasvibhiḥ | jātam vriddham cha dharmeṇa sudīrghenāyushānvitam | chatvāro 'pi tato varṇāḥ babhūvur brāhmaṇottarāḥ |

"2459. Having one and twenty times swept away all the Kshattriyas from the earth, the son of Jamadagni engaged in austerities on Mahendra the most excellent of mountains. 2460. After he had cleared the world of Kshattriyas, their widows came to the Brāhmans, praying for offspring. The religious Brāhmans, free from any impulse of lust, cohabited at the proper seasons with these women, who in consequence became pregnant, and brought forth valiant Kshattriya boys and girls, to continue the Kshattriya stock. Thus was the Kshattriya race virtuously begotten by Brāhmans on Kshattriya women, and became multiplied and long-lived. Thence there arose four castes inferior to the Brāhmans."

This restoration of the Kshattriyas and their rule is said to have been followed by a state of great virtue, happiness, and prosperity. As one exemplification of the religious perfection which prevailed, it is said that "the Brāhmans did not sell their sacred lore, nor recite the Vedas in the vicinity of Sūdras" (verse 2474. Na cha vikrīnats brahma brāhmanāš cha tadā nripa | na cha śūdra-samābhyāse vedān uchchāra-yanty uta |).

Another version of this legend is given in the Santiparvan, section 49. The birth of Jamadagni as the son of Richika and Satvavati is related very much as in the Vishnu Purana (see above, p. 349 f.); but Richīka tells his wife that the whole of her father's race shall become Brahmanical (verse 1741. Brahma-bhātam hi sakalam pitus tava kulam bhavet); and of Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, we are told that he "had the character of a Brahman, and was possessed of all Brahmanical qualities" (1745. Visvāmitram cha dāyādam Gādhih Kušika-nandanah | yam prāpa brahma-samitam viścair brahma-gunair yutam |). Jamadagni was futher of the dreadful Parasurama, "who became perfect in science, thoroughly versed in archery, and the slayer of the Kshattriyas, himself violent as flaming fire. By propitiating Mahadeva he obtained, among other weapons, the irresistible axe (paraśu)" (1747. Sarca - vidyānta - gam śreshtham dhanur-vedanya paragam | Ramam kshattriya-hantaram pradiptam iva pāvakam | toshayitvā Mahādevam parcate Gandhamādane | astrāni varayāmāsa parašum chātitejasam |), from which his name is derived. Arjuna, son of Kritavirya, king of the Haihayas, is here also represented as having a thousand arms, but in opposition to the previous account he is described as a "dutiful and religious monarch, who at an aśvamedha (horse-sacrifice) bestowed on the Brahmans the earth with its seven continents and mountains, which he had conquered by his

arms and weapons" (verse 1751. Chakravarttī mahātejā viprāṇām āścamedhike | dadau sa prithivīm sarvām sapta-deīpām sa-parvatām | svabāhv-aztra-balenājau jitvā parama-dharma-vit |). He had, however, ut
the solicitation of Agni permitted that voracious deity to consume his
towns, villages, forests, etc.; and as the hermitage of Apava (Vaśishtha)
had been destroyed in the conflagration, Arjuna was doomed by the
sage's curse to have his arms cut off by Paraśurāma. The story proceeds:

Verse 1769. Arjunas tu mahātejā balī nityam śamātmekah | brahmanyas cha saranyas dātā sūras cha Bhārata | 1760. Nāchintayat tadā śapam tena dattam mahatmana | tasya putras tu balinah śapenasur pitur badho | nimittad avaliptah vai nrisamsas chaica sarvada | Jamadagni-dhenvas te vatsam aninyur Bharatarshabha | ajnatam Karttavīryena Haihayendrena dhīmatā | tannimittam abhūd yuddham Jāmadagner muhatmanah , tato 'rjunasya bahums tan chhittva Ramo rusha 'nvitah | . . . 1766. Tatah pitri-badhamarshad Ramah parama-manyuman nihkshattriyam pratiśrutya mahīm śastram agrīhnata | tatah sa Bhriguśārdūlah Kārttavīryasya vīryavān | vikramya vijaghānāśu puttrān pauttrāms cha sarvasah | sa Haihaya-sahasrāni hatvā parama-manyumān | chakāra Bhārgavo rājan mahīm šonita-kardamām | sa tathā "śu mahātejāh kritvā niķkshattriyām mahīm | 1770. Kripayā parayā "vishto vanam eva jaguma ha | tato varsha-sahasreshu samatiteshu keshuchit | kshepam samprāptavāms tattra prakrityā kopanah prabhuh | Viśvāmitrasya pauttras tu Raibhya-puttro mahātapāh | Parāvasur mahārāja kshiptāha (kshiptvā "ha?) jana-samsadi | " ye te Yayüti-patane yajne santah samügatüh | Pratarddana-prabhritayo Rāma kim kshattriyāh na te | mithyā-pratijno Rāma tvam katthase jana-samsadi | bhayat kshattriya-viranam parvatam samupāśritah | sā punah kshattriya-śataih prithicī sarcatas tritā" | 1775. Paracasor vachah śrutva śastram jagraha Bhargavah | tato ye Kshattriyah rajan satasas tena varjjitah | te vivriddhah mahaviryyah prithivipatayo 'bhavan | sa punas tan jaghanasu balan api naradhina | garbhasthais tu mahī vyāptā punar evābhavat tadā | jātam jātam sa garbham tu punar eva jaghūna ha | arakshams tu sutān kāmšchit tadā kshattriyayoshitah | trissapta-kritvah prithivim kritva nihkshattriyam prabhuh | dakshinām asvamedhānte Kasyopāyādadāt tadā | sa kshattriyānām šeshārtham karenoddišya Kašyapah | 1780. Sruk-pragrahavatā rājams tato vākyam athābravīt | "gachha tīram samudrasya dakshinasya mahamune | na to mad-vishaye Rama vastavyam iha karhichit" | tatah

S'ürpārakam dešam sāgaras tanya nirmame | sahasā Jāmadagnyanya so 'paranta-mahitalam | Kasyapas tam maharaja pratigrihya casundharam | kritea brahmana-samstham vai pravishtah sumahacanam | tatah sudras eko vaišyāš cha yatkā - svairo - prachārinak | avarttanta dvijāgryānātis . dareshu Bharatarshabha | arajake jiva-loko durbalah balacattaraih | 1785. Pidyante na hi vitteshu prabhutvam kasyachit tadā | tatah kālena prithivi pidyamana duratmabhih | viparyayena tenasu pravivesa rasatalam | arakshyamana vidhicat kehattriyair dharma-rakshibhih 1 tam drishted dravatim tattra santrāsāt sa mahāmanāh | ūruņā dhārayāmāsa Kasyapah prithivim tatah | dhrita tenoruna yena tenorviti mahi emrita | rakshanartham samuddišya yayache prithivi tadā | prasādya Kašyapam devi varayāmāsa bhūmipam | prithivy uvācha | 1790. " Santi brahman maya guptah strishu kshattriya-pungacah | Haihayanam kule jatas te samrakshantu mam mune | asti Paurava-dayado Viduratha-sutah prabho | rikshaih sameardhito cipra rikshaeaty atha pareate | tatha 'nukampamānena yajvanā 'py amitaujasā | Parāšarena dāyādah Saudāsasyābhirakshitah | sarea-karmani kuruts śūdra-cat tasya sa dvijah | Sarvakarmety abhikhyatah sa mam rakshatu parthicah | . . . . 1799. kshattriya-dayadas tattra tattra parisritah | dyokara-hema-karadi-jatim nityam samāšritāh | 1800. Yadi mām abhirakshanti tadā ethāsyāmi niśchala | etesham pitaraś chaica tathoica cha pitamahah | mad-ortham nihatāḥ yuddhe Rāmenāklishṭa-karmaṇā | teshām apachitiś chaica mayā kāryyā mahāmune | na hy aham kāmaye mityam atikrāntena rakshanam | varttamanena vartteyam tat kshipram samvidhiyatam" | tatah prithivya nirdishtāms tān samānīya Kasyapah | abhyashinchad mahīpālān kshattrigan virya-sammatan

"Being of a meek, pious, kind, and charitable turn of mind, the valiant Arjuna thought nothing of the curse; but his sons, who were of an arrogant and barbarous disposition, became the cause of its resulting in his death. Without their father's knowledge they took away Jamadagni's calf; and in consequence Parasurama attacked Arjuna and cut off his arms." His sons retaliated by killing Jamadagni. 1766. Parasurama incensed at the slaughter of his father, having vowed in consequence to sweep away all Kshattriyas from the earth, seized his weapons; and slaying all the sons and grandsons of Arjuna, with thousands of the Haihayas, he turned the earth into a mass of ensanguined mud. 1770. Having thus cleared the earth of

Kshattriyas, he became penetrated by deep compassion and retired to the forest. After some thousands of years had elapsed, the hero, naturally irascible, was taunted by Parayasu, the son of Raibhya and grandson of Viśvāmitra, in a public assembly in these words: 'Are not these virtuous men, Pratardana and the others, who are assembled at the sacrifice in the city of Yayati, -are they not Kshattriyas? Thou hast failed to excecute thy threat, and vainly boastest in the assembly. Thou hast withdrawn to the mountain from fear of those valiant Kshattriyas, while the earth has again become overrun by hundreds of their race.' Hearing these words, Rāma seized his weapons. The hundreds of Kshattriyas who had before been spared had now grown powerful kings. These, however, Parasurama now slew with their children, and all the numerous infants then unborn as they came into the world. Some, however, were preserved by their mothers. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshattriyas, Rāma gave her as a sacrificial fee to Kaśyapa at the conclusion of an asyamedha. 1780. Making a signal with his hand, in which he held the sacrificial ladle, Kasyapa, in order that the remaining Kshattriyas should be spared, said to Parasurama, 'Go, great muni, to the shore of the southern ocean. Thou must not dwell in my territory.' Sagara (the ocean) created for him a country called Surparaka on the remotest verge of the earth. Having received dominion over the earth, Kaśyapa made it an abode of Brahmans, and himself withdrew to the forest. Sūdras and Vaisyas then began to act lawlessly towards the wives of the Brahmans; and, in consequence of there being no government, the weak (1785) were oppressed by the strong, and no one was master of any property. The Earth, being distressed by the wicked, in consequence of that disorder, and unprotected according to rule by the Kshattriyas, the guardians of justice, descended to the lower regions. Perceiving her moving from place to place in terror, Kasyapa upheld her with his thigh (arm). From this circumstance she derives her name of urvi.340 The goddess Earth then propitiated Kasyapa, and supplicated him for protection, and for a king. 'I have,' she said, 'preserved among females many Kshattriyas who have been born in the race of the Haihayas; let them be my protectors. There is the heir of the Pauravas, the son of Viduratha, who has been brought up by bears

<sup>260</sup> Urvi really means "the broad," signifying the same as prithivi.

on the mountain Rikshavat: let him protect me. So, too, the heir of Saudāsa has been preserved by the tender-hearted and glorious priest, Parāśara, who has performed, though a Brāhman, all menial offices (sarvakarmāṇi) for him, like a Sūdra;—whence the prince's name Sarvakarman." After enumerating other kings who had been rescued, the Earth proceeds: "All these Kshattriyas' descendants have been preserved in different places, abiding continually among the classes of dyokāras and goldsmiths. If they protect me, I shall continue unshaken. Their fathers and grandfathers were slain on my account by Rāma, energetic in action. It is incumbent on me to avenge their cause. For I do not desire to be always protected by an extraordinary person [such as Kaśyapa]; but I will be content with an ordinary ruler. Let this be speedily fulfilled.' Kaśyapa then sent for these Kshattriyas who had been pointed out by the Earth, and installed them in the kingly office."

This reference to the bestowal of the Earth upon Kaśyapa is founded on an older story which occurs both in the Aitareya and the Satapatha Brāhmaṇas. The passage in the first-named work is as follows, viii.

21. Etena ha vai Aindrean mahābhishekeṇa Kaśyapo Viśvakarmāṇam Bhauvanam abhishishecha | tasmād u Viśvākarmā Bhauvanaḥ samantam sarvataḥ prithivīm jayan parīyāya aśvena cha medhyena īje | bhūmir ha jagāv ity udāharanti "na mā marttyaḥ kaśchana dūtum arhati Viśvakarman Bhauvana mām didāsitha | mimankshye ham salilasya madhye moghas te esha Kaśyapāyāsa sangaraḥ "iti | "With this great inauguration like that of Indra did Kaśyapa consecrate Viśvakarman Bhauvana, who in consequence went round the Earth in all directions, conquering it; and offered an aśvamedha sacrifice. They relate that the Earth then recited this verse:

"Me may no mortal give away; but thou, oh king, dost so essay; Deep will I plunge beneath the main; thy pledge to Kas'yapa is vain."

The Satapatha Brūhmana, xiii. 7, 1. 15, says: Tam ha Kasyapo yājayānchakāra | tad api bhūmiḥ slokam jagau "na mā marttyaḥ kaschāna
dātum arhati Visvakarman Bhauvana mandaḥ āsitha | upamankshyati
syā salilasya madhye mrishaisha te sangaraḥ Kasyapāya" iti | "Knsyapa
officiated for him at this sacrifice. Wherefore also the Earth recited
this verse: 'No mortal may give me away. Visvakarman, son of

Bhauvana, thou wast foolish (in offering to de so). She will sink into the midst of the waters. Thy promise to Kasyapa is vain." 201

The story is also related in the Bhagavata Purana in a similar way. I note the chief points and variations. When Gadhi's daughter was demanded in marriage by the rishi Richika, the king considered that the suitor was not a fit husband for a daughter of his noble race; and said, "Give me a thousand horses white as the moon, each with one black ear, as a marriage gift for the maiden; for we are Kuśikas" (ix. 15, 5. Varam visadrišam mateā Gādhir Bhārgavam abravīt | 6. Ekataḥ śyāma-karṇānām hayanam chandra-varchasam | sahasram dīyatām sulkam kanyayah Kuśikāh rayam |). The youngest offspring of their union was, we are told, "Parasurama, who is declared to have been a portion of Vasudeva (Vishnu in the form of Krishna),200 and who exterminated the Haihaya race. Thrice seven times he swept away from this earth all the Kshattrivas, that deprayed and impious race, full of passion and darkness, with which she was burthened. He destroyed them, though the offence which they had committed was but insignificant (v. 14. Yam ahur Vaoudevāmsam Haihayānam kulūntakam | trissaptakritvo yah imām chakre nihkthattriyam mahim | dushtam kahattram bhuco bharam abrahmanyam anînasat | rajas-tamo-vritam ahan phalguny api krite 'mhasi |). King Arjuna, who had been endowed with miraculous powers, took Ravana prisoner, then released him, and afterwards carried away by force Jamadagni's cow and calf. Parasurama, in revenge, after a terrible battle, and the defeat of the king's army, cut off Arjuna's arms and head, and recovered the cow and calf. When his father was informed of the king's death, he said to Parasurama: "Rāma, Rāma, thou hast committed sin, in that thou hast causelessly slain the lord of men, who is composed of all the deities. 213 It is by longsuffering that we, the Brahmans, have acquired respect; the same means whereby the deity, the instructor of all worlds, attained the highest rank of godhead. By

<sup>241</sup> It will be observed that there are some varieties of reading in the verse, as given in the two Brühmanas. Manda āsitha in the S'. P. Br. looks like a corruption of the mām didāsitha of the Aitarcyn. The story of Arjuna, Parasurāma, and the Kshattriyas is briefly told again in the Āsvamedhika-parvan, but without any new circumstances of particular interest.

<sup>243</sup> See above, p. 350, and note 146. None of the passages I have quoted from the Mahabharata allude to Paras urama being an incarnation of Vishnu.

<sup>243</sup> Compare the passages quoted above in p. 300 from the Vishnu Parana, and from Manu.

patience the fortune of Brahma shines like the splendour of the Sun. Hari, the lord, is speedily pleased with those who are patient. The murder of a king who has been formally inaugurated is worse than that of a Brahman. Go and expiate thy sin by visiting holy places, with thy mind intent upon Achyuta (Vishnu)" (ix. 15, 38. Rāma Rāma mahābhāga bhavān pāpam akūrashīt\* | abadhīd nara-devam yat sareadevamayam erithà | vayam hi brāhmanās tāta kshamayā 'shanatām gatāḥ | yayā loka-gurur decuh pārameshthyam ayāt padam | kshamayā rochate lakshmir Brāhmi sauri yathā prabhā | kshaminām āśu bhagavāms tushyate Harir istarah | rajno murdhabhishiktasya badho brahma-badhad yuruh | tirtha-samsevayā chāmho jahy angūchyuta-chetanah |). On his return from this pilgrimage Rāma was desired by his father to kill his mother (on grounds similar to those stated in the account quoted above, p. 450, from the Mahābhārata), as well as his brothers, and executed the order; but at his intercession they were all restored to life. During his absence in the forest, his father Jamadagni was slain, and his head cut off, notwithstanding the entreaties of his wife, by the sons of Arjuna, in revenge for the loss of their own father. Parasurama, hearing his mother's outcries, hastened back to the hermitage, and laying hold of his axe, proceeded to avenge this outrage: ix. 16, 17. Gatvā Māhishmatīm Rāmo brahma-ghna-vihata-kriyam | teshām sa šīrshabhih rajan madhye chakre mahagirim | 18. Tad-raktena nadim ghoram abrahmanya-bhayavaham | hetum kritza pitri-badham kshattre mangalakāriņi | . . . . 20. Pituh kāyena sandhāya sirah ādāya barhishi | sarvadevomayam devam ûtmûnam ayajad makhuih | 21. Dadau prûchîm disam hotre brahmane dakshinām disam | adhvaryave pratīchīm vai udgātre uttarām dišam | 22. Anyebhyo 'vāntara-dišah Kasyapāya cha madhyatah | aryavarttam upadrashtre sadasyebhyas tatah param | 23. Tatak chavabhritha-snana-vidhutuścsha-kilvishah [ Sarasvatyum brahma-nadyum reje vyabhrah ivāmsumān | . . . . 26. Aste 'dyāpi Mahendrādrau nyastadandah prasantadhih | upagiyamana-charitah siddha-gandharva-charanaih | 27. Evam Bhrìgushu višvātmā bhagavān Harir Tšvarah | avatīrya param bharam bhueo 'han bahuso nripan | "17. He went to the city of Mähishmatī, which had been robbed of its glory by those Brähmanslayers, and raised in the midst of it a great mountain composed of their heads. With their blood he formed a dreadful river, which struck

<sup>244</sup> So in the Bombay edition. Burnouf's text has the usual form akarrhit.

fear into the impious; justifying his action against the oppressive Kshattriyas by their murder of his father. . . . . 20. He then united his father's head to his body, laying it on the sacred grass; and offered a sacrifice to the divine Spirit, who is formed of all the deities. On this occasion he gave the eastern region of the earth to the hotri priest. the south to the brahman, the west to the adhvaryu, and the north to the udgatri. To others he gave the intermediate regions (south-east, south-west, etc.), to Kaśyapa the central; on the upadrashtri he bestowed Aryavartta, and on the Sadasyas what was beyond. Having then cleansed all his impurity by the avabhritha ablution in the Sarasvatī, the river of Brahma, he shone like the sun unobscured by clouds. . . . 26. Having laid aside his weapons, he sits to this day in tranquillity of mind on the mountain Mahendra, whilst his exploits are celebrated by the Siddhas, Gandharvas, and Charanas. Thus did the universal Spirit, the divine lord, Hari, become incarnate in the Bhrigus, and destroy numerous kings who were a burden to the earth." It is singular that sin requiring expiation should be, as it is in this narrative, imputed to Parasurama, while he is at the same time declared to have been a portion of Vishnu, the supreme Spirit.

The story of Parasurama is also told in the Dronaparvan of the Mahabharata, verses 2427 ff., after those of many other kings and warriors, to illustrate the truth that death must sooner or later overtake even the most pious and distinguished personages. The earlier incidents are briefly narrated; but some of the details, as the slaughter of the Kshattriyas, are dwelt on at greater length than in the other accounts. Some of the victims of the hero's vengeance are described as "haters of Brahmans" (brahma-deishām, verse 2431). The Kshattriyas who were slain are described as of various provinces, viz. Kāśmīras, Daradas, Kuntis, Kshudrakas, Mālavas, Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Videhas, Tāmraliptakas, Rakshovāhas, Vītihotras, Trigarttas, Mārttikāvatas, Sivis, and other Rājanyas (Sivin anyāms cha rājanyān, verse 2437). At verse 2443 the narrative proceeds: Nirdanyum prithivim kritva sishteshta-jana-sankulam | Kasyapāya dadau Rāmo haya-medhe mahāmakhe | trisapta-vārān prithielm kritvā niķkshattriyām prabhuḥ | ishtvā kratu-šutair viro brāhmaņebhyo hy amanyata | sapta-deipām casumatim Māricho 'grihnata deijah | Rāmam provācha "nirgachha vasudhāto mamājnayā | sa Kašyapasya vachanāt protsārya saritāmpatim | ishupātair yudhām śreshthah kurvan brāhmaṇa-sāsanam | adhyāvasad giri-śreshtham Mahendram parvatettamam | "2443. Having freed the earth from Dasyus (or robbers), and filled her with respectable and desirable inhabitants, he gave her to Knšyapa at an aśvamedha. Having twenty-one times cleared the earth of Kshattriyas, and offered hundreds of sacrifices, he destined the earth for the Brāhmans. The Brāhman, the son of Marīchi (i.e. Kašyapa), received the earth, and then said to Rāma, 'Depart out of her by my command.' Having repelled the ocean by his arrows, and established the rule of the Brāhmans, Rāma dwelt on the mountain Mahendra."

The Anusasanaparvan of the same poem has another "ancient story" about Parasurama, which, like the preceding passage from the Bhagavata Purana, adverts to the pollution incurred by that warrior from his numerous deeds of blood. It begins as follows: verse 3960. Jamadagnyena Rāmeņa tīvra-roshānvitena vai | trissapta-kritvah prithivī kritā nihkshattriya pura | tato jitva mahim kritsnam Ramo rajiva lochanah | ājahāra kratum vīro brahma-kshattreņa pūjitam | vāji-medham mahārāja sarva-kāma-samanvitam | pāvanam sarva-bhūtānām tejo-dynti-vivardāhanam | vipāpmā sa cha tejasvī tena kratu-phalena cha | naivātmano 'tha laghutām Jāmadagnyo 'dhyaquehhata | sa tu kratu-vereneshtvā mahātmā dakshinavata | 3965. Paprachhagama - sampannan rishin devams cha Bhargavah | " pavanam yat param nrinam ugre karmani varttatam | tad uchyatam mahabhagah" iti jata-ghrino 'bravit | ity uktah cedasāstra-jnās tam ūchus te maharshayah | "Rāma viprāh satkriyantām veda-prāmānya-daršanāt | bhūyašcha viprarshi-ganāh prashtavyāh pāvanam prati | te yad brûyur mahûprûjnas tach chaiva samudachara | "3960. Rāma, son of Jamadagni, having thrice seven times cleared the world of Kshattriyas, and conquered the whole earth, performed the horse-sacrifice, venerated by Brahmans and Kshattriyas, which confers all objects of desire, which cleanses all creatures, and augments power and lustre; and became thereby sinless and glorious. He did not, however, feel relieved in his mind, but after offering the most excellent of sacrifices, at which presents were bestowed, he (3965) enquired of the rishis skilled in the scriptures, and of the gods, what was that which most perfectly cleansed those men who had committed deeds of violence; for he felt compunction for what he had done. The rishis skilled in the Vedas and Sastras replied, 'Let the Brahmans be

the objects of your liberality, as the authority of the Vedas requires; let the Brahman-rishis be further consulted in regard to the means of lustration; and do whatever these wise men may enjoin." Parasurāma accordingly consulted Vasishtha, Agastya, and Kasyapa. They replied that a sinner was cleansed by bestowing cows, land, and other property, and especially gold, the purifying power of which was very great. "Those who bestow it, bestow the gods," a proposition which is thus compendiously proved: "for Agni comprehends all the gods; and gold is of the essence of Agni" (verse 3987. Devatās to prayachhanti ye suvarnam dadaty atha | Agnir ki devatah sarrah suvarnam cha tadātmakam). In regard to the origin of this precious metal, Vasishtha tells a very long story, which he had heard Prajapati relate, how it was born by the goddess Ganga to Agni, by whom she had been impregnated, and was thus the son of that god. "Thus was gold born the offspring of Jätavedas (Agui). That which is produced in Jambunada is the best, and a fit ornament even for the gods. It is called the chief of gems and of ornaments, the most pure of all pure things, the most auspicious of all auspicious objects; and one with the divine Agni, the lord Prajapati" (verse 4099. Ecam suvarnam utpannam apatyam Jatavedasah | tatra Jambanadam śreshtham deranam api bhūshayam | 4001. Ratnānām uttamam ratnam bhūshayānām tathottamam | pavitraŭ cha pavitranam mangalanam cha mangalam | yat suvarnam za bhagaran Agnir isah prajapatih |). It must be highly consolatory for those who are disposed to be liberal to the Brahman, to be assured that the gold which they bestow has such a high mystical, as well as current, exchangeable value. "Paraśurāma," the story concludes, "after being thus addressed by Vasishtha, gave gold to the Brahmans, and was freed from sin " (verse 4183. Ity uktah sa Vakishthena Jamadagnyah pratapavan | dadan suvernam viprebhyo vyamuchyata cha kilvishat).

It is interesting to remark how the different distinctive principles of Indian religion and sentiment severally assert themselves in turn, and thus, occasionally, come into conflict with each other, as in the story of Parasurama. The primary object of this legend is no doubt to illustrate the vengeance which inevitably overtakes all those who violate the sacredness of the Brahmanical prerogative, and the meritorious character of those who act as its defenders. No sooner, however, is this end ac-

complished, and the impious foes of the priesthood swept away again and again from the face of the earth, than a revulsion of feeling takes place, and the higher principles of the sacredness of life, and of the blessedness of mercy, come forward to claim recognition; and a deep sense of the pollution of bloodshed calls aloud for atonement. In the Bhāgavata, as we have seen, Jamadagni imputes it as a crime to the avenger of the Brāhmans that he had slain a king; and even goes the length of declaring that in doing so he had incurred greater guilt than if he had murdered a Brāhman.

In the same book of the Mahābhārata, verses 7163 ff., an extravagant description is given of the prerogatives and powers of the Brahmans; and Arjuna is again brought forward, in verses 7187 ff., as at first scouting their pretensions, but as ultimately conceding their unapproachable superiority: "The magnificent and mighty Karttavīrya (Arjuna), possessing a thousand arms, was lord of this whole world, living in Mahishmati. This Haihaya of unquestioned valour ruled over the whole sea-girt earth, with its oceans and continents" (verse 7187. Sahasra-bhuja-bhrit śriman Karttaviryo 'bhavat prabhuh | asya lokasya sareasya Māhishmatyām mahābalah | sa tu ratnākaravatīm sadvīpām sāgarāmbarām | śaśāsa prithivīm sarvām Haihayah satya-vikramah). He obtained boons from the muni Dattatreyn, a thousand arms whenever he should go into battle, power to make the conquest of the whole earth, a disposition to rule it with justice? and the promise of instruction from the virtuous in the event of his going astray. 7196. Tatah sa ratham asthoya jealanarka-samadyutim | abravid viryyasammohāt "ko ne asti sadrišo mama | dhairyye viryye yasah-sauryye vikramenaujasa 'pi va'' | tad-vakyante 'ntariksho vai väg uvachasarīrīnī | "na team mūdha vijanīshe brahmanam kahattriyad caram | sahito brahmanensha kahattriyah sasti vai prajāh" | Arjuna uvācha | kuryām bhūtāni tushto'ham kruddho nāšam tathà naye | karmana manasa vacha na matto'sti varo dvijoh | 7200. Parco brahmottaro vado dvitiyah kshattriyottarah | teayoktau hetuyuktau tau višeshas tattra drišyate | brāhmanāh samšrītāh kshattram na kshattram brahmanaśritam | śritah brahmopadhah viprah khadanti kshattriyan bhuri | kshattriyeshe āśrito dharmah prajanam paripalanam | kshattrād vrittir brāhmaņānām taih katham brāhmano varah | varva-bhūpradhanams tan bhaiksha-crittin aham sada | atma-sambhavitan vipran

sthāpayāmy ātmano vaše | kathitam hy anayā satyam gāyatryā kanyayā divi | vijeshyāmy avašān sarvān brāhmaņāmš charma-vāsasaḥ | 7205. Na cha mām chāvayed rāshtrāt trishu lokeshu kaśchana | deco vā mānusho vā 'pi tasmāj jyeshtho dvijād aham | atha brahmottaram lokam karishye kshattriyottaram | na hi me samyuge kaschit sodhum utsahate balam | Arjunavya vachah śrutvā vitrastā 'bhūd niśūcharī | athainam antarikshasthas tato Väyur abhāshata | "tyajainam kalusham bhāvam brāhmanebhyo namaskuru | eteshäm kurvatah päpam räshtra-kshobho bhavishyati | atha vä tväm mahīpāla šamayishyanti vai dvijāh | nirasishyanti te rāshtrād hatotsāham mahābalāh'' | 7210. Tam rājā "kas tvam" ity āha tatas tam prāha Mārutah | " Vāyur vai deva-dūto 'emi hitam tvām prabravimy aham" | Arjunah weacha | " aho tvaya 'dya vipreshu bhaktiragah pradarsitah | yadrisam prithiei-bhatam tadrisam brahi cai dvíjam | väyor vä sadríšam kinchid brūhi tvam bváhmanottamam | apám vai sadrišo cahnih sūryyasya nabhaso 'pi vā | "Then ascending his chariot glorious as the resplendent sun, he exclaimed in the intoxication of his prowess, 'Who is like me in fortitude, courage, fame, heroism, energy, and vigour?' At the end of this speech a bodiless voice in the sky addressed him: 'Thou knowest not, o fool, that a Brahman is better than a Kshattriya. It is with the help of the Brahman that the Kshattriya rules his subjects.' Arjuna answers: 'If I am pleased, I can create, or, if displeased, annihilate, living beings; and no Brahman is superior to me in act, thought, or word. The first proposition is that the Brahmans are superior; the second that the Kshattriyas are superior; both of these thou hast stated with their grounds, but there is a difference between them (in point of force). The Brahmans are dependant on the Kshattriyas, and not the Kshattriyas on the Brühmans; and the Kshattriyas are eaten up by the Brühmans, who wait upon them, and only make the Vedas a pretence. Justice, the protection of the people, has its seat in the Kshattriyas. From them the Brahmans derive their livelihood: how then can the latter be superior? I always keep in subjection to myself those Brihmans, the chief of all beings, who subsist on aims, and who have a high opinion of themselves. For truth was spoken by that female the Gayatri in the sky. I shall subdue all those unruly Brahmans clad in hides. 7200. No one in the three worlds, god or man, can hurl me from my royal authority; wherefore I am

superior to any Brahman. Now shall I turn the world in which Brahmans have the upper hand into a place where Kshattriyas shall have the upper hand : for no one dares to encounter my force in battle.' Hearing this speech of Arjuna, the female roving in the night became alarmed. Then Vayu, hovering in the air, said to Arjuna: 'Abandon this sinful disposition, and do obeisance to the Brahmans. If thou shalt do them wrong, thy kingdom shall be convulsed. They will subdue thee: those powerful men will humble thee, and expel thee from thy country.' The king asks him, 'Who art thou?' Vayu replies, 'I am Vayu, the messenger of the gods, and tell thee what is for thy benefit.' Arjuna rejoins, 'Ob, thou displayest to-day a great warmth of devotion to the Brahmans. But say that a Brahman is like (any other) earth-born creature. Or say that this most excellent Brahman is something like the wind. But fire is like the waters, or the sun, or the sky. 11 245 Vayu, however, goes on to answer this spirited banter by adducing various instances in which the superiority or terrible power of the Brahmans had been manifested: 7124. Tyakteā mahīteam bhūmis tu sparddhayā 'nga-nripasya ha | nāśam jagāma tām vipro vyashtambhayata Kāsyapah | "The earth, being offended with king Anga, had abandoned her form and become destroyed: but the Brahman Kasyapa supported her." This is afterwards told more at length, verse 7232: Imām bhūmim dvijātibhyo ditsur vai dakehinām purā | Ango nāma nripo rājams tatas chintām mahī yayau | "dhāranīm sarva-bhūtānām ayam prāpya varo nripah | katham ichhati mām dātum dvijebhyo Brahmaņah sutām | sā 'ham tyaktvā gamishyāmi bhûmiteam Brahmanah" padam | ayam sa-rûshtro nripatir mû bhûd " iti toto 'gamat | 7235. Tatas tam Kasyapo drishtva vrajantim prithivim tada | praviceša mahīm sadyo mukteā "tmānam samāhitah | riddhā sā sarvato jaine trinaushadhi-samancitā | , . . . 7238. Athāgamya mahārāja namaskritya cha Kasyapam | prithivi Kasyapi jajne suta tasya mahatmanah | esha rajann idriśo vai brahmanah Kaśyapo 'bhavat | anyam prabrūhi vā tvam cha Kaśyapāt kuhattriyam varam | "King Anga wished to bestow this earth on the Brahmans as a sacrificial fee. The earth then reflected, 'How does this excellent king, after having obtained me, the daughter of Brahma, and the supporter of all creatures, desire to give

<sup>245</sup> The drift of the last line is not very clear, unless it be a reply by anticipation to line 225, which will be found a little further on.

me to the Brāhmans? I shall abandon my earthly form, and depart to the world of Brahmā. Let this king be without any realm.' Accordingly she departed. 7235. Beholding her going away, Kaśyapa, sunk in contemplation, entered into her, leaving his own body. She then became replenished, and covered with grass and plants, etc., etc. . . . . 7238. She afterwards came and did obcisance to Kaśyapa, and became his daughter. Such was the Brāhman Kaśyapa: Declare, on your part, any Kshattriya who has been superior to him.'

Further illustrations of the tremendous power of the Brahmans are the following:

7215. Apibat tejasā hy āpah svayam evāngirāh purā | sa tāḥ piban kshiram iya natripyata mahamanah | apurayad mahanghena mahim sarvăm cha parthice | tasminn aham cha kruddhe cai jagat tyaktea tato gatah | vyatishtham agnihotre cha chiram Angiraso bhayāt | atha šaptaš cha bhaqavan Gautamena Purandarah | Ahalyam kamayano vai dharmārtham cha na himsitah | yathā samudro nripats pūrno mrishtas cha eāriņā | brāhmaṇair abhišaptaḥ san babhūva lavaņodakaḥ | . . . . 7223. Dandakānām mahad rājyam brāhmanena vināśitam | Tālajangham mahākshattram Aurvenaikena nāšitam | . . . . 7225. Agnim tvam yajass nityam kasmād brāhmanam Arjuna | ea hi sarvasya lokasya havyo-vāţ kim na vetsi tam | . . . . 7241, Bhadrā Somasya duhitā rūpeņa paramā matā | yasyās tulyam patim Somah Utathyam samapasyata | sā cha tivram tapas tepe mahābhāgā yaśasvinī | Utathyarthe tu charvangī param niyamam asthita | tatah ahaya sotathyam dadav Atrir yasasvinîm | bharyyarthe sa tu jagraha vidhiyad bhuri-dakshinah | tam te akāmayata śrīmān Varunah pūrvam eva ha | saschāgamya vanaprasthām Yamundyam jahara tam | 7245. Jalescaras tu hritea tam anayat scapuram prati | paramādbhuta-sankāšam shat-sahasra-šatam hradam | na hi ramyataram kinchit tasmad anyat purottamam | prasadair apsarobhis cha divyaih kāmaiš cha šobhitam | tatra devas tayā sūrddham reme rājan jaleśvarah | athakhyatom Utathyaya talah patny-avamarddanam | tach chhrutva Naradat sarvam Utathyo Naradam tada | provacha "gachha brūhi tvam Varunam parusham vachah | madvākyād muncha me bhāryyām kasmāt tām hṛitavān asi | lokapālo 'si lokānām na lokasya vilumpakah | Somena duttā me bhāryyā teayā chāpahritā 'dya vai" | . . . . 7251. Iti śrutvū vachas tasya tatas tam Varuno bravit | "mamaishā supriyā bhīrur nainām utsrashtum utsahs'' | ity ukto Varunenātha Nāradah prapya vai munim | Utathyam abravid vakyam natihrishta-manah iva | " gale grihītvā kshipto 'smi Varunena mahāmune | na prayachhati te bhāryyām yat te kūryyam kurushça tat" | Nāradasya vachah śrutvā kruddhah prājvalad Angirāh | 7255. Apībat tejasā vāri vishtabhya sa mahātapāh | pīyamāne tu sarvasminz toye vai salilešvarah | suhridbhih kshobhyamāno vai naivāmunchata tām tadā | tatah kruddho bravīd bhūmim Utathyo brāhmanottamāḥ | daršayasva chhalam bhadre shat-sahasraśatam hradam | tatas tad irinam jūtam samudras chācasarpitah | tasmād deśan nadim chaica provachasau deijottamah | "adriśya gachha bhīru team Sarasvati marun prati | apunyah esha bhavatu desas tyaktas teaya śubbe" | tasmin samśoshite deśe Bhadram adaya varipah | 7260. Adadat śaranam gatvā bhāryyām Angirasāya vai | pratigrihya tu tām bhāryyām Utathyah sumanā 'bhavat | mumocha cha jagad duḥkhād Varunam chaiva Haihaya | . . . . 7262. Mamaisha tapasa propta krośatas te jaladhipa | 7263, . . . . ezha rajann idriso vai Utathyo brahmanottumah | bravimy aham brūhi vā tvam Utathyāt kshattriyam varam |

"Angiras, too, himself formerly drank up the waters by his own might. Drinking them up like milk he was not satisfied: and filled the whole earth with a great flood. When he was thus wroth, I abandoned the world and departed, and dwelt for a long time in the agnihotra. The divine Purandara (Indra), who had a passion for Ahalyā, was cursed by (her husband) Gautama; but, from motives of religion, he was not injured. The sea, which is filled and purified by water, being cursed by the Brāhmans, became salt." 7223. The great king-

<sup>246</sup> See above pp. 121 and 310; and also pp. 107-113. In this same Anusasana Parva, verses 2262 ff., there is found another story (told to illustrate the frailty of the female sex) of Indra being enamoured of Ruchi, the wife of the rishi Devadurman, and of the method which that sage's disciple, Vipula, (to whose care his preceptor's wife had been entrusted during her husband's absence,) devised to preserve his charge from being corrupted by the licentions immortal who was in the habit of assuming manifold Protean disguises in order to carry out his unworthy designs, and to save the female from being "licked up by the king of the gods, as a mischievous dog licks up the butter deposited at the marriface" (Yatha Ruchim navalihed devendro Bhrigu-nattama | kratov upahite nyastam havih iveva duratmavan), a respectful comparison, truly, to be applied to the chief of the Indian pantheon! The plan which Vipula adopted to save the virtue of his master's wife against her will was to take possession of her body with his own spirit, and to restrain her movements by the force of Yoga, and compel her to say the contrary of what she desired. The story ends by his re-entering his own body, reproaching Indra with his diagraceful behaviour, and compelling him to retire abashed.

dom of the Dandakas was overthrown by a Brahman; and the great Kshattriya family of the Talajanghas was destroyed by Aurva alone. 7225. And why dost thou, o Arjuna, worship Agni (who is) a Brāhman? for knowest thou not that he bears the oblations of the whole world?" The story of Utathya, of the race of Angiras, is afterwards told: "7241. Bhadra was the daughter of Soma, and considered to be a a person of great beauty. Some regarded Utathya as a fitting husband for her. She practised severe austerities in order to gain him. Atri (the father of Soma, according to the Vishnu Purana, Wilson, 1st ed. p. 392) then sent for Utathya, and gave her to him, and he married her in due form, presenting large gifts. 7245. The god Varuna, however, who had formerly been enamoured of her, came and carried her off from the abode of the hermit, who was living on the banks of the Yamuna, and took her to his own city, to a very wonderful lake of six hundred thousand (yojanas). No city was more delightful than that, adorned as it was by palaces and apsarases, and rich in celestial objects of enjoyment. There the god enjoyed her society. His wife's dishonour being made known to Utathya by Narada, he requested the latter to go and deliver a severe message to Varana: 'I command thee to let my wife go, who was given to me by Soma; wherefore hast thou carried her away? Thou art a guardian of the world, not a robber.'. . . . 7251. Varuna answered, 'She is my beloved : I cannot bear to give her up.' Narada, in no very gratified humour, reported this answer to Utathya, and said, ' Varuna took me by the throat, and cast me out. He will not give up thy wife. Take whatever measures thou esteemest proper.' Utathya was greatly incensed (7255), and stopped up and drank all the sea. Still Varuna, though urged by his friends, would not give up the female. Utathya then desired the earth to try some other stratagem; and the lake above described was turned into a salt wilderness, and the ocean swept away. The saint then addressed himself to the countries and to the river: 'Sarasvatī, disappear into the deserts; and let this land, deserted by thee, become impure.' After the country had become dried up, Varuna submitted himself to Utathya, and brought back Bhadra. The sage was pleased to get his wife, and released both the world and Varuna from their sufferings. . . . . He said to the latter (7262) 'This, my wife, was gained by my austerities in spite of thy remonstrances.' 7263. . . . . 'Such, o king, I say, was the Brahman Utathya; tell me of any Kshattriya superior to him."

A story is next told (verses 7265 ff.) of the gods being conquered by the Asuras or Danavas, deprived of all oblations, and stripped of their dignity, and of their coming to earth, where they saw the sage Agastya, and applied to him for protection. The succour they implored was granted to them by the sage, who scorehed the Danavas, expelled them from heaven and earth, and made them fly to the south. Thus were the gods reinstated in their dominion.

We have then, verses 7280-7290, the following legend of Vasishtha: The Adityas were performing a sacrifice, bearing Vasishtha in their remembrance, when they were attacked by the Danavas, called Khalins, who came in tens of thousands to slay them:

"The gods being distressed by them, resorted to Indra; and he too, being harassed by them, went to Vasishtha for help. This reverend and benevolent sage gave them all his protection; and being aware of their distress, without any exertion, burnt up all the Danavas . . . . 7289. Thus were the gods, including Indra, preserved by Vasishtha, and the Daityas, even although they had obtained a boon from Brahma, were slain. Such was the exploit of Vasishtha; can you tell me of any Kehattriya who was superior to him?"

A further tale is told of the prowess of the sage Atri, who interposed to deliver the gods and restore light to the celestial luminaries:

Verse 7292. Ghore tamasy ayudhyanta sahitāh deva-dānavāh \ avidhyata sarais tattra Searbhānuh Soma-bhāskarau \ atha to tamasā grastāh vihanyante sma dānavaih \ devāh nripati-šārdūls sahaiva Balibhis tadā \ asurair badhyamānās to kshīna-prānāh divankasah \ apasyanta tapasyantam Atriň vipram tapodhanam \ . . . . 7297. To'bruvams "chandramāh bhava \ timira-ghnas cha savitā dasyu-hantā cha no bhava" \ evam uktas tadā 'trir vai tamo-nud abhavat sasī \ apasyat saumya-bhāvāch cha soma-

vat-priya-darśanaḥ | drishteŭ natiprabham somam tatha saryam cha părthica | prakāśam akarod Atris tapasā scena samyuge | 7300. Jagad vitimiram chāpi prakāśam akarot tadā | vyajayat śatru-samghāmś cha devānām svena tejasā | . . . . 7303. Deijenāgni-deitīyena japatā charmavāsasā | phala-bhakshena rājarshe pašya karmāttrinā kritam | . . . . 7304. . . . brūhi vā tvam Atritaḥ kshattriyam varam |

"The gods and Dänavas fought together in dreadful darkness; when Svarbhänu pierced with his arrows the sun and moon. Enveloped in gloom the gods were slaughtered by the Dänavas, together with the Balis. Being thus slain and exhausted, the celestials beheld the Brähman Atri employed in austerities;" and invoked his aid in their extremity. He asked what he should do. They reply, verse 2297: "Become the moon, and the gloom-dispelling sun, the slayer of the Dasyus.' Atri then became the gloom-dispelling moon, and in his character as such looked beautiful as Soma. Perceiving the sun and moon to be shorn of their brightness, Atri threw light upon the conflict, (7300) freed the world from darkness, by the power of his austerefervour, and vanquished the enemies of the gods. . . . 7303. Behold the deed done by Atri, the Brähman, attended by Agni, the mutterer of prayers, clad in a skin, and living upon fruits. . . . 7304. 'Tell me of any Kshattriya superior to Atri.'"

This story is founded on some verses of the Rig-veda, v. 40, 5:

Yat toā sūryya Svarbhānus tamasā'vidhyad āsuraḥ | akshetra-vid yathā
mudgho bhuvanāni adīdhayuḥ | 6. Svarbhānor adha yad Indra māyāḥ avo
divo varttamānāḥ avāhan | gūlham sūryyam tamasā' pavratena turīyena
brahmanā'vindad Atriḥ | 8. Grāvno brahmā yujujānaḥ saparyyan kīriṇā
devān namasopaśikuhan | Atriḥ sūryanya divi chakshur ādhāt Svarbhānor
apa māyāḥ aghukshat | 9. Yam vai sūryyam Svarbhānus tamasā'vidhyad
ūsuraḥ | Atrayas tam anv avindan nahi anye aśaknuvan |

"When Svarbhanu of the Asura race pierced thee, o Sun, with darkness, all worlds appeared like a man who is bewildered in a region which he does not know. 6. When, Indra, thou didst sweep away the magical arts of Svarbhanu, which were operating beneath the sky, Atri discovered by the fourth text the Sun, which had been hidden by the hostile darkness. 8. Applying the (soma-crushing) stones, performing worship, serving the gods with reverence and praise, the priest Atri placed the eye of the Sun in the sky, and dispelled the illusions of

Syarbhānu. 9. The Atris discovered the Sun which Syarbhānu had pierced with darkness. No others could."

We have next a curious legend about the sage Chyavana, of the race of Bhrigu:

7306. Aświnoh pratisamśrutya Chyavanah Pakaśasanam | provacha sahito devaih " somapāv Aśvinau kuru" | Indrah uvācha | " asmābhir ninditav etau bhavetam somapau kutham | devair na sammitav etau tasmad mairam vadasca nah | Aśvibhyām saha nechhāmah somam pātum mahāvrata | yad anyad vakshyase vipra tat karishyama te vachah" | Chyavanah uvācha | "nibetām Asvinau somam bhavadbhih sahitāv ubhau | ubhāv etāv api surau sūryya-puttrau sureśvara | 7310. Kriyatām mad-vacho devāh yathā vai samudāhritam | etad vah kurvatām śreyo bhaved naitad akurvatām" | Indrah uvācha | "Aśvibhyām saha somam vai na pāsyāmi dvijottama | pibante anye yathākāmain nāham pātum ihotsahe" | Chyavanah uvācha | " na chet karishyasi vacho mayoktam bala-sūdana | mayā pramathitah sadyah somam panyasi vai makhe" | tatah karma samarabdham hitaya sahasa 'śvinoh | Chyavanena tato mantrair abhibhūtāh surā 'bhavan | tut tu karma samārabdham drishtvendrah krodha-mūrchhitah | udyamya vipulam śailam Chyavanam samupādravat | 7315. Tathā vajrena bhagavan amarshakula-lochanah | tam apatantam drishteaira Chyaeanas tapasā 'nvitaḥ | adbhiḥ siktvā 'stambhayat tam sa-vajram saha-parvatam | athendrasya mahaghoram so srijat satrum era hi | Mayam namahutimayam vyādītāsyam mahāmunih | . . . . 7319. Jihvā-mālāsthītās tasya sarve devah sa-vasavah | timer asyam anupraptah yatha matsyah maharnave | te sammantrya tato deva Madasyasya samipagah | abrucan sahitah Sakram pranamāsmai dvijātaye | Aśvibhyām saha somam cha pibāma vigata-jvarāh | tatah sa pranatah S'akra's chakāra Chyavanasya tat | Chyavanah kritavān etāv Aśvinau soma-pāyinau | tatah pratyāharat karma Madam cha vyabhajad munih i

"Having given a promise to that effect, Chyavana applied, along with the other gods, to Indra, to allow the Aśvins to partake in the soma juice. Indra answered, 'How can they become drinkers of the soma, seeing they are reviled by us, and are not on an equality with the gods? We do not wish to drink soma in their company; but we shall accede to your wishes in any other respect.' Chyavana repeats his request, and urges that the Aśvins also are gods, and the offspring of the Sun. 7310. He adds that it will be well for the gods if they accede to this

demand, and ill if they do not. Indra rejoins that the other gods may drink with the Asvins if they please, but he cannot bring himself to do it. Chyavana retorts that if he does not, he shall be chastised by the sage, and made to drink soma (with them) at the sacrifice. A ceremony was then instantly begun by Chyavana for the benefit of the Asvins; and the gods were vanquished by sacred texts. Indra, seeing this rite commenced, became incensed, uplifted a vast mountain (7315), and rushed with his thunderbolt, and with angry eyes, on Chyavana. The sage, however, sprinkling him with water, arrested him with his mountain and thunderbolt. Chyavana then created a fearful open-mouthed monster, called Mada, formed of the substance of the oblation," who is further described as having teeth and grinders of portentous length, and jaws, one of which enclosed the earth and the other the sky: and the gods, including Indra, are said (7319), "to have been at the root of his tongue [ready to be devoured] like fishes in the mouth of a sea monster. Finding themselves int his predicament, the gods took counsel and said to Indra, 'Make salutation to Chyavana, and let us drink soma along with the Asvins, and so escape from our sufferings.' Indra then, making obeisence, granted the demand of Chyavana, who was thus the cause of the Asvins becoming drinkers of the soma. He then performed the ceremony, and clove Mada to pieces."

Does this legend mean that this rishi of the Bhrigu family was the first to introduce the Asvins within the circle of the Arian worship?

Compare the passages from the Satapatha Brāhmana iv. 1, 5, 1 ff., and from the Vanaparvan of the M. Bh. verses 10316 ff. quoted in my "Contributions to a knowledge of the Vedic theogony and mythology," No. II., in the Journ. R. A. S., for 1866, pp 11 ff.; Ind. St. i. 188, and the Aśvamedhika-parvan of the M. Bh., verses 249 ff., there referred to. The Aśvins are, in different passages of the Rig-veda, as iii. 58, 7, 9; viii. 8, 5; viii. 35, 7-10, invited to drink the soma-juice.

Vayu relates to Arjuna yet one more instance of the irresistible power of the Brahmans:

7327. Madasyāsyam anuprāptāḥ gadā sendrāḥ divaukasaḥ | tadaiva Chyavaneneha hritā teshām vasundharā | ubhau lokau hritau matvā te devāḥ duḥkhitāḥ bhriśam | śokārttāś cha mahātmāno Brahmāṇam śaraṇam yayuḥ | devāḥ ūchuḥ | Mudāsya-vyatixiktānām asmākam loka-pūjita | Chyavanena hritā bhūmiḥ Kapaiš chaiva divam prabho | Brahmā uvācha |

7330. Gachhadhvam śaranam vipran aśu sendrah divaukasah | prasadya tān ubhau lokāv avāpsyatha yathā purā | te yayuh saranam viprān ūchus te "kān jayāmahe" | ity uktās te dvijān prāhur "jayateha Kapān" iti | "bhūgatān hi vijetāro vayam" ity abruvan "dvijāh" | tatah karma samārabdham brāhmanaih Kapa-nāśanam | tat śrutvā preshito dūto brāhmanebhyo Dhanī Kapaiḥ | bhū-gatān brāhmanān āha Dhanī Kapa-vacho yathā | " bhavadbhih sadrišāh sarve Kapāh kins iha varttate | sarve vedavidah prajnah sarce cha kratu-yajinah | 7335. Sarce satyavratas chaica sarce tulyāh maharshibhih | śrīś chaica ramataiteshu dhārayanti śriyam cha te | . . . . 7339. Etaiś chanyaiś cha bahubhir gunair yuktan katham Kapān | 7340. Vijeshyatha nivarttadhvam nivrittānām šubham hi vah" | Brāhmanāh ūchuh | Kapān vayam vijeshyāmo ye devās te vayam emritāh | tasmād badhyāh Kapā 'smākam Dhanin yāhi yathāgatam | Dhanī gatvā Kapan aha "na no viprah priyankarah | grihitva 'strany atho vipran Kapah sarve samādravan | samudagra-dhvajān drishtvā Kapān sarve dvijūtayah | vyaerijan jualitān agnīn Kapūnām prāņa-nāśanān | brahmasrishtah havyabhujah Kapan hatsa sanatanah | nabhasisa yatha 'bhrani vyarājanta narādhipa | Hateā vai dānavān devāh sarve sambhūya samguge | tenübhyajānan hi tadā brāhmanair nihatān Kapān | athāgamya mahātejāḥ Nārado 'kathayad ribho | yathā hatāh mahābhāgais tejasā brāhmanaih Kapāḥ | Nāradasya vachah śrutcā prītāh sarve divaukasah | prašašamsuh dvijāms chāpi brāhmanāms cha yašasvinah |

"When the gods, including Indra, were enclosed within the mouth of Mada, the earth was taken from them by Chyavana. The gods then considering that they had lost both worlds, in their distress resorted to Brahmā, and said, 'Since we have been swallowed up in the mouth of Mada, the earth has been taken from us by Chyavana, and the heaven by the Kapas.' Brahmā answered, 'Go speedily, ya gods, with Indra, to the Brahmans for help. After propitiating them ye shall regain both worlds.' They did so, and the Brahmans, after ascertaining that the gods would themselves deal with those of their enemies who were on earth, began a ceremony for the destruction of the Kapas. The Kapas upon this sent a messenger to the Brahmans, to say that they themselves were all, like them, skilled in the Vedas, learned, and offerers of sacrifice, all pure in their observances, and all resembling great rishis, etc., etc. How then should the Brahmans be able to conquer them? It would be more for their interest to desist from the attempt. The Brahmans,

however, would not be persuaded; and when, in consequence, the Kapas assailed them, they hurled forth fires by which the Kapas were destroyed. The gods themselves conquered the Dānavas, and learning from Nārada what the illustrious Brāhmans had effected, they sang their praises." <sup>26</sup>

Hearing of all these testimonies to the terrible might of the Brahmans, Arjuna at length gives in, saying:

7350. Jīvāmy aham brāhmaņārtham sarvathā satatam prabho | brahmaņyo brāhmaņebhyaś cha praņamāmi cha nityaśaḥ | Dattāttreya-prasādāch cha mayā prāptam idam balam | loke cha paramā kirttir dharmaś cha charito mahān | aho brāhmaṇa-karmāṇi mayā Māruta tattvataḥ | tvayā proktāni kārtsnyena śrutāni prayatena cha | Yāyur uvācha | brāhmaṇān kshāttra-dharmaṇa pālayasvendriyāṇi cha | Bhrigubhyas te bhayam ghoram tat tu kālād bhavishyati |

"I live altogether and always for the sake of the Brähmans. I am devoted to the Brähmans, and do obeisance to them continually. And it is through the favour of Dattättreya (a Brähman) that I have obtained all this power and high renown, and that I have practised righteousness. Thou hast declared to me truly all the acts of the Brähmans, and I have listened intently." Väyu then says to him: "Protect the Brähmans, fulfilling a Kshattriya's function; and restrain your senses. A dreadful cause of apprehension impends over you from the Bhrigus, but it will only take effect after some time." This last remark may have been introduced to bring this story into harmony with the other legend about the destruction of Arjuna and the Kshattriyas.

The narrative, which has just been quoted, is, as I have already stated, preceded by a panegyric of some length pronounced by Bhīshma on the Brāhmans (verses 7163-7184), of which the following are specimens:

7163. Brāhmaṇānām paribhavaḥ sādayed api devalāḥ | 7164. Te hi lokān imān sarvān dhārayanti manīshiṇaḥ | 7175. Chandane mala-panke cha bhojane 'bhojane sumāḥ | vāso yeshām dukūlam cha śāna-kshaumājināni cha | 7177. Adaivam daivatam kuryur daivatam vā 'py adaivatam | lokān anyān srijeyus te lokapālāms cha kopilāḥ | 7179. Devānām api ye devāḥ kāraṇasī kāraṇasya cha | 7181. Avidvān brāhmaṇo devaḥ . . . . | vidvān bhūyas tato devaḥ pūrṇa-sāgara-sannībhaḥ |

"The prowess of the Brahmans can destroy even the gods. 7164.
"This translation is a good deal condensed.

Those wise beings uphold all these worlds. 7175. To them it is indifferent whether they are perfumed with sandal wood or deformed with mire, whether they cat or fast, whether they are clad in silk, or in sackcloth or skins. 7177. They can turn what is not divine into what is divine, and the converse; and can in their anger create other worlds with their guardians. 7179. They are the gods of the gods; and the cause of the cause. 7181. An ignorant Brāhman is a god, whilst a learned Brāhman is yet more a god, like the full ocean." (Compare the similar eulogies in p. 130, above.)

In the Anuśasanaparvan, sections 52 ff., we have the story of Paraśurama, in connection with that of Viśvamitra, yet once more handled. Yudhishthira says he is very curious to know something more about these two personages:

2718. Katham ceha samutpanno Rāmah satya-parākramah | katham brahmarshi-vamso 'yam kshattra-dharmā vyajāyata | tad asya sambhavam rājan nikhilenānukīrttaya | Kausikāch cha katham vamsāt kshattrād vai brāhmano 'bhavat | aho prabhāvah sumahān āsīd vai sumahātmanah | Rāmasya cha nara-vyāghra Visvāmitrasya chaiva hi | katham puttrān atīkramya teshām naptrisko athābhavat | esha doshah sutān hitvā tat tvam vyākhyātum arhasi |

"How was this valiant Rāma, descended from the family of a Brāhman-rishi, born with the qualities of a Kshattriya? Tell me the whole story: and how did a Brāhman spring from the Kshattriya race of Kuśika? Great was the might of Rāma, and of Viśvāmitra. How did it happen that, passing over the sons [of Richīka and Kuśika], this defect showed itself in their grandsons?"

Then there follows a long dialogue related by Bhīshma as having taken place between king Kuśika and the sage Chyavana. The latter, it seems, "foreseeing that this disgrace was about to befall his race [from connection with the Kuśikas], and entertaining, in consequence, after he had weighed all the good and evil, and the strength and weakness (on either side), the desire of burning up that whole family" (verse 2723. Etam dosham purā drishtvā Bhārgavas Chyavanas tadā | agāminam mahābuddhiḥ sva-vainss muni-sattamaḥ | niśchitya manasā sarvam guṇa-dosham balābalam | dagdhu-kāmaḥ kulam sarvam Kuśikānām tapodhanaḥ |), came to Kuśika. Chyavana is welcomed and treated with great attention, and receives from Kuśika the offer of all his king-

dom, etc. The saint, however, does not requite this honour with corresponding kindness, but makes the king and his wife perform many menial offices, rub his feet, attend while he sleeps, bring him food, and draw him in a chariot, while he lacerates their backs with a goad. All this is submitted to so patiently, that the sage is propitiated, addresses them in kindly tones, and touches their wounded bodies with his godlike hands. After creating a magical golden palace, with all the accompaniments of pleasure (2826 ff.), in order to give them a conception of heaven, (2892 ff.) the sage offers to bestow any boon the king may choose; and to solve any of his doubts. Kuśika asks the reason of the sage's unaccountable procedure. Chyavana answers that he had heard from Brahma that there would be "a confusion of families in consequence of the hostility of Brahmans and Kshattriyas, and that a grandson of great glory and heroism would be born to Kuśika" (verse 2878. Brahma-kshattra-virodhena bhavitā kula-sankarah | pautras te bhavitā rājams tejo-viryya-samanvitah | ); that he had intended in consequence to burn up the race of the Kusikas, but that the king had come so well out of the severe ordeal to which he had been subjected, that the sage had become thoroughly pacified, and would grant the boon which Kuśika desired:

2897. Bhavishyaty esha te kāmas Kaušikat Kaušiko dvijah | tritīyam purusham tubhyam brāhmanatvom gamishyati | vamšas te pūrthiva-šreshtha Bhrigūnām eva tejasā | pautras te bhavitā vipras tapasvī pāvanadyutih | yah sa-deva-manushyānām bhayam utpādayishyati |

"This thy desire shall be fulfilled; from a Kauśika a Kauśika Brāhman shall arise: in the third generation thy race shall attain to Brāhmanhood by the might of the Bhrigus. Thy son's son shall become a Brāhman, a devoter, splendid as fire, who shall alarm both gods and men." Kušika being anxious to know how all this was to be brought to pass, Chyavana informs him:

2995. Bhrigunam kshattriyah yajyah nityam etaj janadhipa | te cha bhedam gamishyanti daiva-yuktena hetuna | kshattriyas cha Bhrigun sarvan badhishyanti naradhipa | agarbhad anukrintanto daiva-danda nipiditah | tatah utpatsyate'smakam kula-gotra-vivardhanah | Ürvo nama mahateja jealanarka-sama-dyutih | sa trailokya-vinasaya kopagnim jana-yishyati | mahim sa-parvata-vanam yah karishyati bhasmasat | kanchit kalam tu vahnim cha sa eva samayishyati | samudre vadava-vaktre prak-

shipya muni-sattamah | 2910. Puttram tasya mahardia Richikam Bhrigu-nandanam | sākshāt kritsno dhanur-vedah samupasthāsyate 'nagha | kshattriyanam abhavaya daiva-yuktena hetuna | sa tu tam pratigrihyaiva puttram sankramayishyati | Jamadagnan mahabhage tapasa. bhavitatmani | sa chāpi Bhrigu-śārdūlas tam vedam dhārayishyati | kulāt tu tova dharmatman kanyam so'dhigamishyati | udbharanartham bharato ramśasya Bharatarshabha | Gadher duhitaram prapya pauttrim tava mahātapāķ | brūhmaņam kshattra-dharmāṇam puttram utpādayishyati | 2915. Kshattriyam vipra-karmanam Vrihaspatim ivaujasa | Visvamitram tava kuls Gädheh puttram sudharmikam | tapasa mahata yuktam pradasyati mahādyute | striyau tu kāranam tattra parivartte bhavishyatah | Pitāmaha-niyogad vai nanyathaitad bhavishyati | tritiye purushe tubhyam brāhmanatvam upaishyati | bhavitā tvam cha sambandhī Bhriganam bhavitātmanām | . . . . 2928. Etat te kathitam sarvam ašeshena mayā nripa | Bhrigunam Kusikunam cha abhisambandha-karanam | yathoktam rishina chapi tada tad abhavad nripa | janma Ramasya cha muner Viśvāmitrasya chaica hi ]

"The Bhrigus have always been the priests of the Kshattriyas; but these will become hostile to each other for a fated reason. The Kshattriyas shall slay all the Bhrigus, even to children in the womb, being oppressed by a divine nemesis. Then shall arise the glorious Urva, as like the sun in splendour, who shall augment the glory of our race. He shall create a fire of wrath for the destruction of the three worlds, which shall reduce the earth with its mountains and forests to ashes. After a time he will extinguish the fire, throwing it into the ocean into the mouth of Vadava (the submarine fire). Into his son Richika shall

248 Ūrva is here said (verse 2907) to belong to the race of Chyavana, but whether as a near or remote descendant is not stated. In verse 2910 Richika is said to be the son of Ūrva. In the Ādiparvan, verses 2610 ff., the matter is somewhat differently stated: Ārushī in Manoh kanyā tasya pataī yadaxinī | Aurvas tasyūm samabhovad ūrum bhitteā mahāyašāḥ | mahātejāḥ mahātējāḥ era guņair yutaḥ | Richīkas tasya pattras tu Jamadagnis (ato bhavat | "Ārushī, the daughter of Manu, was the wife of the sage (Chyavana); of her was the illustrious Aurva born, having split his mother's thigh. He was great in glory and might, and from his childhood endowed with eminent qualities. Richīka was his son, and Richīka's was Jamadagni." Here Aurva is said to derive his name from having divided his mother's thigh (āru); and no allusion is made to Ūrva, though the same person appears to be meant. In the passage of the Anusūsana-parvan, however, we have an Ūrva, the father of Richīka, whose patronymic will thus be Aurva; as it is, in fact, in the Vishņu Purāṇa, as quoted above in p. 362.

enter the entire embodied Dhanur-veda (science of archery), for the destined destruction of the Kshattriyas. This science he shall transmit to his great son Jamadagni, whose mind shall be spiritualized by devotion, and who shall possess that Veda. He (Richika) shall obtain [for his wife a maiden of thy family, to prolong thy race. This great devotee, wedding thy grand-daughter, the daughter of Gadhi, shall beget a Brahman (i.e. Parasurama), fulfilling the functions of a Kshattriya; (2915) and shall bestow on thy family a Kshattriya who shall perform the functions of a Brahman, Viśvāmitra, the son of Gādhi, an austere devotee, and glorious as Vrihaspati. The two wives shall be the cause of this interchange of characters. According to the decree of Brahmā all this shall so happen. Brahmanhood shall come to thee in the third generation, and thou shalt become connected with the spiritual-minded Bhrigus." 2923. "Thus (concludes Bhishma) have I told thee at length the cause of the connection between the Bhrigus and the Kuśikas. All this was accordingly fulfilled in the births of Parasurama and Visvāmitra."

Is this legend intended to account for a real fact? Was Parasurama of a sacerdotal tribe, and yet by profession a warrior, just as Viśvāmitra was conversely of royal extraction, and yet a priest by profession?

According to the Vishnu Purana, iv. 11, 3 (Wilson, 4to. ed. pp. 416, 417), Arjuna was of the race of Yadu, and the ninth in descent from Haihaya, the great-grandson of that prince. It is there said of him:

Kritaviryyād Arjunah sapta-dvīpapatir bāhu-sahasrī jajne yo'sau bhagavad-amsam Atri-kula-prasūtam Dattāttreyākhyam ārādhya bāhu-sahasram adharma-sevā-nivāraņam dharmena prithivījayam dharmatas
chānupālanam arātibhyo'parājayam akhila-jagat-prakhyāta-purushāch
cha mrītyum ity etān varān abhilashitavān lebhe cha | tena iyam aseshadvīpavatī prithvī samyak paripālitā | dasu-yajna-sahasrāny asār ayajat |
tasya cha sloko'dyāpi gīyate "na nūnam kārttavīryyasya gatim yāsyanti
pārthivāh | yajnair dānair tapobhir vā prasrayena damena cha" | anashtadravyatā tasya rājye'bhavat | 4. Evam panchāsīti-sahasrāny abdān avyāhatārogya-srī-bala-parākramo rājyam akarot | Māhishmatyām dig-vijayābhyāgato Narmadā-jalāvagāhana-krīdā-nipāna-madākulena ayatnenaiva
tena asesha-deva-daitya-gandharvesa-jayodbhūta-madāvalepo'pi Rāvanah
pasur iva baddhah svanagaraikānte sthāpitaḥ | 5. Yaḥ panchāsīti-varsha-sahaeropalakshaṇa-kālāvasāne bhagavan-nārāyaṇāmsena Parasurāmeṇa
upasamhritaḥ |

"From Kritavīrya sprang Arjuna, who was lord of the seven dvīpas [circular and concentric continents of which the earth is composed], and had a thousand arms. Having worshipped a portion of the divine Being, called Dattattreya, sprung from the race of Atri, he sought and obtained these boons, viz. a thousand arms, the power of restraining wrong by justice, the conquest of the earth, and the disposition to rule it righteously, invincibility by enemies, and death at the hands of a man renowned over the whole world. By him this earth, with all its dvīpas, was perfectly governed. He offered ten thousand sacrifices. To this day this verse is repeated respecting him: 'No other king shall ever equal Kartavirya in regard to sacrifices, liberality, austerities, courtesy, and self-restraint.' In his reign no property was ever lost. 4. Thus he ruled for eighty-five thousand years with unbroken health, prosperity, strength, and valour. When he was excited by sporting in the Narmada and by drinking wine, he had no difficulty in binding like a beast Rāvaņa, who had arrived in Māhishmatī in his career of conquest, and who was filled with arrogance, arising from the pride of victory over all the gods, daityas, and gandharva chiefs, and imprisoning him in a secret place in his capital. At the end of his reign of eightyfive thousand years Arjuna was destroyed by Parasurama, who was a portion of the divine Narayana."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix. 23, 20-27, assigns to him the same descent, and relates of him nearly the same particulars. Verse 23 says: Arjunah Kritavīryyasya sapta-dvīpeśvaro 'bhavat | Dattāttreyād Harer amśāt prāpta-yoga-mahāguṇaḥ | "Arjuna was the son of Kritavīrya, and ruler of the seven dvīpas. He obtained the great attribute of Yoga (supernatural powers arising from devotion) from Dattāttreya, who was a portion of Hari," etc.

The legend of Parasuruma, as related, is of course fabulous. Not to speak of the miraculous powers which are ascribed to this hero, and the incredible number of the exterminations which he is said to have executed, we cannot even suppose it probable that the Brahmans should in general have been sufficiently powerful and warlike to overcome the Kshattriyas by force of arms. But the legend may have had some small foundation in fact. Before the provinces of the sacerdotal and military classes were accurately defined, there may have been cases in which ambitious men of the former successfully

aspired to kingly dominion, just as scions of royal races became distinguished as priests and sages. But even without this assumption, the existence of such legends is sufficiently explained by the position which the Brahmans eventually occupied. With the view of maintaining their own ascendancy over the minds of the chiefs on whose good will they were dependent, and of securing for themselves honour and profit, they would have an interest in working upon the superstitious feelings of their contemporaries by fabricating stories of supernatural punishments inflicted by their own forefathers on their royal oppressors, as well as by painting in lively colours the prosperity of those princes who were submissive to the spiritual order.

## CHAPTER V.

RELATION OF THE BRAHMANICAL INDIANS TO THE NEIGHBOUR-ING TRIBES, ACCORDING TO MANU AND THE PURANAS.

I now propose to enquire what account the Indian writers give of the origin of those tribes which were not comprehended in their own polity, but with which, as dwelling within, or adjacent to, the boundaries of Hindustan, their countrymen were, in ancient times, brought into continual and familiar contact.

It appears to have been the opinion of Mann, the great authority in all matters regarding the Hindu religion and institutions in their full development, that there was no original race of men except the four castes of Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sudras; and that all other nations were derived from these. His own words (x. 4) are these: Brāhmanah kshattriyo vaišyas trayo varnāh dvijātayah | chaturthah ekajātis tu šūdro nāsti tu panchamah | "Three castes, the Brāhman, the Kshattriya, and the Vaisya, are twice-born; the fourth, the Sūdra, is once-born; and there is no fifth." On the last clause of this verse Kullūka Bhatta annotates thus: Panchamah punar varno nāsti sankirna-jūtinām tv aśvatara-vad mūtā-pitri-jūti-vyatirikta-jūty-antaratrād na varnatvam | ayam cha jūty-antaropadešah šūstre samvyavaharanārthah | "There is no fifth caste; for caste cannot be predicated of the mixed tribes, from the fact that, like mules, they belong to another species, distinct from that of their father and mother. reference, which is made in the Sastras to eastes other than the four, is merely for the sake of convenience and conformity to common usage."

Accordingly, in the following description which Manu gives in the same chapter of the rise of the inferior castes, they are all, even the

very lowest, such as Nishādas and Chandālas, derived from the mixture the four so-called original castes. Thus, in verse 8 : Brahmanad vaisyakanyāyām ambashtho nāma jāyate | nishādah śūdra-kanyāyām yah parāśara uchyate | "From a Brahman father and a Vaisya mother springs an Ambashtha: from a Brahman father and a Sudra mother is born a Nishāda, called also Parāšava." 1 Again, in verse 12. Sudrād āyogavah kshattā chāndālas chādhamo nrinām | vaisya - rājanya - viprāsu jāvante varna-sankarāh | "From a Sūdra, by women of the Vaisya, Kshattriva, and Brahman castes are born those mixed classes, the Ayogava, the Kshattri, and the Chandala, lowest of men." Again, in verse 20 : Dvijātavah savarnāsu janayanty avratāms tu yān | tān sāvitrīparibhrashfan vrātyāh iti vinirdišet | "Persons whom the twice-born beget on women of their own classes, but who omit the prescribed rites, and have abandoned the gayatri, are to be designated as Vrātyas." 3 In the next three verses the inferior tribes, which spring from the Brāhman Vrātya, the Kshattriya Vrātya, and the Vaisya Vrātya respectively, are enumerated.

In verses 43 and 44 it is stated: Sanakais tu kriyā-lopād imāh V

¹ It does not appear how the account of the origin of the Nishāda race from king Vena, given above in pp. 301 and 303, can be reconciled with this theory of Manu; unless recourse be had to the explanation that that story relates to the Sväyambhuva Manvantara. But Manu's narrative seems to refer to the same period. See above, p. 30. If the Vedic expressions panchajamāh and the other corresponding phrases signifying "the five tribes" be rightly interpreted of the "four castes, and the Nishādas," we might understand this as intimating that the Nishādas had at one time been regarded as a distinct race. But the phrase is variously understood by the old Vedic commentators; as has been shewn above, p. 177.

<sup>\*</sup> Manu says, ii. 38 f.: Ā-shoḍasād brūhmaṇasya sāvitrī nātivarttate ļā-deāvimsāt kshattrabhandhor ā-chaturvimater višah ļatah ūrddham trayo'py ete yathā-kālam asamskritāh ļ sāvītrī-patitāh vrātyāh bhavanty āryya-nigarhītāh ļ "The gūyatrī should not, in the case of a Brūhman, be deferred beyond the sixteenth year; nor in the case of a Kshattriya beyond the twenty-second; nor in that of a Vaisya beyond the twenty-fourth. After these periods youths of the three classes, who have not been invested, become fallen from the gūyatrī, Vrātyas, contemned by respectable men (Āryyas)." In the following verse of the Mahābhārata, Anūūsanaparvan, līne 2621, a different origin is ascribed to the Vrātyas: Chānḍālo vrātya-vaidyau cha brāhmanyām kshattriyāsu cha ļ vaiáyūyām chaiva šūdrasyo lakshyants pasadūs trayaḥ ļ "The three outeaste classes are the Chāṇḍāla, the Vrātya, and the Vrādya, begotten by a S'ūdra on females of the Brāhman, Kshattriya, and Vaisya castes respectively." A Vrātya, therefore, according to this account, is the son of a S'ūdra man and a Kshattriya woman. On the Vrātyas, see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 33, 52, 138, 139, 445, 446, etc.

kshattriya-jātayaḥ | vrishalateam gatāḥ loke brāhmaṇādarśanena cha | Pauṇḍrakāś choḍra-dravidāḥ Kāmbojāḥ Yavanāḥ S'akāḥ | Pāradāḥ Pahlavāś Chīnāḥ Kirātāḥ Daradāḥ Khaśāḥ | "The following tribes of Kshattriyas have gradually sunk into the state of Vrishalas (outcasts), from the extinction of sacred rites, and from having no communication with Brāhmans; viz. Pauṇḍrakas, Oḍras, Draviḍas, Kāmbojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas, and Khaśas."

The same thing is affirmed in the Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparvan, verses 2103 f.: Sakāḥ Yavana-kāmbojās tās tāḥ kshattriya-jātayaḥ | vrishalatvam parigatāḥ brāhmaṇānām adaršanāt | Drāviḍāš cha Kalindāš cha Pulindāš chāpy Ušīnarāḥ | Kolisarpāḥ Māhishakās tās tāḥ kshattriya-jātayaḥ ityādi | "These tribes of Kshattriyas, viz. Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Drāviḍas, Kalindas, Pulindas, Ušīnaras, Kolisarpas, and Māhishakas, have become Vrishalas from seeing no Brāhmans." This is repeated in verses 2158-9, where the following additional tribes are named: Mekalas, Lāṭas, Konvasiras, Saunḍīkas, Darvas, Chauras, Savaras, Barbaras, and Kirātas, and the cause of degradation is, as in verse 2103, restricted to the absence of Brāhmans. (Then follow the lines (2160 ff.) in glorification of the Brāhmans, already quoted in p. 130.)

The Yavanas are said in the Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, section 85, verse 3533, "to be descended from Turvasu, the Vaibhojas from Druhyu, and the Mlechha tribes from Anu" (Yados tu Yādavāḥ jātās Turvasor Yavanāḥ smṛitāḥ | Druhyoḥ sutās tu Vaibhojāḥ Anos tu mlechha-jātayaḥ |). Is it meant by this that the Yavanas are not to be reckoned among the Mlechhas? Their descent from Turvasu is not however, necessarily in conflict with the assertion of the authorities above quoted, that they are degraded Kshattriyas.

I shall not attempt to determine who the Yavanas, and other tribes mentioned in the text, were.

The verse which succeeds that last quoted from Manu is the following: 45. Mukha-bāhūru-paj-jānām yāḥ loke jātayo vahiḥ | mlechha-vāchaś chāryya-vāchaḥ sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛitaḥ | "Those tribes which are outside of the classes produced from the mouth, arms, thighs, and feet, [of Brahmā, i.e. Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras,] whether they speak the language of the Mlechhas or of the Āryas, are called Dasyus." The interpretation to be given to this verse turns

upon the sense which we assign to "outside" (cdhih). Does it mean that the Dasyus were of a stock originally distinct from that of the four primeval castes, and therefore altogether separate from those tribes which sprang from the intermixture of those four castes, or which, by the neglect of sacred rites, apostatized from their communion? Or does it merely mean that the Dasyus became eventually excluded from the fellowship of the four castes? If the latter sense be adopted, then Dasyu will be little else than a general term embracing all the tribes enumerated in verses 43 and 44. The commentator Kullüka understands the word in the latter sense. His words are: Brahmana-kshattriya-vaisyaśūdrānām kriyā-lopādinā yāh jātayo vāhyāh jātāh mlechka-bhāshāyuktah aryya-bhashopetah va te dasyavah sarce smritah | "All the tribes, which by loss of sacred rites, and so forth, have become outeasts from the pale of the four castes, Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sudras; whether they speak the language of the Miechhas or of the Aryas, are called Dasyus." His view is confirmed by a short passage in the Aitareya Brahmana, quoted above (p. 358), where Visvāmitra, speaking to his sons, says: "Let your descendants possess the furthest ends (of the country)," and the author of the Brahmana adds: "These are the numerous border-tribes, the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas, Mūtibas. Most of the Dasyus are sprung from Viśvāmitra." Here the writer of this ancient Brahmana connects together certain tribes named either in Manu, or in the Mahabharata, as degraded Kshattriyas, with the appellation Dasyu, thus intimating that the latter was a general name embracing all the former. This view is further confirmed by the following lines of the Mahābhārata, book ii. verses 1031-2: Daradān saha Kāmbojair ajayat Pākašāsaniķ | prāguttarām diśam ye cha vasanty āśritya Dasyavah | "The son of Indra conquered the Daradas with the Kāmbojas, and the Dasyus who dwell in the north-east region;" and still more by the annexed verses from the Dronaparvan, of the same epic poem, 4747: Kāmbojānām sahasraišcha Sukānām cha višāmpate | Savarānām Kirātānām Varvaranām tathaiva cha | agamya-rūpām prithivīm māmsa-sonita-karddamām | kritavāms tattra Saineyah kshapayams tarakam balam | Dasyanām sa-širastrānaih śrobhir lana-marddhajaih | dirgha-karchair mahi kirna vivarhair andajair iva | "Saineya, destroying thy host, converted the beautiful earth into a mass of mud with the flesh and blood of thousands of Kambojas,

Sakas, Sabaras, Kirātas, and Varvaras. The ground was covered with the shorn and hairless but long-bearded heads of the Dasyus, and their helmets, as if with birds bereft of their plumes." Here the word Dasyu is evidently a general term for the tribes named just before. Some of these same tribes had previously been called Mlechhas in verses 4716, 4723, and 4745. See also Sabhāp. 1198 f.

There is a passage in the Sāntiparvan, section 65, lines 2429 ff., which is worth quoting, as it shows that the Brāhmans of that age regarded the Dasyus as owing allegiance to Brahmanical institutions.

King Māndhātri had performed a sacrifice in the hope of obtaining a vision of Vishnu; who accordingly appeared to him in the form of Indra (verse 2399). The following is a part of their conversation. Māndhātri asks:

2429. Yavanāh Kirātāh Gāndhārās Chīnāh Savara-varvarāh | Sakās Tuzhārāh Kankāś cha Pahlayāś chāndhra-madrakāh | 2430. Paundrāh Pulindah Ramathah Kambojas chaiva sarvasah | brahma-kshattra-prasatāš cha vaišyāh śūdrāš cha mānavāh | katham dharmāms charishyanti sarve vishaya-väsinah | mad-vidhais cha katham sthapyah sarve vai danyujivinah | etad ichhāmy aham śrotum bhagavaña tad bravīhi me | tvam bandhu-bhūto hy asmākam kshattriyānām sureścara | Indrah weācha | mātāpitror hi śuśrūshā karttucyā sarva-dasyubhih | āchāryya-guru-śuśrūshā tathaixāśrama-vāsinām | bhūmipānām cho śuśrūshā karttavyā sarea-dasyubhih | veda-dharma-kriyāś chaiva teshām dharmo vidhīyate | 2435. Pitriyajnās tathā kūpāh prapās cha sayanāni cha | danāni cha yathā-kālam deijebhyo visrijet sadā | ahimsā satyam akrodho vritti-dāyānupālanam | bharanam puttra-daranam saucham adroha ova cha | dakshina sarvayajnānām dātavyā bhūtim ichhatā | pākayajnāh mahārhāś cha dātavyāh sarva-dasyubhih | etany evamprakarani vihitani pura 'nagha | sarvalokasya karmāni karttavyānīha pārthiva | Mandhātā uvācha | drišyante mānushe loke surva-varneshu Dasyavah | lingantare vartlamānāh āśrameshu chaturshe api | Indrah wedeha ; 2440. Vinashtayam danda-nityam rāja-dharme nirākrite | sampramuhyanti bhūtāni rāja-daurātmyato 'nagha | asankhyūtāh bhavishyanti bhikshavo linginas tathā | aśramānām vikalpās cha nivritte'smin krite yuge | asrinvantah purānānām dharmānăm paramāh gatīh | utpatham pratipatoyante kāma-manyu-samīrītāh |

"The Yavanas, Kirātas, Gandharas, Chīnas, Savaras, Varvaras, Sakas, Tushāras, Kankas, Pahlavas, Andhras, Madras, Paundras, Pu-

lindas, Ramathas, Kâmbojas, men sprung from Brahmans, and from Kshattriyas, persons of the Vaisya and Südra castes-how shall all these people of different countries practise duty, and what rules shall kings like me prescribe for those who are living as Dasyus? Instruct me on these points; for thou art the friend of our Kshattriya race.' Indra answers: 'All the Dasyus should obey their parents, their spiritual directors, persons practising the rules of the four orders, and kings. It is also their duty to perform the ceremonies ordained in the Vedas. They should sacrifice to the Pitris, construct wells, buildings for the distribution of water, and resting places for travellers, and should on proper occasions bestow gifts on the Brahmans. They should practise innocence, veracity, meckness, purity, and inoffensiveness; should maintain their wives and families; and make a just division of their property. Gifts should be distributed at all sacrifices by those who desire to prosper. All the Dasyus should offer costly paka oblations. Such duties as these, which have been ordained of old, ought to be observed by all people.' Mandhatri observes: 'In this world of men, Dasyus are to be seen in all castes, living, under other garbs, even among men of the four orders (āśramas).' Indra replies : 'When criminal justice has perished, and the duties of government are disregarded, mankind become bewildered through the wickedness of their kings. When this Krita age has come to a close, innumerable mendicants and hypocrites shall arise, and the four orders become disorganized. Disregarding the excellent paths of ancient duty, and impelled by passion and by anger, men shall fall into wickedness," etc. In these last lines it is implied that the Brahmanical polity of castes and orders was fully developed in the Krita [or golden] age. This idea, however, is opposed to the representations which we find in some though not in all other passages. See above, the various texts adduced in the first chapter.

In the Vishnu Purāna, Bhāratavarsha (India) is said to "have its eastern border occupied by the Kirātas; and the western by the Yavanas; while the middle is inhabited by Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras, engaged in their several fixed occupations of sacrifice, war, trade, etc." (Vishnu Purāna, ii. 3, 7. Pūrve Kirātāh yasyante paśchime Yavanāh sthitāḥ | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaisyāḥ madhye śūdrāś cha bhāgašaḥ | ijyā-yuddha-vaṇijyādyair vartlayanto vyavasthithāḥ |).

Manu's account of the origin of the Yavanas, Sakas, Kāmbojas, etc., corresponds with the tenor of the following story, which we find in the fourth book of the Vishuu Purāṇa, sect. 3. Bāhu, the seventh king in descent from Hariśchandra (see above, p. 379) was overcome by the Haihāyas and Tālajanghas, and compelled to fly with his queens to the forests, where he died. After his death one of his wives gave birth to a son, who received the name of Sagara. When he had grown up, the youth learnt from his mother all that had befallen his father.

Para. 18. Tatah pitri-rājya-haranāmarshito Haihaya-Tālajanghādi-badhāya pratijnām akarot prāyaśaścha Haihayān jaghāna | Saka-Yavana-Kāmboja-Pārada-Pahlavāḥ hanyamānās tat-kula-gurum Vaśishtham śaranam yayuḥ | 19. Atha etān Vaśishtho jīvan-mritakān kritvā Sagaram āha "vatsa vatsa alam ebhir ati-jīvan-mritakair anunritaiḥ | 20. Etc cha mayā eva teāt-pratijnā-paripālanāya nija-dharma-dvija-sanga-parityāgam kāritāḥ" | 21. Sa "tathā" iti tad guru-vachanam abhinandya teshām veshānyatvam akārayat | Yavanān apamundīta-śiraśo 'rdāhamundān Sakān pralamba-keśān Pāradān Pahlavāms cha śmaśru-dharān niḥ-svādhyāya-vāshaṭkārān etān anyāmś cha kshattriyān chakāra | te cha nija-dharma-parityāgād brāhmaṇaiś parityaktāḥ mlechhatām yayuḥ |

"Being vexed at the loss of his paternal kingdom, he vowed to exterminate the Haihāyas and other enemies who had conquered it. Accordingly he destroyed nearly all the Haihāyas. When the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas were about to undergo a similar fate, they had recourse to Vasishtha, the king's family-priest, who interposed in their behalf in these words addressed to Sagara, representing them as virtually dead: 'You have done enough, my son, in the way of pursuing these men, who are as good as dead. In order that your vow might be fulfilled, I have compelled them to abandon the duties of their caste, and all association with the twice-born.' Agreeing to his spiritual guide's proposal, Sagara compelled these tribes to alter their costume. He made the Yavanas shave their heads, the Pāradas wear long hair, and the Pahlavas beards. These and other Kshatriyas he deprived of the

See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, 4to. edit., p. 416 and 418 note. In the note to p. 418 the Avantyas are mentioned, on the authority of the Vayu Purana, as being a branch of the Haihāyas. In Manu, x. 21, the Avantyas are said to be descended from Brahman Vratyas.

study of the Vedas, and the vashaţkāra. In consequence of their abandonment of their proper duties, and of their resertion by the Brāhmans, they became Mlechhas."

This story is also related in the Harivamsa, from which I extract the concluding part of the narrative:

773. Aureas tu jātakarmādi tasya kritvā mahātmanah i adhyāpya vedan akhilan tato 'stram pratyapadayat | agneyam tu mahabahur amarair api dussaham | sa tenāstra-balenājau balena cha samanvitah | Haihayan nijaghānāśu kruddho Rudrah paśūn iva | ājahāra cha lokeshu kirttiñ kirttimatām varah | tatah Sakān sa-yacanān Kāmbojān Pāradāms tathā | Pahlavams chaica nisseshan karttum vyavasitah kila | te badhyamanah eirena Sagarena mahātmanā | Vašishtham šaranam galvā pranipetur manīshinam | Vasishthas to atha tan drishtva samayena mahadyutih | Sagaram vārayāmāsa teshām dattvā 'bhyam tadā | Sagarah svām pratijnām cha guror vākyam nišamya cha | dharmam jaghāna teshām vai vešānyatvam chakara ha | arddham S'akanam śiraso mundayitva vyasarjayat | Yavanānām śirah sarvam Kāmbojānām tathaiva cha | Pāradāḥ mukta-keśāścha Pahlavāh śmaśru - dhārinah | nissvādhyāya - vashatkārāh kritās tena mahatmana | Sakah Yavana-kambojah Paradah Pahlacas tatha | Kolisarpāh sa-Mahishāh Dārvas Cholāh sa-Keralāh | sarve te kshattriyās tāta teshām dharmo nirākritah | Vasishtha-vachanād rājan Sagarena mahātmanā 1

"Aurva having performed Sagara's natal and other rites, and taught him all the Vedas, then provided him with a fiery missile, such as even the gods could not withstand. By the power of this weapon, and accompanied by an army, Sagara, incensed, speedily slew the Haihayas, as Rudra slaughters beasts; and acquired great renown throughout the world. He then set himself to exterminate the Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, and Pahlavas. But they, when on the point of being slaughtered by Sagara, had recourse to the sage Vasishtha, and fell down before him. Vasishtha beholding them, by a sign restrained Sagara, giving them assurance of protection. Sagara, after considering his own vow, and listening to what his teacher had to say, destroyed their caste (dharma), and made them change their costumes. He released the Sakas, after causing the half of their heads to be shaven;—and the Yavanas and Kāmbojas, after having had their heads entirely shaved. The Pāradas were made to wear

line who seem to have undergone the same treatment.

long hair, and the Pahlavas to wear beards. They were all excluded from the study of the Vedas, and from the vashatkāra. The Sakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Kolisarpas, Mahishas, Dārvas, Cholas, and Keralas had all been Kshattriyas; but were deprived of their social and religious position by the great Sagara, according to the advice of Vasishtha." Other tribes are mentioned in the following

It would appear from this legend, as well as from the quotations which preceded it, that the Epic and Puranic writers believed all the surrounding tribes to belong to the same original stock with themselves; though they, at the same time, erroneously imagined that these tribes had fallen away from the Brahmanical institutions; thus assigning to their own polity an antiquity to which it could in reality lay no claim. Any further explanations on these points, however, must be sought in the second volume of this work.

In the passages quoted above, pp. 391, 393, and 398 from the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, it is stated that Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas, etc., were created by Vasishtha's wonder-working cow, in order to repel the aggression of Visvāmitra. It does not, however, appear that it is the object of that legend to represent this miraculous creation as the origin of those tribes. The narrators, if they had any distinct meaning, may not have intended anything more than that the cow called into existence large armies, of the same stock with particular tribes previously existing.

It is not very easy to say whether it is only the inhabitants of Bhāratavarsha (viz. that portion of Jambudvīpa which enswers to India) whom the Puranic writers intend to represent as deriving their origin from the four primeval Indian eastes. Perhaps the writers themselves had no very clear ideas. At all events the conditions of life are different in the two cases. The accounts which these writers give us of the other divisions of Jambudvīpa, and of the other Dvīpas, or continents, of which they imagined the earth to be composed, and their respective inhabitants, will be considered in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VI.

PURANIC ACCOUNTS OF THE PARTS OF THE EARTH EXTERIOR TO BHĀRATAVARSHA, OR INDIA.

It will clearly appear from the contents of the present chapter that the authors or compilers of the Puranas in reality knew nothing of any part of the world except that immediately around them. Whenever they wander away beyond their own neighbourhood, they at once lose themselves in a misty region of fiction, and give the most unbridled scope to their fantastic imaginations.

The following is the account given in the Vishuu Purāna regarding the divisions of the earth, and their inhabitants. Priyavrata, son of Svāyambhuva, or the first Manu (see above, pp. 65 and 72) who is separated from the present time by an enormous interval (see pp. 43 ff. and 298, above), "distributed the seven dvīpas," of which the earth is composed, among seven of his sons" (ii. 1, 7. Priyavrato dadau teshām saptānām muni-sattama | vibhajya sapta dvīpāni Maitreya sumahātmanām).

The Bhagavata Purāna gives us the following account, v. 1. 30. Tad anabhinandan sama-javena rathena jyotirmayena rajanīm api dinam karishyāmi iti saptakritvas taranīm anuparyyakrāmad dvitīyah iva patangah | [evam kurvānam Priyavratam āgatya Chaturānanas "tavādhikāro 'yam na bhavati" iti nivārayāmāsa] (The words in brackets are not in the Bombay edition, but are taken from Burnouf's.) 31. Ye vai u ha tad-ratha-charana-nemi-krita-parikhātās te sapta sindhavah āsan yatah eva kritāh sapta bhuvo dvīpāh | 2 "Priyavrata, being dissatisfied that only

The original division of the earth into seven continents is assigned to Nărāyana in the form of Brahmā; see above, pp. 51 and 76.

In this passage we find the particles vai, u, ha, occurring all together as they do in the Vedic hymns and Brähmanas. This circumstance might seem to suggest the

490

half the earth was illuminated at one time by the solar rays, "followed the sun seven times round the earth in his own flaming car of equal velocity, like another celestial orb, resolved to turn night into day. [Brahmā, however, came and stopped him, saying this was not his province.] The ruts which were formed by the motion of his chariot wheels were the seven oceans. In this way the seven continents of the earth were made."

The same circumstance is alluded to at the commencement of the 16th section of the same book, where the king says to the rishi: verse 2. Tattrāpi Priyaerata-ratha-charana-parikhātaih saptabhih sapta sindhavah upakļriptāh | yatāh etasyāh sapta-deīpa-višesha-vikalpas tvayā bhagavan khalu sāchitah | "The seven oceans were formed by the seven ruts of the wheels of Priyavrata's chariot; hence, as you have indicated, the earth has become divided into seven different continents."

It is clear that this account given by the Bhagavata Purana of the manner in which the seven oceans and continents were formed does not agree with the description in the Vishnu Purana, as quoted above in p. 51.

These seven continents are called "Jambu dvīpa, Plaksha dvīpa, Sālpossibility of the passage, or its substance, being derived from some of the Brahmanas (to which, as we have seen, p. 155 note, the compiler of this Purana was in the habit of resorting for his materials); but the style has otherwise nothing of an archaic caste, and I am not aware that the dylpas are mentioned in any of the Brühmanas. It is also remarkable that the words sapta sindhavah are here used for " seven oceans." This phrase occurs several times in the Vedas. For instance, it is to be found in the Vajasanëyi Sanhita (of the Yajur-veda), 38, 26, yövatî dyöcöprithivi yavach cha sopta sindhavo vitasthire | " As wide as are the earth and sky, and as far as the seven oceans extend." The commentator Mahidhara understands the latter in the Puranic sense, as the oceans of milk, etc. (sapta sindhaeah sopta sumudrāh kshīrādyāh). The hemistich I have quoted from the Vaj. Sunhitā occurs somewhat modified, and in a different connexion, in the Atharva-veda, iv. 6, 2. The same phrase, sapta sindhavab, is to be found also in several places in the first Book of the Rig-voda. (See Benfey's Glossary to Sama-veda, sub voce saptan.) In Rig-veda i, 32, 12, it is said to Indra avasrijah sarttave sapta sindhun | "Thou hast let loose the seven rivers to flow." Sayana understands this of the Ganges and other rivers, seven in number, mentioned in the Rig Veda, x. 75, 5: imam me Gange Yamune Sarasvali S'utudri stomain sachata Parushnya | " Receive this my hymn with favour, o Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati, S'utudri, with the Parushpi, etc.;" but in this distich ten rivers in all are mentioned. (See Wilson's note to Rig-veda, i. 32, 12, vol. i. p. 88, of his translation). See also hymns 34, 8; 35, 8; 71, 7; and 102, 2, of the first, and 58, 12, and 85, 1, of the eighth Books of the Rig-veda. The "seven rivers" of the Veda are, according to Professor Müller (Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. p. 63), "the Indus, the five rivers of the Penjab and the Sarasvati."

mali dvīpa, Kuśadvīpa, Kraunchadvīpa, Sāka dvīpa, and Pushkara dvīpa. They are surrounded severally by seven great seas, of salt water, sugarcane juice, wine, clarified butter, curds, milk, and fresh water" (V.P. ii. 2, 4. Jambū-plakshūhvayau detpau S'ālmalis chāparo deija | Kušah Kraunchas tathā S'ākah Pushkaruś chaiva saptamah | 5. Ete dvīpāh samudrais tu sapta saptabhir avritah | lavanekshu-sura-sarpir-dadhi-dugdha-julaih samam |). Jambu dvīpa is in the centre of all these continents (Wilson, vol. ii. p. 110). It fell to the lot of Agnīdhra, son of Privavrata, who again divided it among his nine sons (Wilson, ii. 101). In the centre of Jambu dvīpa is the golden mountain Meru, 84,000 yojanas high, and crowned by the great city of Brahmā (ibid. p. 118). There are in this continent six cross-ranges of boundary-mountains, those of Himavat (= Himādri, or Himālaya), Hemakūţa, and Nishadha lying south of Meru; and those of Nila, Sveta, and Sringin, situated to the northward. Of these, Nishadha and Nila are the nearest to Meru, while Himavat and Sringin are at the south and north extremities. The nine Varshas or divisions of Jambu dvīpa, separated by these and other ranges, are Bharata (India), south of the Himavat mountains, and the southernmost of all; then (2) Kimpurusha, (3) Harivarsha, (4) Ilâvrita, (5) Ramyaka, (6) Hiranmaya, and (7) Uttara Kuru, each to the north of the last; while (8) Bhadrasva and (9) Ketumala lie respectively to the east and west of Ilavrita, the central region. Bharata Varsha, and Uttara Kuru, as well as Bhadraśva and Ketumāla,3 are situated on the exterior of the mountain ranges. (Wilson, ii. pp. 114-116, and 123.) The eight Varshas to the north of Bharata Varsha (or India) are thus described:

V.P. ii. 1, 11. Yāni Kimpurushādīni varshāny ashtau mahāmune | teshām svabhāvikī siddhih sukha-prāyā hy ayatnatah | 12. Viparyyayo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The Mahūbhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 227-8, in regard to the Varsha of Ketumāla: āyur daia sahasrāņi varshānāñi tattra Bhūrata | sucarņa-varņāi cha narāḥ striyas' chāpsarasopamāḥ | anāmayāḥ vīta-iokāḥ mityam mudita-mūnasāḥ | jūyante mānacās tattra nishṭapta-kanaka-prabhāḥ | "The people there live ten thousand years. The men are of the colour of gold, and the women fair as celestial nymphs. Men are born there of the colour of burnished gold, live free from sickness and sorrow, and enjoy perpetual happiness." The men by the side of the mountain Gandhamādana, west of Meru, are said (v. 231) "to be black, of great strength and rigour, while the women are of the colour of blue lotuses, and very beautiful" (tattra krishṇāḥ marāḥ rājāmā tejo-yuktāḥ mahābalāḥ striyas chotpala-varṇābhāḥ sarvāḥ supriya-darianāḥ).

na tattrāsti jarā-mrityu-bhayam na eha | dharmādharmau na teshv āstām nottamādhama-madhyamāḥ | na teshv asti yugāvasthā kshettreshv ashṭasu sarvadā |

"In the eight Varshas, called Kimpurusha and the rest (i.e. in all except Bhārata Varsha) the inhabitants enjoy a natural perfection attended with complete happiness obtained without exertion. There is there no vicissitude, nor decrepitude, nor death, nor fear; no distinction of virtue and vice, none of the inequalities denoted by the words best, worst, and intermediate, nor any change resulting from the succession of the four yugas." And again:

ii. 2, 35. Yūni Kimpurushādyūni varshāny ashtau mahāmuns | na teshu soko nāyāso nodeega-kshud-bhayādikam | susthāḥ prajāḥ nirātankāḥ sarva-duḥkha-vivarjjitāh | 36. Daśa-dvādaśa-varshānām sahasrāni sthirā-yushaḥ | na teshu varshate devo bhaumyāny ambhāmsi teshu vai | 37. Krita-tretādikā naiva teshu sthāneshu kalpanā |

"In those eight Varshas there is neither grief, nor weariness, nor anxiety, nor hunger, nor fear. The people live in perfect health, free from every suffering, for ten or twelve thousand years. Indra does not rain on those Varshas, for they have abundance of springs. There is there no division of time into the Krita, Treta, and other ages."

The Uttara Kurus, it should be remarked, may have been a real people, as they are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, viii. 14:4

Atha enam udrchyām diśi viśve devāh shadbhiś chaiva panchavimśair ahobhir abhyashinchann etena cha trichena etena cha yajushā etābhiś cha vyāhritibhir vairājyāya | tasmād etasyām udšehyām diśi ye ke cha parena Himacantam janapadāḥ "Uttara-Kuravaḥ Uttara-Madrāḥ" iti vairā-jyāya eva te bhishichyante |

"Then in the northern region during six days on which the Panchavimsa stoma was recited, the Visve-devas inaugurated him (Indra) for glorious dominion with these three rik-verses, this yajush-verse, and these mystic monosyllables. Wherefore the several nations who dwell in this northern quarter, beyond the Himavat, the Uttara Kurus and the Uttara Madras, are consecrated to glorious dominion (vairājya), and people term them the glorious (virāj)." See Colebrooke's Miso. Essays, i. 38-43; Dr. Haug's translation of the Ait. Brāhmaṇa; and Prof. Weber's review of this translation in Ind. Studien, ix. pp. 341 f.

Quoted by Weber in Ind. St. i. 218.

In another passage of the same work, however, the Uttara Kurus are treated as belonging to the domain of mythology:

Ait. Br. viii. 23. Etam ha vai aindram mahābhishekam Vāsishthah Sātahavyo'tyarātays Jānantapaye provācha | tasmād u Atyarātir Jānantapir arājā san vidyayā samantam sarvatah prithivīm jayan parīyāya | sa ha uvācha Vāsishthah Sātyahavyah "ajaishīr vai samantam sarvatah prithivīm mahad mā gamaya" iti | sa ha uvācha Atyarātir Jānantapir "yadā brāhmaṇa uttara-kurūn jayeyam tvam u ha eva prithivyai rājā syāh senāpatir eva to 'ham syām" iti | sa ha uvācha Vāsishthah Sātyahavyo "deva-kshettram vai tad na vai tad marttyo jetum arhaty adruksho me ā 'tah idam dade' iti | tato ha Atyarātim Jūnantapim ātta-vīryyam niśśukram amītra-tapanah Sushmiṇah Saivyo rājā jaghāna | tasmād evam-vidushe brāhmaṇāya evam-chakrushe kshattriyo na druhyed na id rāshtrād avapadyeyad (?) na id vāma-prāno jahad iti |

"Sātyahavya of the family of Vasishtha declared this great inanguration similar to Indra's to Atyarāti, son of Janantapa; and in consequence Atyarāti, though not a king, by his knowledge, went round the earth on every side to its ends, reducing it to subjection. Sātyahavya then said to him, 'Thou hast subdued the earth in all directions to its limits; exalt me now to greatness.' Atyarāti replied, 'When, o Brāhman, I conquer the Uttara Kurus, thou shalt be king of the earth, and I will be only thy general.' Sātyahavya rejoined, 'That is the realm of the gods; no mortal may make the conquest of it: Thou hast wronged me; therefore I take all this away from thee.' In consequence Sushmina, king of the Sivis, vexer of his foes, slew Atyarāti son of Janantapa who had been bereft of his valour and energy. Wherefore let no Kshattriya wrong a Brāhman who possesses such knowledge and has so acted, lest he should be expelled from his kingdom, be short-lived, and perish."

The Uttara Kurus are also mentioned in the description of the forthern region in the Kishkindhä Kända of the Rämäyana, 43, 38, Uttaräh Kuravas tatra krita-punya-pratiśräyah | "There are the Uttara Kurus, the abodes of those who have performed works of merit." In v. 57 it is said: na kathanehana gantavyam kurünäm uttarena vah | anyeshäm api bhūtänäm nānukrāmati vai gatih | "You must not go to the north of the Kurus: other beings also may not proceed further."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See Colebrooke's Essays, i. 43; Dr. Haug's translation; and Ind. Stud. ix. 346.

In the same way when Arjuna, in his career of conquest, arrives at the country of the Uttara Kurus in Harivarsha, he is thus addressed by the guards at the gate of the city, M. Bh. Sabhaparvan, 1045:

Pārtha nedam tvayā šakyam puram jetum kathanchana | upāvarttawa kalyāna paryāptam idam Achyuta | idam puram yah pravišed dhruvam na sa bhaved naraḥ | . . . . na chāttra kinchij jetavyam Arjunāttra pradrišyate | Uttarāḥ Kuravo hy ets nāttra yuddham pravarttats | pravishto 'pi hi Kaunteya neha drakshyasi kinchana | na hi mānusha-dehena šakyam attrābhivīkshitum |

"Thou canst not, son of Prithä, subdue this city. Refrain, fortunate man, for it is completely secure. He who shall enter this city must be certainly more than man.... Nor is there anything to be seen here which thou canst conquer. Here are the Uttara Kurus, whom no one attempts to assail. And even if thou shouldst enter, thou couldst behold nothing. For no one can perceive anything here with human senses."

In the Anuśasanaparvan, line 2841, Kuśika says, on seeing a magic palace formed by Chyavana (see above, p. 475):

Aho saha śarīrena prāpto smi paramām gatim | Uttarān vā Kurūn punyān athavā py Amarāvatīm |

"I have attained, even in my embodied condition, to the heavenly state; or to the holy Northern Kurus, or to Amaravati [the city of Indra]!"

"The country to the north of the ocean, and to the south of the Himādri (or snowy range), is Bhārata Varsha, where the descendants of Bharata dwell" (V.P. ii. 3, 1. Uttaram yad samudrasya Himādreś chaica dakshiṇam | varsham tad Bhāratam nāma Bhāratī yattra santatih). It is divided into nine parts (bhedāh), Indradvīpa, Kašerumat, Tāmravarṇa, Gābhāstimāt, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vāruṇa; and "this ninth dvīpa," which is not named, is said to be "surrounded by the ocean" ayam tu navamas teshām deīpah sāgara-samrritah), and to be a thousand yojanas long from north to south. "On the east side of it are the Kirātas, on the west the Yavanas, and in the centre are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaišyas, and Sūdras, following their respective oceupations of sacrifice, arms, trade, etc." (The text of this passage, V.P. ii. 3, 7, has been already quoted in p. 485).

See the second vol. of this work, pp. 332-337, and vol. iv., p. 375.

The Vishnu Purāna contains a very short list of the tribes inhabiting Bhārata Varsha. (See Wilson, vol. ii. pp. 132 f.) It specifies, as the principal, only the Kurus, Pānchālas, the people of Kāmarūpa, the Pundras, Kalingas, Magadhas, Saurāshtras, Sūras, Bhīras, Arbudas, Kārūshas, Mālavas, Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Hūnas, Sālvas, Sākalas, Madras, Rāmas, Ambashthas, and Pārasikas. These tribes seem to be all confined to India and its vicinity.

The praises of Bharata Varsha are celebrated as follows:

V.P. ii. 3, 11. Chatvāri Bhārate varshe yugāny attra mahāmune | kritam tretā deāparaš cha kališ chānyatra na kvachit | 12. Tapas tapyanti yatayo juhvate chāttra yajvinah | dānāni chāttra dīyante paralokārtham ādarāt | purushair yajna-purusho Jambu-deīpe sadejyate | yajnair yajnamayo Vishnur anya-deīpeshu chānyathā | 13. Attrāpi Bhāratam śreshtham Jambu-deīpe mahāmune | yato hi karma-bhūr eshā ato'nyāḥ bhoga-bhūma-yaḥ | attra janma-sahasrānām sahasrair api sattamam | kadachil labhate jantur mānushyam punya-sanchayam | gāyanti devāḥ kila gītakāni "dhan-yās tu ye Bhārata-bhūmi-bhāge | svargāpavargasya dahe tu bhūte bhavanti bhūyaḥ purushāḥ suratvāt | 14. Karmāny asankalpita-tat-phalāni sannyasya Vīshnau paramātma-rūpe | avāpya tām karma-mahīm anante tasmin layam ye tv amalāḥ prayānti | 15. Jānīma naitat kva vayam vilīne svarga-prade karmani deha-bandham | prāpsyāma dhanyāḥ khalu te manushyāḥ ye Bhārate nendriya-viprahīnāḥ" |

"In Bhārata Varsha, and nowhere else, do the four Yugas, Krita, Tretā, Dvāpara, and Kali exist. 12. Here devotees perform austerities, and priests sacrifice; here gifts are bestowed, to testify honour, for the sake of the future world. In Jambudvīpa Vishņu, the sacrificial Man, whose essence is sacrifice, is continually worshipped by men with sacrifices; and in other ways in the other dvīpas." 13. In this respect Bhārata is the most excellent division of Jambudvīpa; for this is the land of works, while the others are places of enjoyment. Perhaps in a thousand thousand births, a living being obtains here that most excellent condition, humanity, the receptacle of virtue. The gods sing, 'Happy are those beings, who, when the rewards of their merits have

<sup>7</sup> The list in the Mahübharata (Bhishmaparvan, 346 ff.), is much longer. See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, vol. ii. pp. 132 f., and 156 ff.

<sup>\* &</sup>quot; In other ways," i.e. in the form of Soma, Vüyu, Süryya, etc." (Anyathā Soma-rāyu-sūryyūdi-rūpah | ). Commentator.

been exhausted in heaven, are, after being gods, again born as men in Bharata Varsha; (14) who, when born in that land of works, resign to the supreme and eternal Vishnu their works, without regard to their fruits, and attain by purity to absorption in him. 15. We know not where we shall next attain a corporeal condition, when the merit of our works shall have become exhausted; but happy are those men who exist in Bharata Varsha with perfect senses.'"

To the same effect the Bhagavata Purana says, v. 17, 11:

Tattrāpi Bhūratam eva varsham korma-kshettram anyāny ashṭa-var-shāṇi svargiṇām puṇya-śeshopabhoga-sthānāni bhaumāni svarga-padāni vyapadiśanti | 12. Eshu purushāṇām ayuta-purushāyur-varshāṇam deva-kalpānām nāgāyuta-prāṇānām vajra-samhanana-vayo-moda-pramudita-ma-hūsaurata-mithuna-vyacāyāpavarga-varsha-dhritaika-garbha-kalatrāṇām tretā-yuga-samaḥ kālo varttate |

"Of these, Bhāratavarsha alone is the land of works: the other eight Varshas are places where the celestials enjoy the remaining rewards of their works; they are called terrestrial paradises. 12. In them men pass an existence equal to that of the Tretā age, living for the space of ten thousand ordinary lives, on an equality with gods, having the vitality of ten thousand elephants, and possessed of wives who bear one child after a year's conception following upon sexual intercourse attended by all the gratification arising from adamantine bodies and from vigorous youth."

The commentator remarks on verse 11: Divya-bhauma-bila-bhedāt trividhah svargah | tattra bhauma-svargasya padāni sthānāni vyapa-dišanti | "Heaven is of three kinds, in the sky, on earth, and in the abyss. Here the other Varshas are called terrestrial heavens."

It is curious to remark that in the panegyric on Bharata Varsha it is mentioned as one of the distinguishing advantages of that division of Jambudvīpa that sacrifice is performed there, though, a little further on, it is said to be practised in Sālmali dvīpa also.

It would at first sight appear from the preceding passage (ii. 3, 11) of the Vishnu Purana (as well as from others which we shall encounter below), to be the intention of the writer to represent the inhabitants of Bharata Varsha as a different race, or, at least as living under quite different conditions, from the inhabitants of the other dyipas, and even of the other divisions (varshas) of Jambu dyipa itself. From the use

of the word manushya (humanity) here applied to the inhabitants of Bharata Varsha, viewed in reference to the context, it would seem to be a natural inference that all the people exterior to it were beings of a different race. Yet in the descriptions of Kuśa dvīpa and Pushkara dvīpa (see below) the words manujāh and mānavāh "descendants of Manu," or "men," are applied to the dwellers in those continents. In the passage of the Jatimala, moreover, translated by Mr. Colebrooke (Mise. Essays, ii. 179), we are told that "a chief of the twice - born tribe was brought by Vishnu's cagle from Saka dvīpa; thus have Sāka dvīpa Brāhmans become known in Jambu dvīpa." According to this verse, too, there should be an affinity of race between the people of these two dvipas. It is also to be noted that the descendants of Priyavrata became kings of all the dvīpas, as well as of all the varshas of Jambu dvipa (see above, pp. 489, 491). And in the passage quoted above, p. 478, from the Vishnu Parana, iv. 11, 3, it is said of Arjuna, son of Kritavirya, that he was "lord of the seven dvīpas," "that he ruled over the earth with all its dvīpas." If, however, the kings were of the human race, it is natural to infer the same of the people.

But, in a subject of this sort, where the writers were following the suggestions of imagination only, it is to be expected that we should find inconsistencies.

Jambu dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of salt water (Wilson, V.P. ii. 109); and that sea again is bounded on its outer side by the dvīpa or continent of Plaksha running all round it. (V.P. ii. 4, 1. Kshārodena yathā dvīpo Jambu-savjno 'bhiveshtitah | sameeshtya kshāram udadhim Plaksha-dvīpas tathā sthitah). According to this scheme the several continents and seas form concentric circles, Jambu dvipa being a circular island occupying the centre of the system.

Plaksha dvīpa is of twice the extent of Jambu dvīpa. The character and condition of its inhabitants are described as follows:

V. P. ii. 4, 5. Na chaivāsti yugāvasthā teshu sthāneshu saptasu | 6. Tretā-yuga-samaḥ kālaḥ sarvadaiva mahāmate | Plaksha-dvīpādishu brahman S'ākadvīpāntākeshu vai | 7. Pancha-varsha-sahasrāni janāḥ jīvanty anāmayāḥ | dharmāḥ panchasv athaiteshu varnāśrama - vibhāga - jāḥ |

Pururavas is said to have possessed thirteen islands (dvipas) of the ocean (above p. 307).

varņās tattrāpi chatvāras tān nībodha gadāmi te | Aryyakāḥ Kuravaš chaiva Vivāšāh Bhāvinaš cha ye | vipra-kehattriya-vaišyās te šūdrāš cha muni-sattama |

"In those seven provinces [which compose Plaksha dvīpa] the division of time into Yugas does not exist: but the character of existence is always that of the Tretā age. In the [five] dvīpas, beginning with Plaksha and ending with Sāka, the people live 5000 years, free from sickness. In those five dvīpas duties arise from the divisions of castes and orders. There are there also four castes, Āryyakas, Kurus, Vivāšas, and Bhāvins, who are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaišyas, and Sūdras," and whose worship is thus described:

9. Ijyate tattra bhagavāns tair varnair Aryyakādibhiḥ | soma-rūpē jagat-srashtā sarvaḥ sarveśvaro Hariḥ | "Hari who is All, and the lord of all, and the creator of the world, is adored in the form of Soma by these classes, the Āryyakas, etc."

The inhabitants of this dvīpa receive different names in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, being there called (v. 20, 4) "Hansas, Patangas, Ūrdhvāyanas, and Satyāngas, four castes, who, purified from passion and darkness by the touch of the waters of these rivers, live a thousand years, resemble the gods in their appearance and in their manner of procreation, and worship with the triple Veda the divine Soul, the Sun, who is the gate of heaven, and who is co-essential with the Vedas" (Yāsām jalopasparšana-vidhūta-rajas-tamaso Hamsa-patangorddheāyana-satyānga-sanjnāš chateūro varnāh sahasrāyusho vibudhopama-sandaršana-prajananāh svarga-dcāram trayyā vidyayā bhagavantam trayīmayam sūryam ātmānam yajante).

In regard to Plaksha and the other four following dvipas, the Bhagavata Purana says, ibid. para. 6, that "their men are all alike in respect of natural perfection as shewn in length of life, senses, vigour, force, strength, intelligence, and courage" (Plakshādishu panchasu purushānām āyur intriyam ojah saho balam buddhir vikramah iti cha sarveshām autpattiki siddhir avišeshena varttate |).

Plaksha dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of sugar-cane juice of the same compass as itself. ii. 4, 9, Plaksha-dvīpa-pramāgena Plaksha-dvīpaḥ samāvritaḥ | tathaivekshu-rasodena parivešānukārinā | Round the outer margin of this sea, and twice as extensive, runs Sālmala dvīpa (verse 11. S'ālmalena samudro 'sau dvīpenekshu-rasodakaḥ | vistara-

dvigunenātha sarvatah samvrītah athitah]). It is divided into seven Varshas, or divisions. Of their inhabitants it is said:

V. P. ii. 4, 12. Saptaitāni tu varshāni chāturvarnya-yutāni cha | Sālmalo ye tu varnāš cha vasanti te mahāmuno | kapilāš chārunāh pītāh krishnāš chaiva prithak prithak | brāhmanāh kshattriyāh vaišyāh śūdrāš chaiva yajanti te | bhagavantam samastasya Vishnum ātmānam avyayam | Vāyubhūtam makha-śreshthair yajvino yajna-samsthitam | 13. Devānām attra sānnidhyam atīva sumanoharam |

"These soven Varshas have a system of four eastes. The castes which dwell there are severally the Kapilas, Arunas, Pītas, and Krishnas (or the Tawny, the Purple, the Yellow, and the Black). These, the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras, worship with excellent sacrifices Vishnu, the divine and imperishable Soul of all things, in the form of Vāyu, and abiding in sacrifice. Here the vicinity of the gods is very delightful to the soul."

The Bhāgavata Purāṇa says of this dvīpa, v. 20, 11: Tad-varshapurushāḥ Srutadhara-vīryyadhara-vasundhara-shundhara-sanjnāḥ bhagavantam vedamayam somam ātmānam vedena yajante | "The men of the different divisions of this dvīpa, called Srutadharas, Vīryadharas, Vasundharas, and Ishundharas, worship with the Veda the divine Soul Soma, who is co-essential with the Veda."

This dvīpa is surrounded by a sea of wine of the same compass as itself (v. 13. Esha dvīpah samudrena surodena samāvritah | vistārāch chhāl-malasyaica samena tu samantatah). The exterior shore of this sea is encompassed by Kuśa dvīpa, which is twice as extensive as Sālmala dvīpa (v. 13. Surodakah parivritah Kuśadvīpena sarvatah | S'almalasya tu cistārād dviguņena samantatah). The inhabitants of Kuśa dvīpa are thus described, V.P. ii 4, 14:

Tasyām vasanti manujāh saha Daileya-dānavaih | tathaiva deva-gan-dharva - yaksha - kimpurushādayah | varņās tattrāpi chatvāro nijānushthāna-tatparāh | Daminah S'ushminah Snehāh Mandehāś cho mahāmune | brāhmaṇāh kshattriyāh vaiśyāh śūdrāś chānukramoditāh | 15. Yathokta-karma-karttriteāt svādhikāra-kshayāya to | tattra te tu Kuśa-dvīpe Brahma-rūpam Janārddanam | yajantah kshapayanty ugram adhikāram phala-pradām |

"In this set of Varshas (of Kuśa dvipa) dwell men with Daityas, Dānavas, Devas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Kimpurushas, and other beings. There, too, there are four castes, pursuing their proper observances, Damins, Sushmins, Snehas, and Mandehas, who in the order specified are Brähmans, Kshattriyas, Vaisyas, and Sūdras. In order to destroy their right [to reward] derived from the performance of these works, they worship Janārdana in the form of Brahma, and so neutralize this direful merit which brings rewards."

Of Kuśa dvīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 455-7: Eteshu deva-gandharvāḥ prajāšcha jagatīšvara | viharante ramante cha na teshu mriyate janaḥ | na teshu dasyavaḥ santi mlechha-jātyo 'pi vā nripa | gaura-prāyo janaḥ sarvaḥ sukumāras cha pārthiva | "In these (Varshas of Kuśa dvīpa), gods, Gandharvas, and living creatures, amuse and enjoy themselves. No one dies there. There are no Dasyus or Mlechhas there. The people are fair, and of very delicate forms." The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, v. 20, 16, says, "The people of this dvīpa are called Kuśalas, Kovidas, Abhiyuktas, and Kulakas" (Kuśa-dvīpaukasaḥ Kuśala-kovidābhiyukta-kulaka-sanjnāḥ |).

Kuśa dvipa is surrounded by a sea of clarified butter, of the same circumference as itself.

Around this sea runs Krauncha dvīpa which is twice as large as Kuśa dvīpa. The V. P. says, ii. 4, 19: Sarveshv eteshu ramyeshu varsha-śaila-vareshu cha | nivasanti nirātankāḥ saha deva-gaṇaiḥ prajāḥ | Pushkarāḥ Pushkalāḥ Dhanyās Tishmāś chāttra mahāmune | brāhmaṇāḥ kshattriyāḥ vaiśyāḥ śūdrāś chānukramoditāḥ | "In all these pleasant division-mountains of this dvīpa the people dwell, free from fear, in the society of the gods. [These people are] the Pushkaras, Pushkalas, Dhanyas, and Tishmas, who, as enumerated in order, are the Brāhmans, Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Sūdras." The inhabitants of this dvīpa are called in the Bhāgavata Purāna, v. 20, 22, ".... Purushas, Rishabhas, Draviṇas, and Devakas" (Purusharshabha-draviṇa-devaka-sanjnāḥ). This dvīpa is encompassed by the sea of curds, which is of the same circumference as itself. The sea again, on its exterior edge, is surrounded by Sāka dvīpa, "a continent twice the size of Krauncha dvīpa.

Of Sāka dvīpa it is said in the Vishņu Purāņa, ii. 4, 23 ff. :

Tattra punyāh janapadās chāturvarnya-samanvitāh | nadyas chāttra mahāpunyāh sarva-pāpa-bhayāpahāh | . . . tāh pibanti mudā yuktāh Jaladādishu ye sthitāh | varsheshu te janapadāh svargād abhyetya me-10 In the M. Bh. (Bhīshmap, v. 408 ff.) Sākadvipa comes next after Jambudvipa. dinīm | 24. Dharma-hānir na teshe asti na sangharshaḥ parasparam | maryādā-vyutkramo nāpi teshu dešeshu saptazu | 25. Magāš cha Māga-dhāš chaiva Mānasāḥ Mandagāš tathā | Magāḥ brāhmaṇa-bhāyishṭhāḥ Māgadhāḥ kshattriyās tu te | Vaiśyās tu Mānasāḥ jneyāḥ śūdrās teshām tu Mandagāḥ | 26. Sākadvīpe tu tair Vishnuḥ sūrya-rūpa-dharo mune | yathoktair ijyate samyak karmabhir niyatātmabhiḥ |

"There there are holy countries, peopled by persons belonging to the four castes; and holy rivers which remove all sin and fear. . . . The people who dwell in these divisions, Jalada, etc. [of Sāka dvīpa], drink these rivers with pleasure, even when they have come to earth from Svarga. There is among them no defect of virtue; nor any mutual rivalry; nor any transgression of rectitude in those seven countries. [There dwell] Magas, Māgadhas, Mānasas, and Mandagas, of whom the first are principally Brāhmans; the second are Kshattriyas; the third are Vaisyas, and the fourth are Sūdras. By them Vishnu, in the form of the Sun, is worshipped with the prescribed ceremonies, and with intent minds."

Of this dvīpa the Mahābhārata tells us, Bhīshmaparvan, verse 410, that the "people there are holy, and no one dies" (tatira punyāḥ janapadāḥ na tatira mriyate naraḥ). One of the mountains there is called Syāma (black), "whence men have got this black colour" (verse 420. Tataḥ śyāmatvam āpannāḥ janāḥ janapadeśvara). Dhritarāshtra then says to his informant Sanjaya that he has great doubts as to "how living creatures have become black." Sanjaya promises in the following lines, the sense of which is not very clear, to explain the mystery: 422. Sarveshv eva mahārāja deīpeshu Kuru-nandana | gauraḥ krishnaś cha pātango yato varnāntare dvijāḥ | śyāmo yasmāt pravritto vai tat te vakshyāmi Bhārata | But as he proceeds no further, we lose the benefit of his solution of this interesting physiological problem. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, v. 20, 28, gives the four classes of men in this dvīpa the names of Ritavratas, Satyavratas, Dānavratas, and Anuvratas (tadvarsha-purushāḥ Ritavrata-Satyavrata-Dānavratānucrata-nāmānah).

This Sāka dvīpa is surrounded by the ocean of milk as by an armlet. This ocean again is encompassed on its outer side by Pushkara dvīpa, which is twice as extensive as Sāka dvīpa.

Of Pushkara dvīpa it is said, Vishņu Purāņa, ii. 4, 28 ff.:

Daśa-varsha-sahasrāni tattra jivanti mānavāh | nirāmayāh višokāšcha

rāga-dvesha-vivarijjitāḥ | adhamottamau na teshv āstām nu badhya-badha-kau dvija | nershyā 'sūyā bhayam rosho dosho lobhādiko na cha | . . . . 29. Satyānrite na tattrāstām dvīpe Pushkara-sanjnite | . . . . 30. Tulya-vešāš tu manujāḥ devais tattraika-rūpiṇaḥ | 31. Varnāšramāchāra-hīnam dharmācharaṇa-varjjitam | trayī-vārttā-daṇḍanīti-śuśrūshā-rahitam cha yat | 32. Varsha-dcayam tu maittreya bhauma-svargo 'yam uttamaḥ | sarvasya sukha-daḥ kālo jarā-rogādi-varjjitaḥ |

"In this dvipa men live ten thousand years, free from sickness and sorrow, from affection and hatred. There is no distinction among them of highest and lowest, of killer and slain; there is no envy, nor ill-will, nor fear, nor anger, nor defect, nor covetousness, nor other fault; there is there neither truth nor falsehood. Men there are all of the same appearance, of one form with the gods. The two divisions of this dvipa have no rules of caste or orders, nor any observances of duty; the three Vedas, the Purāṇas (or, trade), the rules of criminal law and service do not exist. This [dvipa] is a most excellent terrestrial heaven; where time brings happiness to all, and is exempt from decay, sickness, and all other evils."

Of all the dvīpas together, the Mahābhārata says, Bhīshmaparvan, verses 468 ff.:

Ecam dvīpeshu sarceshu prajānām Kuru-nandana | brahmacharyyena satyena prajānām hi damena cha | ārogyāyuḥpramāṇābhyām dviguṇam dviguṇam tataḥ | eko janapado rājan dvīpeshv eteshu Bhārata | uktāḥ

<sup>13</sup> In the same way as Pushkara, the remotest dvīpa, is here described to be the scene of the greatest perfection, we find Homer placing the Elysian plains on the furthest verge of the earth:

άλλά σ' ἐε 'Ηλύσιον πεδίον καὶ πείρατα γαίης άθάνατοι πέμφουσιν, δθι ξανθύς 'Ραδάμανθυς, τῷπερ ἐηθστη βιοτή πέλει ἀνθρώποισιν. οὐ νιφετὸς, οὕτ' ἄρ χειμών πολύς οὕτε ποτ' ὅμβρος, άλλ' alel Ζεφύροιο λεγό πνείοντας ἀήτας 'Ωκκανδς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους. Οἰγκος Δ. 563-568.

"Thee, favoured man, to earth's remotest end,
The Elysian plain, the immortal gods shall send,—
That realm which fair-haired Rhadamanthys sways,
Where, free from toil, men pass their tranquil days.
No tempests vex that land, no rain, nor snow;
But ceaseless Zephyrs from the occan blow,
Which sweetly breathe and gently stir the air,
And to the dwellers grateful coolness bear."

Janapadāḥ yeshu karma chaikam pradrišyate | īšvaro dandam udyamya svayam eva Prajāpatiḥ | dvīpānām tu mahārāja rakshams tishthati nit-yadā | sa rājā sa šivo rājan sa pitā prapitāmahaiḥ | gopāyati nara-śreshtha prajāḥ sa-jaḍa-paṇḍitāḥ | bhojanam chāttra Kauravya prajāḥ svayam upasthitam | siddham eva mahābāho tad hi bhunjanti nityadā ;

"Thus in all these dvīpas each country doubly exceeds the former one in the abstinence, veracity, and self-restraint, in the health and the length of life of its inhabitants. In these dvīpas the people is one, and one sort of action is perceivable. Prajāpati, the lord, wielding his sceptre, himself governs these dvīpas. He, the king, the auspicious one (śiva), the father, along with the patriarchs, protects all creatures, ignorant as well as learned." (So there are differences of intellectual condition in these dvīpas after all!) "All these people cat prepared food, which comes to them of itself."

Pushkara is surrounded by a sea of fresh water equal to itself in compass. What is beyond is afterwards described:

V.P. ii. 4, 37. Svādūdakasya parato drišyate loka-samsthitih | dvigunā kānchanī bhūmih sarva-jantu-vivarjjitā | 38. Lokālokas tatah śailo yojanāyuta-vistritah | uchchhrāyenāpī tāvanti sahasrāny achalo hi sah | tatas tamah samāvritya tum śailam sarvatah sthitam | tamaś chānda-kaṭāhena samantāt parisveshtitam |

"On the other side of the sea is beheld a golden land of twice its extent, but without inhabitants. Beyond that is the Lokaloka mountain, which is ten thousand yojanas in breadth, and as many thousands in height. It is on all sides invested with darkness. This darkness is encompassed by the shell of the mundane egg." "

In a following chapter, however, (the seventh) of this same book, the

<sup>13</sup> See Manu, i. verses 9 and 12, quoted above, p. 35. The thirteenth verse is as follows: Tābhyām sa śakalūbhyām cha dieam bhūmim cha nirmams | madhye vyoma diśaś chāshfāv apām sthānam cha śāśvatam | "From these two halves of the shell he fashioned the heaven and the earth, and in the middle (he formed) the sky, and the eight quarters, and the eternal abode of the waters." In regard to the darkness (tamas) with which the mountain Lokāloka is said to be enveloped, compare Manu iv. 242, where the spirits of the departed are said to pass by their righteousness through the darkness which is hard to be traversed (dharmena hi sahāyama tamas tarati dastaram); and Atharva-veda, ix. 6, 1, "Crossing the darkness, in many directions immense, let the unborn ascend to the third heaven" (tīrteā tamāmsi bahadhā mahānti aje nūkam ā kramatām tritīyam). See Journal Royal Asiatic Society for 1865, pp. 298, note 2, and p. 304.

shell of the mundanc egg is said to be outside of the seven spheres of which this system is composed:

V.P. ii. 7, 19. Ete sopta mayā lokāḥ Maittreya kathitās tava | pātālāni cha saptaiva brahmāṇḍasyaisha vistaraḥ | etad aṇḍa-kaṭāhena tiryak chorddhvam adhas tathā | kapitthasya yathā vījam sarvato vai samāvritam |

"These seven spheres have been described by me; and there are also seven Pātālas: this is the extent of Brahmā's egg. The whole is surrounded by the shell of the egg at the sides, above, and below, just as the seed of the wood-apple (is covered by the rind)."

This system, however, it appears, is but a very small part of the whole of the universe:

Ibid. verse 24. Andānām tu sahasrānām sahasrāny ayutāni cha | idrišānām tathā tattra koţi-koţi-śatāni cha |

"There are thousands and ten thousands of thousands of such mundane eggs; nay hundreds of millions of millions."

Indian mythology, when striving after sublimity, and seeking to excite astonishment, often displays an extravagant and puerile facility in the fabrication of large numbers. But, in the sentence last quoted, its conjectures are substantially in unison with the discoveries of modern astronomy; or rather, they are inadequate representations of the simple truth, as no figures can express the contents of infinite space.

# APPENDIX.

#### Page 6, line 24.

Professor Wilson's analyses of the Agni, Brahma-vaivartta, Vishnu and Väyu Puränas, were originally published, not in the "Gleanings in Science," but in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. i.; and are reprinted in the 3rd vol. of Wilson's Collected Works, edited by Dr. R. Rost.

#### Page 37, line 1.

"Abodes of gods." Böhtlingk and Roth in their Sanskrit Lexicon, s.v. nikāya, shew that in other passages, if not here also, the compound word deva-nikāya should be rendered "classes, or assemblages, of gods."

# Page 50, line 25.

Compare the passage, quoted below, in the note on p. 115, from the Santiparvan of the M. Bh., verses 6130 ff.

## Pages 90 ff.

The representations of the Krita yuga are not always consistent. In the Dronaparvan, verses 2023 ff. a story is told of King Akampana, who lived in that age, and who was yet so far from enjoying the tranquillity generally predicated of that happy time that he was overcome by his enemies in a battle, in which he lost his son, and suffered in consequence severe affliction.

# Page 97, note 190.

It is similarly said in the Dronaparvan, verse 2395: Kshatād nas trāyate sarvān ity evam kshattriyo 'bhavat | "He (Prithu) became a Kshattriya by delivering us all from injuries." See also Sāntiparvan, verse 1031.

#### Page 115, line 13.

The Santiparvan of the M. Bh., verses 6130 ff., gives a similar description of the original state of all things, and of the birth of Brahma. Bhīshma is the speaker: Salilaikārņavam tāta purā sarvam abhād idam ! nishprakampam anākāšam anirdešya-mahītalam i tamasā vritam asparšam api gambhīra-daršanam | niššabdam vā 'prameyam cha tattra jajne Pitāmahah | so 'srijad vatam agnim cha bhaskaram chapi viryyavan | akasam asrijach chorddheam adho bhūmim cha nairritim | nabhah sa-chandratāram cha nakshattrāni grahāms tathā | samvatsarān ritūn māsān pakshan atha lavan kshanan | tatah sariram loka-stham sthapayitva Pitamahah | janayāmāsa bhagavān puttrān uttama-tejasah | 6135. Marīchim rishim Attrim cha Pulastyam Pulaham Kratum | Vasishthangirasau chobhau Rudram cha prabhum iśvaram | Prachetasas tathā Dakshah kanyāh shashtim ajijanat | tah vai brahmarshayah sarcah prajartham pratipedire | tābhyo viśvāni bhūtāni devāh pitri-ganās tatha | gandhareāpsarasas chaiva rakshāmsi vividhāni cha | . . . 6149. Jajne tāta jagat sarvam tathā sthāvara-jangamam | 6150. Bhūta-sargam imam kritvā sarea - loka - pitāmahah | śāśvatam veda-pathitam dharmam prayuyuje tatah | tasmin dharme sthitah devah sahacharyya-purohitah | adityah vasavo rudrāh sa-sādhyāh marud-aśvinah | "This entire universe was formerly one expanse of water, motionless, without ather, without any distinguishable earth, enveloped in darkness, imperceptible to touch, with an appearance of (vast) depth, silent, and measureless. There Pitāmaha (Brahmā) was born. That mighty god created wind, fire, and the sun, the æther' above, and under it the earth belonging to Nirriti, the sky, with the moon, stars, constellations, and planets, the years, seasons, months, half-months, and the minute sub-divisions of time. Having established the frame of the universe, the divine Pitamaha begot sons of eminent splendour, (6135) Marichi, the rishi Attri. Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, Vasishtha, Angiras, and the mighty lord Rudra. Daksha, the son of Prachetas, also begot sixty daughters, all of whom were taken by the Brahmarshis 2 for the purpose of propagating offspring. From these females, all beings, gods, pitris, gandharvas, apsarases, and various kinds of rakshases, . . . . (6149) this

I And yet it is elsewhere said (Anusasanap. 2161, quoted above in p. 130) that the other (545/5) cannot be created.

<sup>2</sup> Here this word must mean "rishis, sons of Brahma."

entire world, moving and stationary, was produced. 6150. Having formed this creation of living beings, the parent of all worlds established the eternal rule of duty as read in the Veda. To this rule of duty the gods, with their teachers and domestic priests, the Adityas, Vasus, Rudras, Sādhyas, Maruts, and Aśvins conformed."

Another account of the creation is given in the same book of the M. Bh., verses 7518 ff., where it is ascribed to Vishnu in the form of Govinda, or Keśava (Krishna), who is identified with the supreme and universal Purusha. Resting on the waters (7527) he created by his thought Sankarshana, the first-born of all beings. Then (7529) a lotus sprang from his (either Sankarshana's or Vishnu's) navel, from which again (7530) Brahmā was produced. Brahmā afterwards created his soven mind-born sons, Marīchi, Attri, Angiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Daksha (7534).

Compare Bhishmaparvan, verses 3017 ff.

Page 122, note 223.

Compare the passage quoted in the last note from the Santiparvan, verse 6135.

Page 128, line 20.

The Santiparvan, verses 7548 ff. ascribes the creation of the four castes to Krishna: Tatak Krishno mahābhāgah punar eva Yudhishthira | brāhmaṇānām śatam śreshtham mukhād evāsrijat prabhuk | bāhubhyām kshattriya-śatam vaiśyānām ūrutak śatam | padbhyām śūdra-śatam chaiva Keśavo Bharatarzhabha | "Then again the great Krishna created a hundred Brühmans, the most excellent (class), from his mouth, a hundred Kshattriyas from his arms, a hundred Vaiśyas from his thighs, and a hundred Sūdras from his feet."

Compare Bhishmaparvan, verse 3029.

Page 128, note 238.

In another place also, verses 6208 f., the Anušāsanaparvan ranks purchitas with Sūdras: Sūdra-karma tu yaḥ kuryād avahāya sva-karma cha | sa vijneyo yathā śūdro na cha bhojyaḥ kathanchana | chikitsakaḥ kāṇḍaprishṭhaḥ purādhyakshaḥ purchitaḥ | sāmvatsaro vrithādhyāyī sarve to śūdra-sammitāḥ | "He, who, abandoning his own work, does the work of a Sūdra, is to be regarded as a Sūdra, and not to be invided to a feast. A physician, a kāṇḍaprishṭha (see above, p. 442), a

city governor, a purchita, an astrologer, one who studies to no purpose,
—all these are on a level with Sudras."

Pages 144 ff.

See above, note on pp. 90 ff.

Page 150, line 4.

Compare Dronaparvan, verse 2397.

Page 220, line 14.

I am indebted to Professor Max Müller for pointing out to me two passages in Indian commentators in which Manu is spoken of as a Kshattriya. The first is from Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā, iv. 1. The words of the text are these: Srl-Bhagavān uvācha | imam Vivasvato yogam proktacān aham avyayam | Vivasvān Manave prāha Manur Ikshvākave bravīt' | eram paramparā-prāptam imam rājarshayo viduḥ | sa kāleneha mahatā yogo nashtaḥ parantapa | sa evāyam mayā te 'dya yogaḥ proktaḥ purātanaḥ | bhakto 'si me sakhā cheti rahasyam etad uttamam | "The divine Being (Krishna) said: I declared to Vivasvat (the Sun) this imperishable Yoga-doctrine. Vivasvat told it to (his son) Manu; and Manu to (his son) Ikshvāku. Thus do royal rishis know it as handed down by tradition. Through lapse of time however it was lost. I have to day therefore revealed to thee (anew) this ancient system, this most excellent mystery; for thou art devoted to me and my friend."

On this Madhusūdana remarks: "Vivasvate" sarva-kshattriya-vamšavija-bhūtāya Ādityāya proktavān | "'I declared it to Vivasvat' i.e. to Āditya (the Sun) who was the source of the whole Kshattriya race."

The second passage is from Someśvara's tīkā on Kumārila Bhatta's Mīmānsa-vārttika. I must, however, first adduce a portion of the text of the latter work which forms the subject of Someśvara's annotation. For a copy of this passage, which is otherwise of interest, I am indebted to Professor Goldstücker, who has been kind enough to copy it for me. The first extract refers to Jaimini's Sūtra, i. 3, 3; where the question under discussion is, in what circumstances authority can be assigned to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See Professor Müller's Auc. Sansk, Lit. pp. 79 f. where this passage is partly extracted and translated. See also the same author's Chips from a German Workshop, vol. ii. pp. 338 ff.

the Smriti when the Sruti, or Veda, is silent. After some other remarks Kumārila proceeds: Sākyādi-vachanāni tu katipaya-dama-dānādi vachana-varjjam sarvāny eva samasta-chaturdaša-vidyā-sthāna-viruddhani trayi-marga-vyutthita-viruddhacharanais cha Buddhadidhih pranitāni trāyī-būhyebhyas chaturtha-varna-niravasita-prāyebhyo vyāmūdhebhyah samarthitāni iti na veda-mūlatvena sambhāvyante | svadharmātikramena cha yena kshattriyena satā pravaktritva-pratigrahau pratipannau sa dharmam aviplutam upadekshyati iti kah samāśvāsah | uktam cha " paraloka-viruddhani kurvanam duratas tyajet | atmanam yo visamdhatte so 'nyasmai syat katham hitah'' iti | Buddhadeh punar ayam evatikramo lankūra-buddhau sthito yena evam āha "kali-kalusha-kritāni yāni loke mayi nipatantu | vimuchyatām tu lokah" iti | sa kila loka-hitartha-kshattriyadharmam atikramya brūhmana-crittim pracaktritvam pratipadya pratishedhatikramasamarthair brahmanair ananusishtam dharmam bahyajanān anuśāsad dharma-pidām apy ātmano ngīkritya parānugraham kritavan ity evamvidhair eva gunaih stayate | tad-anusishtanusarinas cha sarve eva śruti-smriti-vihita-dharmātikramena vyavaharanto viruddhāchāratvena jnayante | tena pratyakshaya śratya virodhe grantha-karinam grahitracharitrinam grantha-pramanya-badhanam | na hy esham purvoktena nyayena śruti-pratibaddhanam sva-mula-śruty-anumana-samarthyam asti | "But the precepts of Sakya and others, with the exception of a few enjoining dispassion, liberality, etc., are all contrary to the fourteen classes of scientific treatises, and composed by Buddha and others whose practice was opposed to the law of the three Vedas, as well as calculated for men belonging mostly to the fourth caste who are excluded from the Vedas, debarred from pure observances, and deluded: -consequently they cannot be presumed to be founded on the Veda. And what confidence can we have that one (i.e. Buddha) who being a Kshattriya,2 transgressed the obligations of his own order, and assumed the function of teachingand the right to receive presents, would inculcate a pure system of duty? For it has been said: 'Let everyone avoid a man who practises acts destructive to future happiness. How can he who rains himself be of any benefit to others?' And yet this very transgression of Buddha and his followers is conceived as being a feather in his cap; since he spoke thus, 'Let all the evils resulting from the sin of the Kali age fall upon me; and let the world be redeemed.' Thus, abandoning the <sup>2</sup> Compare Colebrooke's Misc. Essays, i. 312.

duties of a Kshattriya, which are beneficial to the world, assuming the function of a teacher which belongs only to the Brähmans, and instructing men who were out of the pale in duty which was not taught by the Brähmans who could not transgress the prohibition (to give such instruction), he sought to do a kindness to others, while consenting to violate his own obligations; and for such merits as these he is praised! And all who follow his instructions, acting in contravention of the prescriptions of the Sruti and Smriti, are notorious for their erroneous practices. Hence from the opposition in which the authors of these books, as well as those who receive and act according to them, stand to manifest injunctions of the Veda, the authority of these works is destroyed. For since they are by the above reasoning opposed by the Veda, the inference that they rest upon independent Vedic authority of their own possesses no force."

The next passage is from Kumārila's Vārttika on Jaimini's Sūtra, i. 3. 7: Vedenaicābhyanujnātā yeshām eva pravaktritā | nityānām abhidheyānām manvantara-yugādishu | teshām viparivartteshu kurvatām dharma-samhitah | cachanani pramanani nanyesham iti nisehayah | tatha cha Manor richah samidhenyo bhavanti ity asya vidher vakya-seshe srayate "Manur vai yat kinchid avudat tad bheshajam bheshajatayai" iti prayaschittadyupadeśa-vachanam pāpa-vyādher bheshajam | "It is certain that the precepts of those persons only whose right to expound the eternal meanings of scripture in the different manvantaras and yugas has been recognized by the Veda, are to be regarded as authoritative, when in the revolutions (of those great mundane periods) they compose codes of law. Accordingly by way of complement to the Vedic passage containing the precept (ridhi) beginning 'there are these samidheni verses of Manu' it is declared, 'whatever Manu said is a healing remedy;' i.e. his prescriptions in regard to expiatory rites, etc., are remedies for the malady of sin."

b These words are quoted by Böthlingk and Roth, s.e. bheshajatö, as taken from the Panchaviñisa Brāhmaņa, 23, 16, 7. A similar passage occurs in the Taitt. Sanh.

ii. 2, 10, 2.

The Nyaya-mala-vistara, i. 3, 4, quotes Kumarila as raising the question whether the practice of innocence, which Sakya (Buddha) inculcated, was, or was not, a duty from its conformity to the Veda, and as solving it in the negative, since cow's milk put into a dogskin cannot be pure (Sākyoktāhiāsanaā dharmo na vā dharmaḥ srutateataḥ | na dharmo na hi pūteān syād go-kshīraān sva-dritau dhritam).

From Someśvara's elaborate comment on the former of these two passages I need only extract the following sentences: Etad abhiyukta-vachanena dradhayati "uktam cha" | Manos tu kshattriyasyāpi pravakritvam "yad vai kinchid Manur avadat tad bheshajam" iti vedānujnātatvād aviruddham ity āśayah | "This he confirms by the words of a learned man which he introduces by the phrase 'for it has been said.' But although Manu was a Kshattriya, his assumption of the office of teacher was not opposed to the Veda, because it is sanctioned by the Vedic text 'whatever Manu said was a remedy:' Such is the purport."

#### Page 254, line 12.

Yas tityāja sachi-vidam, etc. This verse is quoted in the Taittirīya Āranyaka (pp. 159 f. of Cal. edit.), which, however, reads sakhi-vidam instead of sachi-vidam. An explanation of the passage is there given by the Commentator.

## Page 264, line 14.

Professor Weber considers (Indische Studien, i. 52) that "the yandhāḥ and the arhantah were the forerunners of the Rājanyas and the Brāhmans." See the whole passage below in the note on p. 366.

# Page 268, note 51.

Compare Āśvalāyana's Srauta-Sūtras, i. 3, 3 and 4, and commentary (p. 22 of Cal. edit.). Prithī Vainya is, as I find from Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon, s.v., referred to also in the Atharva-veda, viii. 10, 24. The words are these: Sā udakrāmat sā manushyān āgachhat | tām manushyāh upāheayanta "irāvaty ehi" iti | tasyāh Manur Vaivasvato vatsah āšīt prithivī pātram | tām Prithī Vainyo 'dhok tām krishim cha sasyām cha adhok | te krishim cha sasyām cha manushyāh upājīvanti ityādi | "She (i.e. Virāj) ascended: she came to men. Men called her to them, saying, 'Come, Irāvatī.' Manu Vaivasvata was her calf, and the earth her vessel. Prithī Vainya milked her; he milked from her agriculture and grain. Men subsist on agriculture and grain."

See Wilson's Vishnu Purana, vol. i. pp. 183 ff., where Prithu's (this is the Puranic form of the word) reign is described. It is there stated that this king, "taking the lord Manu Svayambhuva for his calf, milked from the earth into his own hand all kinds of grain from a desire to benefit his subjects" (V.P. i. 13, 54. Sa kalpayitea vatsam tu

Manum Scayambhuram prabhum | we panau prithiri-natho dudoha prithirim Prithuh | 55. Sasya-jatani sarcani prajanam hita-kamyaya). See also the passage quoted from the Bhagavata Purana by the editor Dr. Hall in pp. 189 ff. The original germ of these accounts is evidently to be found in the passage of the Atharva-veda, from which the short text I have cited is taken.

Prithu's reign is also described in the Dronaparvan, 2394 ff., and Santiparvan, 1030 ff.

## Page 286, line 8 from the foot.

The Srinjayas are mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmana, xii. 9, 3, 1 ff. and 13 (see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 207), as opposing without effect the celebration of a sacrifice which was proposed to be offered for the restoration of Dushtarītu Paunsāyana to his ancestral kingdom.

# Page 345, line 24.

Professor Aufrecht has pointed out to me a short passage in the Taittirīya Sanhitā, iii. 1, 7, 2, in which Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni are mentioned together as contending with Vasishtha: Viśvāmitra-Jamadagnī Vasishthena asparddhetām | sa etaj Jamadagnīr vihavyam apašyat | tena vai sa Vasishthasya indriyam vīryyam avrinkta | yad vihavyam śasyate indriyam eva tad vīryyam yojamāno bhrātrivyasya vrinkte | yasya bhūyāmso yajna-kratavah ity āhuḥ sa devatāḥ vrinkte | "Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni were contending with Vasishtha. Jamadagni beheld this vihavya text, and with it he destroyed the vigour and energy of Vasishtha. When the vihavya is recited, then the sacrificer destroys the vigour and energy of his enemy. He whose oblations and all attendant ceremonies are superior destroys the gods (of his opponent)."

## Page 366, note 164.

In a notice of Latyayana's Sutras, in Indische Studien, i. 50, Professor Weber observes: "At the same time I remark here that the presence of Sudras at the ceremonies, although on the outside of the sacrificial ground, was permitted—a point which results from the fact that during the diksha they were not to be addressed (iii. 3). Here and there a Sudra appears as acting, although in a degraded position. Compare iv. 3, 5: dryo (i.e. vaišyah, according to the commentator Agnisvamin) antarvedi . . . . bahirvedi śudrah | dryubhave yah kaś

cha aryyo varnah (brahmano va kshattriyo va, Agnisvamin). Thus their position, like that of the Nishadas, was not so wretched as it became afterwards. Toleration was still necessary; indeed the strict Brahmanical principle was not yet generally recognized among the nearest Arian races. This is shown by the following fact. Before entering on the Vratya-stomas, Latyayana treats, viii. 5, of an imprecatory rite called Syena (the falcon), which is not taught in the Panchavimsa, but in the Shadvimsa (iv. 2). The tribes mentioned by Panini, v. 3, 112 ff., are there described: Vrātīnānām vaudhānām puttrān anuchanan ritvijo vrinīta syenasya | "arhatam eva" iti S'andilyah" | ("Let the learned sons of warriors, who live by the profession of Vratas, be chosen as priests for the Syena. 'The sons of arhats only' [should be chosen ] says Sandilya"). "Whilst," proceeds Prof. W., "in the beginning of the Sutra nine things are required for a ritvij (priest), viz. that he should be (1) ársheyah (a dasamát purushád avyavachhinnam ársham yasya, 'able to trace his unbroken descent for ten generations in the family of a rishi'); (2) anūchānaḥ (sishyebhyo vidyā-sampradānam yaḥ kritavān, "one who has imparted knowledge to pupils'); (3) sādhucharanah (shatsu brahmana-karmasv avasthitah prasasta-karma, 'one who has practised the six duties of a Brahman, a man of approved conduct'); (4) vâgmī (eloquent); (5) anyūnāngah (without deficiency in his members); (6) anatiriktängah (without superfluous members); (7) dvesatah (equal in length above and below the navel); (8) anatikrishnah; (9) anatisvetah (na atibālo na atieriddhah, 'neither too young nor too old'),-Latyayana here contents himself with putting forward one only of these requirements, the second (i.e. that the priest should be 'learned'), as essential. The title Arhat for teacher, which was at a later period used exclusively by the Buddhists, is found in the Satapatha Brahmana, (iii. 4, 3, 6) and the Taittiriya Aranyaka, and

chosen, says S'andilya" (Agnisvamin, quoted by Weber).

(3)

<sup>\*</sup> Nanā jātīyāḥ aniyata-crittayaḥ utsedha-jīvinaḥ sanghāḥ vrātāḥ | (Patānjali, quoted by Weber) "Vrātas are the various classes of people who have no fixed profession, and live by violence." Vrātas sarīrāyāsana jīvati erātīnaḥ (Comm. on Pāṇini, v. 2, 21) "He who lives by bodily labour is a vrātīna." The word means "he who lives by the labour usual among Vrātas," according to another comment cited by Weber.

Arhatam eva varanam karttavyam iti Sandilyah | "Arhata only are to be

<sup>&</sup>quot; It also occurs in Ait. Br. i. 15 (see Büthlingk and Roth, s.e.). To his translation of this passage Dr. Haug appends the following note: "The term is schal, a word

10

is known in the Gana Brāhmana (Pāṇini, v. 1, 124). The Yaudhāḥ and Arhantaḥ are the forerunners of the Rājanyas and the Brāhmans.' According to Professor Weber, Ind. St. i. 207, note, a Sthapati "means, according to Kātyāyana's Srauta Sūtras, xxii. 11, 11, a Vaiśya, or any other person (according to Kātyāyana, i. 1, 12, he may even be a Nishāda) who has celebrated the Gosava sacrifice, after being chosen by his subjects to be their ruler."

## Page 378, lines 1-3.

Compare Dronaparvan, verse 2149 : nanv eshām nišchitā nishthā nishthā saptapadī smṛitā |

## Page 400, line 9 from bottom.

If further proof of this sense of brahmarshi be wanted, it may be found in the words eiprarshi and deijarshi, which must be regarded as its synonymes, and which can only mean "Brahman-rishi."

# Page 423, line 12, and foot-note.

The same verse with some variations is repeated in the Anusasanaparvan, verse 6262: Rājā Mitrasahas chaica Vasishthāya mahātmane | Madāyantīm priyām bhāryyām dateā cha tridicam gataḥ | "And king Mitrasaha, having bestowed his dear wife Madayantī on the great Vasishtha, went to heaven." Here, it will be observed, the name Madayantī is correctly given.

# Page 423, line 17.

This stanza is repeated in Anusasanaparvan, verse 6250, with the following variation in the second line: arghyam pradaya vidhival lebhe lokan anuttaman |

## Page 436, line 5 from the foot.

I find that two other instances of Brahmans receiving instruction from Rajanyas are alluded to by Professor Weber, Ind. Stud. x. 117.

well known, chiefly to the students of Buddhism. Säyana explains it by "a great Brühman, or a Brühman (in general)." In reference to another part of the sentence in which this word occurs, Dr. Hang adds: "That cows were killed at the time of receiving a most distinguished guest is stated in the Smritis. But as Säyana observes (which entirely agrees with opinions held now-a-days), this custom belongs to former rugus (periods of the world). Thence the word geginns, i.e. 'cowkiller,' means in the more ancient Sanskrit books 'a guest' (see the commentators on Pünini, 3, 4, 73) for the reception of a high guest was the death of the cow of the house,"

The first is recorded in the Satapatha Brahmana, x. 6, 1, 2 ff.; where it is stated that six Brahmans, who were at issue with one another regarding Vaiśvānara (Agni), and were aware that king Aśvapatî the Kaikeya was well informed on the subject, repaired to him for instruction and requested that he would treat them as his pupils. He first asked them 'if they were not themselves learned in the Veda as well as the sons of learned men, and how they could in that case come to consult him' ("Yan nu bhagavanto 'nūchānāh anūchāna-putrāh | kim idam" iti). They, however, persisted in their request, when he asked them severally what they considered Vaisvanara to be, expressed his concurrence in their replies, though all different, as partial solutions of the question, and ended by giving them some further insight into the subject of their enquiry. The second instance is taken from the Chhandogya Upanishad, i. 8, 1, which commences thus: Trayo ha udgithe kuśalah babhūcah S'ilakah S'alavatyas Chaikitayano Dālbhyah Pravāhano Jaivalir iti | te ha ückur "udgīthe kathām vadāma" iti | 2. " Tathā" iti ha samupavivišuh | sa ha Pravāhano Jaivalir uvācha "bhagavantāv agre vadatām | brāhmanayor vadator vācham śroshyāmi" iti | "Three men were skilled in the Udgitha, Silaka Salavatya, Chaikitāyana Dālbhya, and Pravāhana Jaivali. They said, 'We are skilled in the Udgītha; come let us discuss it.' (Saying) 'so be it,' they sat down. Pravahana Juivali said, 'Let your reverences speak first; I will listen to the discourse of Brahmans discussing the question." Silaka Sālāvatya then asked Chaikitāyana Dālbhya a series of questions; but was dissatisfied with his final reply. Being interrogated in his turn by Chaikitāyana, Silaka answered; but his answer was disapproved by Pravahana Jaivali, who finally proceeded to supply the proper solution.

In two other passages the same Upanishad, as quoted above in p. 195, and explained by the commentator, recognizes the fact of sacred science being possessed, and handed down, by Kshattriyas. See also the note on p. 220, above, p. 508. The doctrines held by Rājanyas are not, however, always treated with such respect. In the Satapatha Brāhmana, viii. 1, 4, 10, an opinion in regard to breath (prāna) is attributed to Svarijit Nāgnajita, or Nagnajit the Gāndhāra, of which the writer contemptuously remarks that "he said this like a Rājanya" (Yat sa tad wācha rājanyabandhur ira tv eva tad wācha); and he then proceeds to refute it (see Weber's Indische Studien, i. 218). It appears that the Smriti

recognizes the possibility of a Brāhman becoming in certain circumstances the pupil of a Rājanya or a Vaiśya. Thus Manu says, ii. 241: Abrāhmaṇād adhyayanam āpat-kāls vidhīyats | anuvrajyā cha śuśrūshā yāvad adhyayanam guroḥ | 242. Nābrāhmaṇe gurau śishyo vāsam ātyantikam vaset | brāhmaṇe chānanūchāns kānkshan gatim anuttamām | 241. "In a time of calamity it is permitted to receive instruction from one who is not a Brāhman; and to wait upon and obey such a teacher during the period of study. 242. But let not a pupil, who aims at the highest future destiny, reside for an excessive period with such a teacher who is not a Brāhman, or with a Brāhman who is not learned in the Veda." Kullūka explains this to mean that when a Brāhman instructor cannot be had a Kshattriya may be resorted to, and in the absence of a Kshattriya, a Vaišya.

## Page 457, note 241.

When I wrote this note, I did not advert to the difficulty presented by the word didāsithā, which has at once the form of a desiderative verb, and of the second person of the perfect tense. Böhtlingk and Roth, s.v. dā, on a comparison of the two parallel passages, suppose that the present reading of the Aitareya Brühmana is corrupt as regards this word, which, as they quote it, is didāsithā. May not the correct reading be dādāsithā from the root dās?

## Page 461, line 14.

The Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, ii. 2, 4, 4 f., says of Prajāpati; So 'surān asrijata | tad asya apriyam āsīt | 5. Tad durvarṇam hiraṇyam abhavat | tad durvarṇasya hiraṇyasya janma | . . . . sa devān asrijata tad asya priyam āsīt | tat suvarṇasya hiraṇyasya janma | "He created Asuras. That was displeasing to him. 5. That became the precious metal with the bad colour (silver). This was the origin of silver. . . . He created gods. That was pleasing to him. That became the precious metal with the good colour (gold). That was the origin of gold."

## INDEX OF PRINCIPAL NAMES AND MATTERS.

A

Abhimuna, 201 Abhishnātas, 353 Abhiyuktas, 500 Achala, 400 Achhūvāka, 165 Adhipurusha, 111 Adharma, 124 Adhvaryu, 41, 155, 251, 263, 294, 459 Aditi, 18, 26, 72, 116, 122, Adityas, 19 f., 26, 52, 117, 126, 157, 270 Adrisyanti, 417 Agastya, or Agasti, 309 ff., 321, 330, 442, 461 Aghamarshana, 279 Aghamarshanas, 353 Agni, 10, 16, 20 f., 33, 52, 71, 75, 165, 177 f., 180, one of the triad of deities, 75 Agnidh, 251 Agnīdhra, 166 Agnīdhra (king), 491 Agnihotra, 21, 428 Agni Purana, 210 Agnisvāmin, 612 Agnivesya, 223 Agnivesyāyana, 223 Ahalya, 235, 310, 466 the first woman, 121 Ahankara, 201 Ahavaniya fire, 428 Ahi, 250, 340 Ahura Mazda, 293 Aindra - barhaspatya oblation, 22

Aitareya Brāhmana, 5 quotedii. 33,-180 -34, -166iii. 31,-177 - 31,-113 v. 14,-191 vii. 15,- 48 - 17,-355 - 19,-367 f. - 27,-136 viii. 14,-492 — 21,—325, 456 23,-369, 493 24, 27, 367 33,-107 Ajagava, 301 Ajaka, 349 Ajamidha, 234, 267, 279, 360,413 Ajātasatru, 431 Ajigartta, 355 ff., 360 Ajitu, 279 Akampana, 606 Akasa, 115, 130, 506 Akriya, 232 Akshamālā, 336 Akuli, 189 Akūti, 65, 73 Alarka, 232 Amaravatī, 494 Amüvasu, 349 Ambarishs, 224, 266, 279, 362, 405 Ambashtha, 481, 495 Ambhamsi, 23, 58, 79, 80 Amsa, 27 Anagha, 335 Anala, 116 Ananta, 207 Ananta, 114 Anavadya, 116

Andhras, 358, 483 f. Anenas, 226 Anga, 232, 298, 464 Angus, 459 Angiras, 36, 65, 116, 122 f., 151, 168, 172, 184, 224 f., 226, 279, 286, 330, 341, 445, 466 Angirases, 192, 194, 224 Anila, 234 Anu, 232, 482 Anus, 179 Auagraha-sarga, 58 Anukramanika, 228, 266, 328, 348 Antipli, 116 Anushtubh, 16 Anuvratas, 500 Apasya, 279 Apastamba, 2 Apava, 453 Apaya, 345 Apmavāna, 447 Apratimtha, 234 Apearases, 33, 37, 177, 320, 419, etc. Aranyakas, 2, 5, 32 Arhat, 511, 513 Arishtanemi, 116, 125 Arjuna, 449 ff., 497 Arjuna (the Pandu), 494 Arka, 241 Arrian, quoted, 370 Arshtishena, 272, 279 Artavas, 18 Aranas, 32, 449 Arundhatī, 336, 389 Arurmaghus, 435 Arushl, 124, 476 Arvüksrotas, 57, 61, 65, 157

Ăryu, 18
Aryaman, 27, 158
Āryyas, 174 ff., 396, 481
- their language, 141,
482
Aryakas, 498 Asat, 46
Asitamrigas, 438
Ashtaka, 279, 352, 357
As'masārin, 275
Advances 09
Agnrii 116
Asurā, 116 Asurā, 23, 24, 29, 33, 37, 58, 79, 130, 139, 177, 187, 228, 469, etc., etc.
58, 79, 130, 139, 177,
187, 228, 469, etc., etc.
- their priests, 189 f.
Asuri, 430
Asvalāyanas's S'rauta
Sūtras, 137, 511
Asvamedha (proper name),
287
Asvatara, 336
Asvins, 166, 470, etc.
Atharvan (the sage), 162,
169
- his cow, 395
Atharvas, 293
Atharva-veda, 2
enoted-
iii, 19, 1,—283 — 24, 2,—179
- 24, 2,-179
24, 2,-179 iv. 6, 1,-21 6, 2,-490 14, 4,-179 29, 3, 5,-330 v. 8, 6,-289
- 6, 2,-490
- 14, 4,-179
— 29, 3, 5,—330
v. 8, 5,—289 — 11, 1-11,—395 — 17, 1-18,—280
— 11, 1-11,—395
— 17, 1-18,—280
- 10, 1-10,-209
— 19, 1-15,—286
vi. 120, 3,—385 — 123, 3 f.—137
— 123, 3 f.—137
vii. 104,-395 viii. 2, 21,-46
vm. 2, 21,—40
- 10, 24,-217, 511 - 108, 1-5,-254
- 108, 1-5,-254
5 07 000 005
- 9, 21, -252, 555
ri 10 9 39
ix. 5, 1, -503 - 5, 27, -282, 385 x. 8, 7, -9 xi. 10, 2, -32 xii. 1, 15, -163 - 3, 17, -385 - 5, 4-15, -287
_ 3. 17 _ 385
- 5, 4-15 - 287
riii. 3, 14,-171
- 0, 4-13, -257 xiii. 3, 14, -171 - 4, 29, -9 xv. 8, 1, -22 - 9, 1, -22
xv. 8, 1,-22
- 9, 1,-22

Atharva-veda continued—
xviii. 3, 15,—330 — 3, 23,—385
xix. 6, 1 ff., -8, 9 - 6, 6, - 10 - 9, 12, -288
— 6, 6,— 10
- 9, 12,-288
- 22, 21, -288 - 23, 30, -288
- 23, 30,-258
- 43, 8,-259 - 62, 1,-282
Atibala, 116
Atmovat 070
Atri, 36, 61, 116, 122 f., 171 f., 178, 225, 242, 248, 267, 303, 330, 468
171 f., 178, 225, 242,
248, 267, 303, 330, 468
Atyarāti, 493
Audumbaras, 353
Aufrecht, Professor, his Catalogue of Bodleian
Catalogue of Bodleian
Sanakrit MSS, referred
to, 203
to, 203 — information or sug-
gestions from him, 14, 19,20, 29,93,137,163f.,
010 0477 0518 910
210, 247f., 254ff., 319, 325 f., 340, 346, 389,
395, 512
Augha, 217
Annamanyaya, 177
Aupamanyava, 177 Aurva, 279, 445, 447,
448f., 476
Avantyas, 486
Avvakta, 41
Avyakta, 41 Aväsva, 355
Avyakta, 41 Aväsva, 355
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171f., 174, 180
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171f., 174, 180
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170 Ayus (king), 226, 308, 353
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170 Ayus (king), 226, 308, 353 B Bābhravas, 356
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170 Ayus (king), 226, 308, 353 B Bühhravas, 356 Babhras, 353
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170 Ayus (king), 226, 308, 353 B Bāhhravas, 356 Babhrus, 363 Badari, 199
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Āyu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Āyus, 170 Āyus (king), 226, 308, 353 B Bābhravas, 356 Babhras, 363 Badarī, 199 Babu, 486
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodbyā, 115 Āyu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Āyus, 170 Āyus (king), 226, 308, 353  B Bāhhravas, 356 Babhrus, 363 Badarī, 199 Bāhu, 486 Bahuputra, 116
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhyā, 115 Ayu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170 Ayus, 226, 308, 353  B Bühhravas, 356 Babhrus, 353 Badari, 199 Bähu, 486 Bahuputra, 116 Bahvasya, 235
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhyā, 115 Ayu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170 Ayus (king), 226, 308, 353 Bahhravas, 356 Bahhravas, 353 Badarī, 199 Bahu, 486 Bahuputra, 116 Bahvasya, 235 Bala, 279
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 356 Ayodhya, 115 Āyu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Āyus, 170 Āyus (king), 226, 308, 353 B Bābhravas, 356 Babhras, 363 Badarī, 199 Bābu, 486 Bahuputra, 116 Bahvasya, 236 Bala, 279 Bala, 279
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 356 Ayodbyā, 115 Āyu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Āyus, 170 Āyus (king), 226, 308, 353  B Bābhravas, 356 Babhrus, 363 Badarī, 199 Bābu, 486 Bahuputra, 116 Bahvasya, 236 Bala, 279 Balū, 116 Balāhaka, 207
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhyā, 115 Ayus, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170 Ayus, 170 Ayus (king), 226, 308, 353  B Bāhhravas, 356 Babhrus, 353 Badarī, 199 Bāhu, 486 Bahuputra, 116 Bahvasta, 236 Bala, 279 Balā, 116 Balāhāka, 207 Balākāsya, 353
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 356 Ayodhya, 115 Āyu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Āyus, 170 Āyus (king), 226, 308, 353  B Bābhravas, 366 Babhras, 363 Badarī, 199 Bābu, 486 Bahuputra, 116 Bahvasya, 236 Bala, 279 Balā, 116 Balāhaka, 207 Balākāšya, 353 Bālakhilyas, 32, 305, 400 Māleva, 232
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 356 Ayodhya, 115 Āyu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Āyus, 170 Āyus (king), 226, 308, 353  B Bābhravas, 366 Babhras, 363 Badarī, 199 Bābu, 486 Bahuputra, 116 Bahvasya, 236 Bala, 279 Balā, 116 Balāhaka, 207 Balākāšya, 353 Bālakhilyas, 32, 305, 400 Māleva, 232
Avyakta, 41 Ayasya, 355 Ayodhya, 115 Ayu, 170, 171 f., 174, 180 Ayus, 170 Ayus, 170 Ayus (king), 226, 308, 353  B Bābhravas, 356 Babhrus, 353 Badarī, 199 Babu, 486 Bahuputra, 116 Bahvasya, 235 Bala, 279 Balā, 116 Balālaka, 207 Balākāiya, 353 Balakhilyas, 32, 305, 400

Banerjea, Rev. Prof., his Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy referred to, 120 - his edition of the Märkandeya Puräna referred to, 223 Banga, 232 Barbaras, 482 Baresma, 293 Bauddhas, 305 Benfey, Prof., his translation of the Sama-veda quoted, 164 - his glossary to ditto, 490 - his translation of the Rig-veda quoted or referred to, 167, 180, 247, 331, 348 Bhagavadgitā quoted, 508 Bhadra, 389, 467 Bhadras'va (a division of Jambudvīpa), 491 Bhaga, 27 Bhagavata Puranai. 3, 15, -213 - 3, 20, -350 ii. 1, 37, -156 - 5, 34, -155 iii. 6, 29, -166 -12, 20,-108 -20, 25,-157 -22, 2,-156 iv. 1, 40,-335 v. 1, 30,—489 —16, 2,—490 —17, 11,—496 -20, 4, 6,-498 -20, 11,-499 -20, 16, 22,-500 -20, 28,-501 vi. 6, 40,-158 vii. 11, 24,-366 viii. 5, 41,—157 — 24, 7,—208 ix. 2, 16,—222 — 2, 17,—223 — 2, 21,—223 2, 23 ff ,-222 6, 2,-224 7,-358 - 7, 6,-386 - 13, 3,-316 - 14, 48,-158 - 15, 5,-457 - 16, 17,-458 - 16, 30,-358

Bhagavata Parana continuedir. 17, 2,-227 - 17, 10,-232 -20, 1, -234— 21, 19,—237 - 21, 21,-235 - 21, 33,-235 - 22, 14,-275 x. 33, 27,-113 Bhalandana, and Bhalanda a Vais'yn mantra-krit, Bhayamana, 266 Bharadvája, 141, 279, 330 Bharata, 168, 234, 242, 354, 360, 413 Bhārata, 187, 348 Bharatas, 320, 338, 340, 351 Bhāratas, 344 Bharutavarsha, 491, 494 ff. Bhūratī, 112 Bharga, or Bhurga, 231 Bhārgabhūmi, 231 Bhargava, 228 Bharmyas'va, 235 Bhāsī, 116 Bhāvins, 498 Bheda, 319, 323 Bhīma, 133, 142, 308, 349 Bhīmanāda, 207 Bhimasenn, 273 Bhirna, 495 Bhishma, 127 Bhrigu, 36, 65, 67, 122, 139, 151, 168, 228 f., 279, 286, 314, 443f. Bhrigu Vāruņi, 443 Bhrigubhūmi, 231 Bhrigus, 169 f., 228, 442 ff. Bhritakila, 279 Bhumanyu, 360 Bhurloka, 51, 209, 211 Bhūtakritas, 37, 42, 255 Bhūtūnūmpati, 16 Bhūtapati, 108 Bhūtas, 59 Bhūtaviras, 438 Boar incarnation, 51 ff., 54, 76 Böhtlingk and Roth's Lexicon referred to, 47, 10S, 144, 178, 180, 184, 253, 340, 348, 395, 400, 442, 505, 511 Brahma S'vovasyava, 30 Brahmacharin, 289

Brihman (masculine, priest), 155, 242 ff., 459 Brahman (movembine, the god), 35, 36, 75, etc. - his passion for his daughter, 107 Brähmän (newter, prayer, 241 Brahman (newter, the universal soul), 20 Brühmana, son of a Brahmin, 252, 264 Brähmanüchhamsin, 155 Brahmanas (the theological works), 2, 4 f. Brahmannspati, 16 Brähmänt, 110 Brühmans, 7, and passim origin of the word, 252, 259, 264 - their intermarriage with women of other castes, 282, 481 their prerogatives and powers, 128, 130, etc. Brahmanya, 155 Brahmaputra, 252, 259, 264 Brahmarshi, or Brāhman rishi, 400, 407, 410 Brahmas, the nine, 65, 445 Brahmasva, 270 Brahmaudana, 26, 27 Brahma-yuga, 152 Bréal, M. Michel, his Hercule et Cacus, 246 Bride's seven steps, 378, 614 Brihaddevatā, 321, 326, 344 Brihadishu, 234 Brihaduktha, 279 Bribaspati, 16, 22, 167, 226, 270, 438 163, Brihat, 16 Brihat-saman, 286 Buddha, 509 Buddhists, 513 Budha, 221, 226, 307, 336 Bansen, Baron, his Philosophy of Universal History referred to, 8 Burnouf, M. Eugène, his Bhagavata Purana referred to, 8, 165, 211, 489, etc. - his views about the Deluge, 215

Chaksbusha, 299 Chākshusha Manyantara, 207, 213 Chapda, 207 Chandala, 402, 481 Caste, mythical accounts of its origin, 7 ff. - Variety and inconsistency of these nocounts, 34, 66, 102, 159 Castes, their future abodes, 63, 98 - their respective colours, 140, 151, 153 - no natural distinction between, 140 - manner of their rise according to Prof. Roth, - time of their rise necording to Dr. Haug, 192 Chaturvarnya, 135 Churshanis, 158 Chauras, 482 Chūrvākas, 305 Chhandas, 4 Chhandogas, 334 Chhandogya Brahmana, 5 - Upanishad, iii. 11, 4,-195, 514 — iv. 1, 4,—49 — v. 3, 1,—435 — viii. 15, 1,—195 Chinas, 482, 484 Chīrinī, a river, 199 Cholas, 488 Chunchalus, 353 Chyavana, 124, 273, 283, 445, 470, 474 Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays quoted or referred to, 8, 13 6, 25, 52, 325, 378, 385, 492, 497

Cowell's, Professor E. B., translation of Kanshi-

Creation of man, mythical

sistency, 34, 65, 102

shad, 10, 432

accounts of, 7 ff.

cessive, 60, 89

taki Brahmana Upani-

- Preface to, quoted, 32

- their mutual incon-

- how explained by

Indian commentators, 66

Creations, similarity of suc-

C

232,

D

Dadhicha, 279 Dadhyanch, 162, 169, 172 Daityas, 41, 139, 499 Daivavata, 348 Daivodāsa, 348 Daksha, 9, 65, 72, 116, 122, 124 ff., 153, 221, Dākshāyanī, Aditi, 126 Dama, 222 Damayanti, 389 Damayanti, see Madayanti Damins, 500 Danavas, 139, 144, 209, 468 f., 499 Dänavratas, 501 Danaya, 123 Dandakas, 467 Danu, 116, 123 Daradas, 459, 482 Darvas, or Dürvas, 482, 488 Disa, 174, 323, 396 Dusahotri, 29 Dasaratha, 362 Dasarma, 222 Dasyus, 174 ff., 358, 460, 469, 482, 500 Dattatreya, 450, 473, 478 Day of Brahma, 43, 45, 213 gods, 43 Deities, triad of, produced from the three Gunas, 75 Deluge, legend of, 183, 199, 203, 209, 211 - was the tradition of it indigenous or not, 215 - comparison of different Indian accounts of, 216 Devadeva, 351 Devakas, 500 \* Devala, 352 Devalus, 363 Devapi, 269 Dovarāja, 279 Devarāta, 279, 351 f., 356, Devarātas, 353 Devarshi, 400 Dovas, 79, 499 Devasarman, 466 Devasaravas, 344, 352 f. Devayat, 322 Devavata, 344 Dhānajapyas, 353

Dhananjaya, 279 Dhanur-veda, 477 Dhanvantari, 226 Dhanyas, 500 Dharms, 20, 122, 124, 385, 400, 412 Dhárshtakas, 223 Dhûtri, 18, 27, 124 Dhī, 241 Dhrishno, 126 Dhrishta, 221, 223 Dhritarështri, 117 Dhruva, 234, 298 Dirghatamas, 226, 247, 268, 279 Dirghatapas, 233 Dirghasattra, 300 Dishta, 222 Diti, 116, 123 Divodāsa, 229 L. 235, 268, 279, 322, 348 Dogs, whether they fast from religious motives, Draupadi, 381, 389 Dravida, 209 Dravidas, or Dravidas, 482 Dravinas, 500 Dridhanetra, 400 Driptabālāki Gārgya, 432 Drisbadvati, 344 Drona, 207 Druhyu, 222, 482 Druhyus, 179 Dubsima, 305 Durga, commentator on the Nirukta, quoted, 344, 417 Durgaha, 267 Duritakshaya, 237 Durvasas, 387, 389 Dushyanta, 234, 360 Dvapara, 39, 43 ff., 119, 146, 149 E., 447 Dvipas, 51, 489 ff. Dwarf incarnation, 52, 54, Dyaus (the sky), feminine, 434

masculine, 163, 396, E

Earth, the goddess, 51, 163 Earth fashioned, 51 ff., 76 - milked, 96

Egg, the mundane, 35, 74. 156, 503 Ekadasini, 69 Ekavimsa, 16 Elysian fields, 502 Emüsha, 53

F

Families, hope of their reunion in a future life, 385 Fathers, see Pitris Fish incarnation, 50, 54, 111, 183, 199, 205, 209, 211 Flood, see Delage

Gabhastimat, 494 Gabhira, 232 Gadhi, 343, 349, and passing Galaya, 232, 352, 411 Galavas, 353 Gandhamadana, 491 Gündhüras, 484 Gândharvo, 494 Gandharvas, 33, 37, 59, 139, 144, 177, 250, 257, 499 - their beaven, 63, 98. 307 Gangā, 130, 199, 206, 461, 490 Garga, 227, 236, 279, 305 Gärgya Bālāki, 431 Gürgyas, 236 Gärhapatya-fire, 186 Gathin, 348, 358 Gathins, 358, 368 Gütra, 335. Gautama, 121, 235, 316, 434, 466 Gavishthira, 330 Gayn, 227 Gayatri, 16, 110, 114, 137 Genesis, i. 2,-52 Gifts to priests, 259 Gir, 241 Gods, intercourse of men with, in early ages, 147 whether they can practise Vedic rites, 365 Goldstücker, Professor, aid received from, 508

Hariyutida continued-

1781, -236

1810, -273

8811,-307

11355,-154

11802,-153

11808, -152

Harsha, 124

Haryasiva, 279

Harivarsha, 491, 494

Haug's, Dr. Martin, Aitareya Brahmana quoted

or referred to, 4, 5, 48,

107, 137, 177, 180, 192,

246, 250, 256, 263, 355,

369, 438 f., 492 f., 513

ism quoted, 11, 14, 292

note on Manu, vii. 41,-

Haughton, Sir G. C, his

Himavat, or Himalaya,

Hirnpyngarbha, 195, 220

Hostility to Vedic wor-

ship, 259 Hotri, 165, 251, 263, 271,

130, 183, 200, 229, 311,

Hayagriva, 207, 212 Havishyanda, 400

Hayasiras, 449 Hema, 232

Hemaküţa, 491

Hiranmaya, 491

294, 459 Houses, origin of, 93

Huhu, 336

Hūnas, 495

318

Hrishikesa, 206

Human encritices, 11 f.

Hymns of the Rig-veda, 4,

whether they allude

already

Hiranyāksha, 352

Hiranyakshas, 353 Homer's Odyssey quoted,

491

Origin of Brühman-

*
Gopatha Brahmana, 5
Gorresio, his edition of the
Rāmāyana referred to,
397, 399, etc.
Gotama, 330
Gravan, 155
Griffith, Principal, MS. ob-
tained through him, 279
Grihya Sûtras, 5
Gritsa, 279
Gritsamada, 226
Gritsamati, 227
Gubernatis, Signor A. de,
quoted, xii.
Gunas, 66, 75, 145
Gurudhira, 270

Garagaira, 279
H
Haihaya, 477
Haibayas, 449, 486
Haimavatī, 336
Hala, 121
Hall's, Dr. Fitzedward,
edition of Wilson's
Vusting Purana, 24,
268, 512 and passion
information given
by, 155
- Preface to his edition
of the Sankhya-prava- chana-bhāshya referred
to, 430
Hansa, 158
Hansas, 498
Hanumat, 143
Hari, 51, 62
Harita, 224
Harita, 352
Hāritas, 225
Hārītaka, 351
Harisehandra, 355, 379 ff.,
413, 486
Hariyanisa quoted-
292,-302
652,—223
659,—221
718,—376 773,—487
789,—230
1425,—351
1456,—351
1 con our

1520, -227

1596, -231 1682, -233

1732,—227 1752,—231

1766,-352

#### 7

to castes as

existing, 161 ff.

Ida, 268, 279, 306
lda, daughter of Manu,
134 ff., see Ila Ikshvaku, 115, 126, 177,
195, 221, 224, 268, 337,
355, 362, 401, 405, 508

Ikshväkus, 401, 418 Ilä, 126, 221, 306, see Ida Ilävyita, 491 Indra, 3, 10, 18, 20, 33, 44, 163, 168, 171, 191, 438 Indra's beaven, 63, 98 - wife, 341 - his adulteries, 121, 310, 466 Indra-dvipa, 494 Indrant, 310, 389 Indu (Soma), 124 Instrumental cause, 51 Isaiah vi. 9, 10,-255 Isana, 20 Ishiratha, 348 Ishundharas, 499 Isvara, 75, 221 Itihasas, 3, 5, 215

#### J

Jabali, 115 Jahnu, 273, 349, 353, 360, 413 Jahnus, 358 Jaimini's Sütras, 508 Jainas, 305 Jamadagni, 279, 330, 345, 350, 355, 413, 422, 447, 450 ff. Jamadagnis, 342 Jambudvīpa, 488, 490 ff. Jambünnda, 461 Janaka, 130, 334, 426 ff. Janaloka, 44, 51, 88, 95, Janamejaya, 152, 438 Janantupa, 493 Janardana, 206 Japa, 442 Jatayus, 116 Jūtimālā, 497 Jatukarnya, 223 Jaya, 352 Jayakrita, 351 Jayapīda, 424 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society quoted, 3, 6, and passing Jyotsnii, 59

#### K

Ka, 125 Kachhapa, 351 f.

Kadro, 123 Kakshīvat, 268, 279 Kála, 62 Kala, 123 Kalaka, 116 Kalapa, 277 Kali, 39, 43 ff., 120, 146, 150, 495 Kalindas, 482 Kalinga, 232 Kalingas, 459, 495 Kalmashapada, 414, 423 Kalpas, 43 ff. Kama, 112, 124 Kāmarūpa, 495 Kambojas, 482 f., 485 ff. Kanchana, 349 Kanchis, 391 Kandaprishtha, 442, 507 Kandarpa, 408 Kandarshi, 400 Kanina, 223 Kankas, 484 Kanyakubja, 390 Kanva, 166, 170, 172, 234, 279 Kanyayana, 234 Kapas, 472 Kapi, 237 Kapila, 227, 414 Kapila, 123 Kapilas, 499 Kapileyas, 356 Kapishthala, 344 Kardama, 116, 123, 400 Kārīsbis, 353 Karmadevas, 46 Kūrtavirya, 450, 478 Kärüsha, 221 f. Kärüsha, 126 Karoshas, 495 Kasa, or Kasaka, 226 f. Kaseramat, 494 Kāsirāja, 226 Kūsia, 431 Kasmiras, 459 Karya, 227, 279 Kasyapa, 37, 54, 115 f., 123 f., 126, 195, 330, 400, 451, 455 f., 450 Kasyapas, 438 Kathaka Brahmana quoted, 140, 186, 189, 332 f., 358 Kati, 352 Katyayanas, 352 Katyayana's S'rauta Sutras, 19, 136, 365 ff., 369, 514

Kaumāra-sarga, 58 Kaushītakī Brahmana quoted, 328 Upanishad, 10, 431 Kausika, 342, 349 Kausika (epithet of Indra), Kausikas, 353, etc. Kaus'iki, 350, 411 Kavi, 243, 279, 445 Keralas, 488 Kesaraprabandha, 285 Ketumāle, 491 Ketus, 32 Khalins, 468 Khandapani, 235 Khandavayanna, 451 Khasus, 482 Khyāti, 67 Kikatas, 342 Kilata, 189 Kimpurusha, 491 f. Kimpurushas, 499 Kinasa, 97 Kinnaras, 27 Kinsuka, 229 Kirātas, 391, 482, 484 f. Kolienryas, 482, 488 Konvasuras, 482 Kovidas, 500 Kratu, 36, 65, 116, 122 f., 400 Krauncha-dvipa, 491, 500 Kraunchl, 117 Kripa, 279 Krishna, 113 Krishpas, 499 Krishti, 178 Krita, 39, 43 ff., SS, 90 ff., 119, 144, 148 f., 168, 492, 495, 505 Kritamālā, 209, 212 Kritavirya, 449 ff., 478 Krodha, 123 Krodhavasa, 116 Kshattravriddha, 226 Kshattri, 481 Kshattriyas, 7, and possion - etymology of the word, 97, 504 - how their race was restored, 452 Kshomaka, 235 Kshudrakas, 459 Kuhn, Dr. A., quoted, 179 Kulakus, 500 Kullaka quoted, 36, 47, 129, 279, 480, 483

Kumārila Bhatta referred to or quoted, 122, 509 Kuntis, 459 Kūrma avatūra, see Tortoise incarnation Kurus, 5, 269, 431, 495 Kurus, 498 Kuna, 227, 349, 351, 397 Kusa-dvīpa, 491, 497, 499 Kus'alas, 500 Kus'amba, 349, 351 Kusanabha, 351, 397 Kusika, 338, 340, 346, 400, 474 Kusikas, 342 f., 346, 355. Kusumāyudha (a name of Kama), 112 Kutsa, 330 f. Kuvera, 140, 279, 400

#### L

Lakshmi, 124 Lalita-vistara, 32 Langlois, M., translator of the Harivamsa, 151 - of the Rig-veda, 273, 321 Lassen's Indian Antiquities quoted, 394, 425 Latas, 482 Latyayana's Satras, 612 Locky, Mr., his History of Rationalism, 407 Les's, 226 Life of Brahms, 49 Linga Purana quoted, 225 Lobita, 279 Lohitas, 353 Loiseleur Deslongchamps. M., his note on Manu, vii. 41,-296 Lokuloka mountain, 503 Lunar race, 220, 225

#### M

Mada, 471 f.
Madayanti, 419, 514
Madhuchhandas, or Madhusyanda, 279, 347, 351 f., 357, 400, 406
Madhusüdana Sarasvati, his Commentary on the Bhagavad Gitā quoted, 508

Wadan 101 102	Mahübhürata continued-	Walthants anti-
Madras, 484, 495		Mahabharata continued —
Magadhas, 495	Bhishma-parvan-	Anusisana-parvan-
Magadhas, 501	410,501	2158,—482
Magas, 501	455,500	2160,—130
Mahabharata, 6 f.	468,—502	2262,—466
_ quoted —	Drona-parvan-	2718,-474
Adi-parvan-	2149,-414	2841,-494
272,-447	2395,-505	3782,-374
869,-445	2443,-459	3960,-460
2253,—116	4747,—483	4104,443
	S'alya-parvan-	4507 100
2459,—451		4527,—128
2517,—122	2295, - 392	4579,—128
2550, 2574,—123	2281,—272	4745,—314
2606,—445	2360,—419	6208,—507
2610,-478	S'anti-parvan-	6262,—514
2620-2635,-117	774,- 32	6250,614
2914,-410	1741, 1792, 423, 452	6570,—132
3128,-124	2221,-304	7187,—462
3143,-306	2247, - 97	As'vamedikha-parvan-
3151,-308	2280,-370	1038,57
3533,-482	2304,—366	Mahabhaya, 124
3727, -360	2429,—484	Mahadeva, 75, 207
3750,-273	2674.—49, 149	taught by Angires,
4719,—418	2682 ff.,—49	226
6638,—388	2749,—127	Mahākalpa, 213
6695, -342	2819,—140	Maharloka, 156
6699,—415	3404, 3406, -150	Maharshi, 400
6802, - 448	3408, 49	Mahat, 41, 75, 114
7351,-389	4499,388	Mahavirya, 237
8455,-389	4507,—209	Mahendra, 451
Sabbā-parvan—	5330,-376	Mahes vara, 74
489,379	6130, - 506	Mahidhara, 490
1031,-483	6640,429	Mashishas, or Mahishakas,
1045,-494	6930,—138	482, 488
Vana-parvan -	7523,—125	Mähishmati, 462, 478
10137, 10201—450	7548,—507	Mahodaya, 402
11234,—143	7569,—122	Mahoragas, 139
11248,- 40	7573,—125	Maitravaruna, 155, 244
12460, 308	7882,—430	Maitravaruni, 186
12469,—133	8550,- 60	Maitrayana, 230
12619,—147	8591, 8604,-423	Maitreya, 56, 58
12747,—196	10058,—151	Maitreyas, 230
12826, - 48	10699,—430	Malavas, 459, 495
12952,- 35	10118,-423	Malaya, 205
12962,— 10	10861,-130	
12981,—145	11001 224	Mallinatha quoted, 395
	11221,—334	Mamata, 247
13090,— 40	11545, 11854,—430	Mana (Agustyn?), 321
13436,—129	12658,—215	Manava-dharma-sastra
14160,—178	12685,—122	(or Institutes of Manu)-
Udyoga-parvan—	13088,—145	Quotations from-
373,—310	13090,— 40	i. 8 ff.—35
3721,-412	Anusasana-parvan-	- 22, 25,-38
3970,—336	183,—412	- 30,-60
5054,-276	186,-352	— 31 ff.,—35, 446
Bhishma-parvan-	201354	— 58 ff.,—38, 446
227,-491	1867,—440	- 66 f.,-43
346,-495	1944,—329	— 69 ff.,—47
389,—148	2103,—482	- 79 L, 86,-39
0001 010	2100, 102	- 1019 001-05

M anava-dharma-s'astra continuedi. 87, 93, 97,-40 — 88 ff.,—364 — 100,—129 ii. 29,—137 — 38 f.,—481 — 170,—138 **—** 225, **—**138 - 241,-515 iii. 171,-275 iv. 239 ff.,-350 v. 1, 3,-446 vii. 2,—146 — 3 ff.,—300 — 38 ff.,—296 viii. 17,—380 — 110,—329 ix. 22,—336 — 66 f.—297 — 149 ff.—282 - 301 f.--19 - 303,-300 I. 4,-480 - 7 ff.,-282 - 8,-481 -12, -481- 20,-181 - 43 f.,-181 - 45,-482 - 105,-358 - 108,-377 ni. 234 ff.,-393 - 32,-398 xii. 39 ff.,-40 Manavi, 186 Mänavi, 189 Mānasas, 501 Mandagas, 501 Mandapila, 336 Mandehas, 500 Mandhatri, 225, 268, 279, 484 Mantra, 2, 4 f. Manu, progenitor of the Aryan Indians, 161 ff., 183.ff. - his bull, 188 ff. Manu, 119, 122, 297 - Auttami, 38, 111 Chūkshusha, 38, 298 - Raivata, 38 - Safavaruni, 217 - Sāvarņi, 217 — Svärochisha, 38, 111 - Svävambhuva, 38 f., 44, 65, 72, 106, 111, 114, 295, 489, 511

Manu Tamasa, 38 - Vaivasvata, 37 ff., 44, 111, 115, 126, 196, 213, 217, 221, 279, 298, 306, 508, 510 - Vivasvat, 217 Manu (a female), 116 Manu (=mind), 23 Manu's Descent, 183, 217 Manush (= Manu), 165 ff. Manyantaras, 43 ff. Mārgaņapriyā, 116 Marichi, 36 f., 65, 114 ff., 122 f., 126 Märkandeya, 48, 199, 207 Markandeya Purana quoed, 75, 81 ff., 221 ff., 379 Märttanda, 126 Mürttiküvatas, 459 Maru, 277 Maruts, 20, 71 - their beaven, 63, 98 Marutta, 222 Matango, 411, 440 Materis van, 128, 170, 256 Mati, 241 Matrika, 158 Matsya-avatara, see Fishincarnation Motsyas, 431 Matsya Purana, 1,12-203 49, 39,—277 132, 98,—278 3, 32 ff.,-105 Matthew, Gospel of St. xiii. 14 f.,—255 Maudgalya, 235 Medhatithi on Manu, 47 Medhātithi, 234 Medhyatithi, 170 Mckalas, 482 Men, Five races of, 163, 176 their original condition, 62, 117, 146, 147 Menaka, 407, 410 Meru, 417, 491 Metempsychosis, 385 Mīmānsa-vārttika quoted, 508 Mithila, 279, 430 Mitra, 27, 184, 186, 221, Mitrasaha, 337, 414, 423, 514 Mitrayu, 230, 322 Mlechbas, 41 f., 141, 482, 454

Mrikshint, 271 Mrityu, 20, 124, 299, 303 Muchukunda, 140 Mudgala, 235, 279, 352 Mukhya-sarga, 57 Müller's, Professor Max, Ancient Sanskrit Literature quoted or referred to, 2, 4, 5, 8, 13, 48, 122, 181, 192, 253, 263, 326, 355, 358, 366, 426, - Art. in Journ. Germ. Or. Soc., 365 Art. in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., 116, 177 Art. in Oxford Essays, now reprinted in "Chips from a German Workshop," 226, 231 - Chips from a German Workshop, 429, 431, 490 Preface to Rig-veda, 348, 417 Results of Turanian Researches, 327 Mundaka Upanishad, i. 2, 1, quoted, 3, 39 Muni (a female), 123 Munis, 153 Mūtibas, 358, 483

### N

Nabhaga, 224, 268 Nabhaga, 126, 224 Nabhagarishta, 126, 223 Nübhänedishtha, 221 Nabhaganedishtha, 192 ff., 221 Nagas, 37, 140 Nagnajit Gandham, 515 Nahush, 165, 179, 307 Nahasha, 133, 226, 232, 297, 307 ff., 393, 410 Naigeva sakha of Sama-Banhita, 14 Naimittika-laya, 45, 209, 219 Naubandhaus, 200 Nairritos, 124 Namuchi, 175 Nara, 35, 76, 353, 400 Narada, 36, 119, 126, 400 Narayana, 35, 50, 54, 76, 154, 400 - assumes different colours in different yagas, 146

Nārūyani, 353 Narishyanta, 126, 221, 223 Narmada, 207, 478 Neshtri, 155, 251 Nève, M., Mythe des Ribhavas referred to, 161 Nichasakha, 342 Nidāna-Sūtras, 136 Niggards, 259 Night of Brahma, 43, 209 Nila, a mountain, 491 Nila, 235 Nilakantha on M.Bh., 201 Nimi, 297, 316, 337 Niramitra, 235 Nirriti, 124 Nirukta, 5 - quoted or referred to, 3 i. 8,-256 -- 20,-147 ii. 10,-269 - 24,-338 -25, -340iii. 4,— 26 — 7,—165 - 8,-177 - 17,-145 iv. 19,-154 v. 11,—253 — 13,—321 vi. 30,—322 — 32,—342 ix. 6,-253 - 26,-417 x. 44,-154 xi. 19,-442 - 23,- 9 xii, 10 f., - 34,-162 xiii. 0,-252 Nishādas, 177, 481,153 f. Nishāda, birth of, 301, 303, 403, 481 Nishada-sthapati, 365 Nishadha, 491 Nitha, 241 Nivid, 241 Nodhas, 330 Nriga, 221 Nyaya-mala-vistara quoted, 510

0

Odras, 482 Oha-brahman, 255 P

Pädma-kalpa, 44, 50 Padma Purāna, 379 Pahlavas, 351, 391, 398, 482, 484, 486 Paijavana, 366 Paka-yajna, 187 Pakshya, 342 Panchachūdā, 413 Panchadas'a, 16 Panchajanah and other parallel terms, 176 Panchālas or Pānchālas, 431, 434, 495 Panchasika, 430 Pauchavirus a Brühmana, 5 quoted, 417 Panchavims'a stoma, 492 Pandus, 5, 127, 381 Panini, 3 - referred to, 513 Panins, 353 Pannagas, 144 Para, 44 Paradas, 482, 486 Paramarshi, 400 Parameshthin, 123 Parardha, 44 Parasara, 56, 58, 130, 322, 417, 430, 447 Parasava, 481 Parasikas, 495 Paras urama, 350, 422, 442, 447 1. 474 Paravasu, 455 Parikshit, 438 Parivettri, 275 Parivitti, 275 Parjanya, 20, 270 Parsis, 293 Pärthivas, 353 Paruchhepa, 172 Parushni, 490 Parvata, 400 Päsadyuman, 319 Passion, 51, see Rajas Pasupati, 108, 444 Patalas, 504 Patangas, 493 Patnivata (Agni), 101 Paundras, or Paundrakas, 391, 482, 484 Paurava, 353 Paurukutsi, 351 Phone, 233 Pijavana, 268, 297, 322,

Pis'achns, 33, 37, 140 Pitus, 499 Pitris, 23, 37, 46, 58, 79, 88, 434 Plaksha-dvipa, 490, 497 Plants, origin of, 59, 90, 95 Plato quoted, 147 Potri, 155, 251, 263 Prachetas, 36, 116, 125, 279 Prächetssa, 125 Prachetases, 72 Prodha, 123 Pradhāna, 51. 74 Pradyumna, 279 Prajapati, 16 ff., 23 f., 29 ff., 52 if., 68 ff., 180, 184, 444, and passing born on a lotus-leaf, 39 - his exhaustion, 68 - his heaven, 63, 98 Prajapati Parameshthin, 19 Prakasa, 58 Prākrita-sarga, 58 Prakriti, 74 f. Pralaya, 214, 217 Pramaganda, 342 Prinisu, 221 Pranava, 158 Prasastri, 251, 263 Praskanya, 330 Praskanyas, 234 Prastotri, 41, 155 Prasūti, 65 Pratardana, 229, 268, 455 Pratibartri, 41, 155 Pratipa, 273 Pratiprasthätri, 136 Pratisanchara, 44 Pratisarga, 49 Pratichthutri, 155 Pratyūsha, 400 Pravahana Jaivali, 433, 515 Prayaschitti, 294 Pretus, 141 Prishadasva, 224, 279 Prishadhra, 126, 221 Pritha, 494 Prithavana, 305 Prithi, or Pritha, 268, 279, 301, 304, 511 Prithivi, 434 Prithūdaka, 272 Friyamedha, 172, 235, 268 Priyavrata, 65, 72, 106, 114, 489, 491, 497

Rajasūya sacrifice, 20, 225

Rajatarangini quoted, 424

Rakshasas, 59, 140, 144,

Rakshases, 33, 37, 59, 136,

Rāma, 5, 112, 115, 120, 305, 337

Rāma Mārgaveya, 438

Rakshovāhas, 459

Raji, 226

etc.

177

Pulaha, 36, 65, 116, 122 f.,	Rāmas, 495	Rig-veda continued-
400	Ramathas, 485	First Mandala-
Pulastya, 36, 65, 116,	Ramayana, & f.	14, 11,-167
122 f., 400	quoted-	15, 5,-253
Pulindas, 358, 482 ff.	i. 37, 4,-405	31, 4, -172
Pundra, 232	- 51-65,-397	32, 12,-490
Pundras, 358, 483, 495	- 55, 5,-329	33, 9, -246
Puranas, 3, 5 f.	<b>—</b> 70,—337	36, 10,—167, 1
Puranasva, 279	— 70, ±1,—362	- 19,-166, 1
Purohitas, 41, 128, 507	ii, 110, 1-7,—115	44, 11,—168
Paru, 232, 277, 331, 360	- 110, 2,-36	45, 3,-341
Parus, 179	'- 110, 3,-54	47, 6,330
Purukutsa, 266, 279, 331	- 110, 6,-337, 400	58, 6,—170
Purukutsani, 267	- 111, 1,-337	63, 7,—330
Purumījha, 267	iii. 14, 5-15, 29-31,	65, 1,—170
Pururayas, 126, 128, 158,	-115	68, 4,—164
172, 221, 226, 279, 306,	iv. 43, 38,—493	76, 5,—166
349, 497	v. 82, 13,—59	
Purusha, 9 ff., 25, 32, 34 ff.,	vii. (or Uttura-kunda)	80, 1,-244 - 16,-162
75 f., 106, 155	30, 19 ff.,—120	83, 5,—169
Purusha-sükta, translated	74, 8 ff.,—117	84, 7,—269
and discussed, 7 ff., 34,	Rambha, 226, 232	92, 11,-45
155 f., 159, 161	Rambha, 336, 408, 413	94, 6,—263
Purushas, 500	Ramyaka, 491	96, 5,—243
Purushottama, 51	Rantibhāra and Rantināra.	
Püshan, 19 f., 33, 71, 270	234	101, 4,—260 — 5.—246
Pushkalas, 500	Rantideva, 423	102, 2, -322
Pushkara, 405	Rasolläsa, 62	100, 5,—167
Pushkara-dvipa, 491, 501	Raspi, 292	108, 7, -246
Pushkaras, 500	Rathachitra, 336	- 8,-179
Pushkarin, 237	Rathakara, 336	112, 16,-171
Pushpaka (Rama's car), 120	Rathaesthas, 293	- 19,-331
E	Rathantara, 16	114, 2,—163
	Rathaviti, 283	117, 3,—178
R	Rathitura, 224	- 21,-171,
	Rathwi, 292	122, 9, -260
Rabhasa, 232	Rati, 106, 114	124, 2, -45
Ruibhya, 455	Raubināyana, 72	125, 7,-260
Rajanya, 10, 258, 264, etc.	Ravaga, 21, 478	130, 6,—173
Rajarshi, 266, 400	Re-marriage of Indian	- 8,-174
Rojas (the Guna) 41, 58,	women in early times,	139, 9, -172
62, 66, 75, 79, 89, 92,	282	144, 4,-45
141, 154	Renu, 346, 350, 357	158, 6,-46, 24
Rajas (masculine) 335	Renakā, 350	162, 6-7, 11, 15

Renumat, 352

Hibbus, 255

Ribhukshons, 165

450, 453, 476

Richika, 349, 405, 413,

Rig-veda, 2 Texts of, translated 1—

First Mandala-

10, 1,-246 10, 11,-347

13, 4,-167

2 90 6 67, 170 66, 167 68 1 000004664629953360 46 22 67 46 79 171 331 63 78 171, 174 60 5 60 73 74 79 6, 247 162, 6-7, 11, 15, 16, 163, 3,-12 164, 15,-362 - 34, 35,-244 -45, -252- 60,-11 167, 7, -173 175, 3,-174 177, 5, -183 182, 3, -260 185, 9, -331

A large number of texts are referred to in pp. 45, 163, 170, 171, 241, 243, 245, 259, 329, etc., but as they have not been translated they are not included in this list.

R

4
Rig-veda continued-
Second Mandala-
1, 2, 3,—251
-4 ff270
2, 10,—178
4, 2, -170
7, 1, 5, -348
12, 6, -244
19, 8, -243
20, 4,-243
- 6,-174
23, 1, 2,—242 —— 4,—260
4,-260
27, 1,-72
33, 1,—184 — 13,—163
— 13,—163
36, 5,—253
36, 5,—253 39, 1,—247
43, 2, -252
Third Mandala-
1, 21,-345
3, 6,—165
5, 10,-170
18, 4,-346
93-9-1 - 345 349
26, 1,—346 29, 15,—347, 362
29, 15,-347, 362
30, 20, -347
32, 10,—244
32, 10,—244 33, 1–12,—339
34, 9,—176, 258 42, 9,—347
42, 9,—347
43. 4. 5.—344
- 6,-247 49, 1,-176
49, 1,—176
63,6-16, 21, 24, -340,
354, 372
- 9,-362
- 12,-242 55, 19,-181
δ5, 19,—181
Fourth Mandala-
6, 11,—173
9, 3, 4,-252
16, 9, -242
25, 4,-348
— 6, 7,—260
26, 7,-175
37, 1,—165
42, 8, 9, -266
44. 6268
50, 7-9-247
50, 7-9-247 58, 2;-248 Fifth Mandala-
Fifth Mandala-
2, 12,—173 21, 1,—168
21, 1,-168
29, 3,-248
31, 4, -248
32, 11,178

0

ig-veda continued-
Fifth Mandala-
<del>- 12,-248</del>
37, 4,—247 40, 5 ff., 6,—242, 46
40, 5 ff., 6,—242, 46 — 8,—248
45, 6, -166
53. 2.—331
54. 7. 14247
Sixth Mandala-
11, 4,-177
14, 2,—165
- 3,-174 16, 1,-107
- 9 - 167
- 13, 14,-169
- 19,-349
21, 8,-243
- 11175
44, 11, -261
45, 7,—244
46, 7, -179 48, 8 -165
48, 8,—165 49, 13,—172
51, 5,-163
61, 12,-176, 178
75, 10,—252, 253 — 19,—242
— 19,—242 Seventh Mandala—
2, 3,—168
- 5339
7, 5,—249 8, 4,—349
8, 4,-349
15 2 - 178
18, 4, 6, 21-24,—32 19, 3,—331
19, 3,-331
19, 3,—331 20, 2,—331 22, 9,—243
25, 3,—331
25, 3,—331 26, 1, 2,—241 28, 2,—243
28, 2, -243
32, 10,-333
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244 35, 7,—242 42, 1,—249
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244 35, 7,—242 42, 1,—249 63, 3,—332
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244 26, 7,—242 42, 1,—249 63, 3,—332 60, 8,—332
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244 36, 7,—242 42, 1,—249 53, 3,—332 60, 8,—332 64, 3,—332
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244 36, 7,—242 42, 1,—249 53, 3,—332 60, 8,—332 64, 3,—332 69, 2,—176
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244 35, 7,—242 42, 1,—249 53, 3,—332 60, 8,—332 64, 3,—332 69, 2,—176 70, 2,—173
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244 35, 7,—242 42, 1,—249 53, 3,—332 60, 8,—332 64, 3,—332 69, 2,—176 70, 2,—173 — 3,—184
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244 35, 7,—242 42, 1,—249 53, 3,—332 60, 8,—332 64, 3,—332 69, 2,—176 70, 2,—173 — 3,—184 — 5,—243
32, 10,—332 — 26,—329 33, 1-13,—318 — 3,—242 — 11,—244 35, 7,—242 42, 1,—249 53, 3,—332 60, 8,—332 64, 3,—332 69, 2,—176 70, 2,—173 — 3,—184

```
Rig-voda continued-
    Seventh Mandala --
        87, 4, -325
       88, 3-6,—325
91, 1,—172
97, 1,—176
— 3,—242
       100, 4, -172
103, 1, 7, 8, -253
104, 13, -258
-- 12-16, -326
    Eighth Mandala-
      ighth Mandah
2, 21, -46
4, 20, -262
7, 20, -249
9, 10, -268
10, 2, -166
15, 5, -171
16, 7, -245
17, 2, -249
18, 22, -173
19, 21, -167
23, 13, -165
27, 7, -168
30, 3, -164
31, 1, -249
32, 16, -249
       32, 16,-249
      33, 19, -249
34, 8, -168
36, 7, -263
37, 7, -263
43 13 27
       43, 13, 27,-168
       45, 39,-249
       50, 9,-264
       52, 1,—163
— 7,—176, 178
       53, 1, -261
- 7, -250
       64, 6, -341
       66, 5, -250
       -8, -253
       81, 30, -250
       85, 5, -250
       -6, -181
       87, 5,-176
       - 9,-250
      91, 1,—172
92, 2,—348
   Ninth Mandala-
      65, 22, 23.—177
66, 20,—178
86, 28,—181
       92, 5,-175
       96, 6, -250
      - 11,-166
112, 1, 3,-250
       113, 6, -251
```

0.20	ALI DIM	
Rig-veda continued-	1 Dia role entired	1 Printers of the control of
	Rig-veda continued—	Secrifices of no avail to
Tenth Mandala-	Tenth Mandala-	the deprayed, 98
14, 1,—217 16, 6,—253	125, 5,—246	Sadasyas, 459
17 1 9 917	129,—13	Sadhyus, 10f., 26f., 38, 41
17, 1, 2,—217	4,-32	Sagara, 337, 486
21, 5, —169 26, 5, —167	141, 3,—251	Sahadeva, 266
	148, 5,—268	Sahajanyā, 336
28, 11,—251 33, 4,—262	161, 4,-13	Saindhavas, 495
45, 6,—178	167, 4,—345	Saindhavayanas, 353
46, 2, 9, -170	Rijrās'va, 266 Riksha, 235, 274, 360	Saineya, 483
		Sainyas, 236
49, 7,—175 52, 2,—252	Rikshavat, 456	Saivya, wife of Harischun-
53, 4.—177	Ripu, 298	dra, 380 f.
54, 3,—131	Rishabha, 279, 357	S'ākadvīpa, 491, 500
60, 4,—177	Rishabhas, 500	S'akalas, 495
61, 7, -242	Rishi, 243 Rishie 36 44 88 ata	S'akha, 401
62, 5,—341	Rishis, 36, 44, 88, etc.	Sakas, 391, 398, 482, 484.
<del>- 7,-193</del>	Rishtishena, 269 Ritabadha, 279	486
63, 7,—166	Ritayu, 234	S'akti, or S'aktri, 315, 322,
68, 3, 4, 5,—72		328, 312
- 8, 11,-217	Ritavratas, 501 Rituparga, 322	S'akuntalä, 410
69, 3, -166	Page Dr P his termila-	Sukvaris, 255, 320
71 and 72,-13	Roer, Dr. E., his transla- tions of the Upanishads	Sakya (Buddho) 509
71, 1-11,-254	referred to, 25	Salankayann, 279
- 11,-245	Rohidas'va, 268	Salankayanas, 353
72, 2,-46	Rohini, 389	S'alavati, 352 S'alavatear 958
- 4, 5,-72	Robita, 355	S'alavatyas, 353 S'almali-dvīpa, 490, 498
— 5,—9	Robitarya, 382 315	Salvas, 438
73, 7,—175	Roth, Dr. R., his Literature	Salvas, 495
75, 5,-490	and History of the Veda	S'ama, 124
77, 1,-245	referred to, 289, 318, 324,	Samantapanchaka, 451
80, 6,-165	331, 339, 342, 360, 364,	Sāma-veda, 2
81 and 62,-13	372	- quoted-
81, 2, 3,—181	- articles in Journ. of	i, 262,—180
82, 3,-163, 181	Germ. Or. Society, 8, 192, 194, 217, 248, 289	- 355,-163
85, 3, 16, 34, -245	192, 194, 217, 248, 289	Samprakahālona-kāla, 217
- 29,-251	- article in Indische	Sañisraya, 116
- 39, 40,-257	Studien, 48, 355, 376	Samvarana, 360
88, 19,-256	- Dissertation on the	Samvartta, 207
89, 16,—243	Atharva-veda, 395	Sanaka, 51
- 17,-346	- Illustrations of Ni-	Sanandana, 51, 65
90, 1,-32	rukta, 177, 253, 256,	Sanatkumāra, 114, 307
→ 1-16,9	321, 339	S'andilya, 513
91, 9,—173	Rosen, Dr. F., remarks on	Sanbita, 2, 4
92, 10,—169	the story of S'unasiepu,	Sanjaya, 148
95, 7,—306	359	S'ankara on the Brahma-
97, 1,-46	Ruchi (mase.), 65	Sütres, 147
97, 17, 19, 22,—256	Ruchi (fem.), 466	- Chhandogya Upani-
98, 1-12,-270	Rudra, 3, 20, 65, 163, 194,	ahad, 195
99, 7,—173	225	Sankarshaya, 207, 507
100, 5,-164	Rudrus, 19 f., 52, 117	Sankhayana Brühmann, 5
105, 8,—241, 242	Rapin, 360	Sankhya, 126, 210, 334,
107, 6,-245	6	430
109, 1-7,—256	S	- Kūrikā, 158
4,244 117 7 246	S'abanes on P'	- Pravachana, 158
117, 7,—246	S'abaras, or S'avaras, 391,	Sankirtti, a Vaisya author
121,—13	393, 483 f.	of Vedic hymns, 279

Sankriti, 237	1 3
Sänkriti, 352	ı
Sankritvas, 500	П
S'antanu, 269 S'aphari (fish), 205, 209	
Santadava, 16	П
Santa sindhavab, 489 H.	ı
S'arabhas, 391	
S'arabhas, 391 S'aradvat, 279	1
S'aradyata, 279 S'arangi, 336	П
Same 2 10. 141.	
178, 315, 344, 421, 450	
Sarasvatyas, 300	-
Sarya, 49 Sarvakāma, 322	Î
Sarvakarman, 422, 450	
Correspond to the Blanch and I	1
S'aryūta, 221	
S'aryūta, 221 S'aryūti, 126, 221	1
Sasarpari, 343 Sat, 46	ı
S'atadru, 417	
Satamanda, 235	
S'atanatha Brahmana, a	1
Kanya S'akha, i. 6,	
-167, 382 Mādhyandina Sākhā,	
Texts from, translated or	
referred to-	
i. 1, 4, 12,—366	
_ 3 2 21.—136	1
_ 4, 2, 2, 348	- 1
_ 4, 2, 5,—166	
- 5, 1, 7,-168	
- 5, 2, 10,-137	
1. 1, 4, 12,—308 — 1, 4, 14,—188 — 3, 2, 21,—136 — 4, 2, 2,—348 — 4, 2, 5,—166 — 5, 1, 7,—168 — 5, 2, 16,—137 — 5, 3, 2,—163 — 7, 4, 1,—35, 107	
_ 8 1 1.—181	
ii. 1, 4, 11,—17 — 2, 2, 6,—262	
- 2, 2, 6, -262	
- 3, 4, 4,-141 4 0 1 96	
- 4, 4, 1,-125	
- 5, 1, 1, -69	
_ 5, 2, 20, -136	
- 2, 2, 6, -262 - 3, 4, 4, -147 - 4, 2, 1, -96 - 4, 4, 1, -125 - 5, 1, 1, -69 - 5, 2, 20, -136 10, 2, 1, 39, -369 - 2, 1, 40, -136 - 4, 3, 6, -613	
- 4, 3, 6, -613	
- 6, 2, 26, -147	
- 9, 1, 1,-68 iv. 1, 5, 1,-221	
iv. 1, 5, 1,—221	
- 3, 4, 4,-262 - 5, 4, 1,-9	
r. 3, 5, 4,—268	
- 5, 4, 9, -367	
v. 3, 5, 4,—268 — 5, 4, 9,—367 vi. 1, 2, 11,—30	

LA DEM.
atapatha Brāhmana con-
Finned -
Madhyandina Sakha-
vi. 6, 1, 19,—188 — 8, 1, 14,—349 vii. 4, 1, 19,—125
- 8 L 14349
vii 4, 1, 19,-125
$ \begin{array}{l} -5, 1, 5, -54 \\ -5, 2, 6, -24 \end{array} $
viii 1 4 10.—515
_ 4 2 11.—19
_ 4 3 1.—19
x 4 1 10.—438
_ 4, 2, 2, _69
- 4.4.169
vi 1. 3. 1.—31
- 1. 6. 1.—35
_ 1, 6, 7, -30
_ 1 6 8 -29
_ 5 1, 1, 226
- 6 1 1 443
- 6 2 1428
vii 1, 6, 38, -333
rifi. 4. 1. 3.—369
- 5, 2, 6, -24 viii. 1, 4, 10, -515 - 4, 2, 11, -19 - 4, 3, 1, -19 x 4, 1, 10, -438 - 4, 2, 2, -69 - 4, 4, 1, -69 xi. 1, 3, 1, -31 - 1, 6, 1, -35 - 1, 6, 7, -30 - 1, 6, 8, -29 - 5, 1, 1, -226 - 6, 1, 1, -443 - 6, 2, 1, -443 - 6, 2, 1, -426 xii. 1, 6, 38, -333 xiii. 4, 1, 3, -369 - 4, 3, 3, -217 - 5, 4, 14, -168
_ 5, 4, 14,—168
- 6.1.19
_ 7, 1, 15,—456
viv. 1. 2. 11.—63
- 4, 5, 5, -168 - 5, 4, 14, -168 - 6, 1, 1, -9 - 7, 1, 15, -456 xiv. 1, 2, 11, -63 - 4, 2, 1, -24, 36 - 4, 2, 23, -19
_ 4, 2, 23,—19
_ 5, 1, 1, -432
_ 7, 1, 33,-46
- 9, 1, 1, -433
- 4, 2, 1,-24, 56 - 4, 2, 23,-19 - 5, 1, 1,-432 - 7, 1, 33,-46 - 9, 1, 1,-433 S'atarāpā, 25, 65, 72, 106,
S'atayūtu, 322 S'atendriyā, 114 Sattra, 41, 62, 66, 75 f.
S'atendriya, 114
Sattra, 41, 62, 66, 75 L
79, 89, 92
79, 89, 92 Sattvika, 42
Sattyahavya, 493 Satyaketu, 231
Satyaketu, 231
Satyangus, 498 Satyavati, 349, 405, 450
Satyavati, 349, 405, 450
900
Satyavrata, 207, 375
Satyavratas, 501
Satyavratas, 501 Satyayana Brahmana
anoted, 320, 330
Sandasa, 343, 414
Saudasas, 328, 337
Saumya, 494 S'aunaka, 226, 279
Saunaka, 226, 279
S'aundikas, 482
Saurashiras, 420
Sauviras, 495
Sansrutas, 353
Savana, 335, 445

Savarnya and Savarni, 217 Savitri, 71, 181 Savitri, 110 Sayakayana, 438 Sayana quoted, 2, 164 and разлін S'ayu, 171 Schlegel, A. W. von, his edition of the Ramayana referred to, 397, 399, etc. Semitic source, was the Indian legend of the deluge derived from a, 216 S'esha, 44, 116 Seven rishis, 200, 400, 404 Seven seas surrounding the continents of the earth, 491 Sexes, their primitive relations, 418 Shadgurusishya quoted, 343 Shadvimsa Brahmana quoted or referred to, \$34, 513 Simhika, 123 Sindhudvipa, 268, 272, 353 Sindhukshit, 268 Sinhalas, 391 S'ini, 326 5'iva, 389 S'ivis, 459, 493 S'lishti, 298 Smriti, 5, 139 Snehns, 500 Solar race, 220 Somm, 10, 19 f., 30, 71 f., 124, 153, 166, 175, 181, 221, 225, 467, 469 Soma Muitrayana, 230 Somas'ushma Satyayajni, 428 Someśvara quoted, 511 Sons, may be begotten by third parties, 418 S'onambu, 207 Staddhadova, 207 S'raddhadeva, 207, 335 S'muta-sutras, & S'ravonasya, 279 S'n, 67 S'ridhara, Commentator or Bhagavata Purana, quoted, 210 f., 317 S'ringin, 491 S'rinjayas, 283, 512

S'rotriva, 442 S'rutadharas, 499 S'rutarshis, 279, 400 Sthänu, 116, 122 Sthängtirtha, 420 Sthopati, 514 Stoma, 241 Streiter, Dr., his Dissertatio de Sunahsepho, 48, Sobhaga, 116 S'uchi, 445 Sudas, 242, 268, 297, 319, 321 ff., 338, 366, 371 ff. Sudisa, Sudeshnä, 233, S'adras, 7 and passim - etymology of the word, 97 Sudyumna, 221 Subma, 232 Suhotra, 227, 267, 349, 353, 360 Suhotri, 227 Sukanyū, 283 S'ukī, 117 S'ukra, 305, 335, 445 Sükta, 241 Sukumāra, 231 Sulabha, 430 Sumantu, 349 Sumati, 234 Sumera, 96 Sumitra, 167 Sumukha, 297 Sunahotra, or S'unahotra, 226, 228 350, 353 Sunassepa, 355 ff., 376, 405, 413 Sunīthā, 299, 303 S'unabpuchha, 352 Buradhas, 266 B'arns, 495 S'ürpāraka, 455 Surya, 245, 251 Süryavarchas, 336 S'ushmins, 500 S'ushmina, 493 Süta, 207 Sutapas, 232, 233 Sūtras, 5 S'utudri, 338, 490 Sushadman, 438 Suvarchas, 279 Suvitta, 279 Suyavasa, 355 Svab4, 389 Svarbhanu, 249, 469

Svarjit Nagnajita, 515 Srayambhu, 33 Svayambhu, 96, 111, 122 S'veta, 491 S'vetaketu Aruneya, 428, 434 S'yaparnas, 438 Syavasya, 283 S'yens, 513 Sydmaras mi, 171

Taittiriya-aranyaka quoted, 31 Taittirīya Brāhmaya, 5 - quotedi. 1, 2, 6,-68 - 1, 3, 5,-53 - 1, 4, t,-186 - I, 9, 10,-26 - 1, 10, 1,-68 - 2, 6, 1,-68 - 2, 6, 7, -21 - 6, 2, 1, -70 -6, 4, 1, -71- 8, 8, 1,-26 - 8, 2, 5,-445 ii. 2, 1, 1,-72 - 2, 4, 4,-515 - 2, 9, 1,-27 - 3, 6, 1,-68 -- 3, 8, 1,-23 -7, 9, 1, -71iii. 2, 3, 9, -21 - 2, 5, 9,-189 - 3, 3, 1,-25 - 3, 3, 5, -25 - 3, 10, 4,-26 - 4, I, 16,-49 - 8, 18, 1,-24 - 12, 9, 2,-41 Taittirīva Sanhitā, 2 - quoted i. 5, 4, 1,--29 -7, 1, 8, -187- 7, 3, 1,-262

- 9, 22, 1,-43, 46, - 10, 9, 1,-71[163 - 8, 16, 1,-20 · 16, 11, 1,-137 fi. 2, 10, 2,-188, 510 - 3, 5, 1,-124, - 4, 13, 1,-21 - 5, 9, 1,-187 - 6, 7, 1,-186 in. 1, 7, 2,-512

Taittiriya Sanbita continuediii. 1, 9, 4,-193 - 5, 2, 2, -332 iv. 3, 10, 1,-16 v. 1, 5, 6,-184 - 6, 8, 3,-136 vi. 2, 5, 2,-187 3, 10, 4,-32 - 6, 6, 1,-26 - 6, 6, 1,-191 - 6, 8, 2,-26 -- 6, 10, 3,-26 rii. 1, 1, 4,—15 — 1, 5, 1,—52 - 6, 15, 3,-187 - p. 47 of MS., 328 - Commentator on, quoted, 3 Taittiriya Upanishad quoted, 443 Taittirīya Yajurveda, 12 Takshapa, 279 Talajanghas, 467, 486 Tamas, 41, 57, 58, 62, 66, 75, 80, 89, 92, 141 Tämasa, 42 Tamra, 116 Tämraliptakas, 459 Tamravarna, 494 Tändya Brāhmana, 5, 329 Tansu, 234 Tapas, 119, 141 \_\_\_\_ its great power, 394, 410 Tapoloka, 88 Tara, 225 Tarakāyaņas, 353 Tiryak-srotas, 57 Tishmas, 500 Tishya (= Kali) age, 148 Tortoise incarnation, 51, Trasadasyu, 263, 266, 331 Trayyaruna, 237, 267 Treta, 39, 48 ff., 92 ff., 119, 145, 149 f., 158, 447, 495 f. Triad of deities, see Deities Trigarttas, 459 Trisanku, 362, 375, 401, 413 Trishtha, 190 Trishtubb, 16 Tristras, 268 Trivrishna, 267

Trivrit, 16

Tritsus, 320, 324

Troyer, Captain, his edition of the Rajatarangini, 424 Tukhāras, 303 Tumburas, 503 Turvasas, 179 Turvasu, 232, 482 Tushāras, 484 Tvāshtra, 438 Tvashtri, 181

U

Uddālaka Aruņi, 195 S'vetaketu, 419 Udgātri, 41, 155, 251, 294 Unnetri, 155 Upadrashtri, 4, 459 Upanishads, 2, 5 Upasrati (a goddess), 311 Upastuta, 170 Uru, 298 Urddhyabahu, 333 Urddhyasrotas, 57 Urija, 335 Urijā, 335 Urukahaya, 237 Urunjira, 417 Urva, 351, 476 Urvasi, 226, 244, 306, 316, 320, 337 Us'anas, 226 Ushas, 108 Uslnara, 268 Usinaras, 431, 482 Utathya, 279, 467 Uttanapad, 72 Uetanapada, 65, 72, 106, 114, 298 Uttara Karus, 491 ff. Uttara Madras, 492

V

Vāch, 241, 246, 325 Vachas, 241 Vahlīka, 273 Vaibhojas, 482 Vaidya, 481 Vaikhūnatas, 32 Vaikrita-sarga, 58 Vaina, Vainya, 268, 279 Vairāja, 16, 111 Vairūpa, 16 Vaisampāyana, 122, 153 f.

Vaisasa, 97 Vaisyas, 7, and possins etymology of the word, 97 Vaivasvata Manvantara, 112, 214 Vajus, 165 Vajasaneyi Sanhita quoted or referred toxi. 32,-169 xil. 34,—349 xiv. 28,—16 XXX. 18,-49 xxxi. 1,-9 - I-16,-8 13,-10 xxxviii. 26,-490 Väjasravas, Vajrasīrsha, 445 Valākāsva, 349 Valakhilya, iii. 1,-217 iv. 1,-217 Valmiki, 5 Vamadeva, 114, 279, 330 Vamana-avatāra, sec Dwarf incarnation Vandya, a Vais'ya composer of Vedic hymns, 279 Vanga, 233, see Banga Vangas, 459 Vansā, 116 Vapushmat, 222 Varāha-avatāra, 53, see Hoar incarnation Väräha-kalpa, 44, 50, 67 Varenya, 445 Varna (colour or caste), 140, 153, 176 Vārshagiras, 266 Varuna, 18, 20, 27, 71, 136, 168, etc. his adultery, 467 Vāruņa, 494 Varana-praghāsa, 136 Varötri, 190 Varvaras, 454 Vasus, 391 Vashatkāra, 487 Väshkalas, 353 Vasishtha, or Vasishtha, 36, 65, 110, 115, 122, 211, 244, 316 ff., 468, 486 begets a son to king Kalmashapāda, 418 Vasishthas, 242, 319 ff., 102 Vastrya fshuyans 293 Vilaudova, 206

Vasumanas; 268 Vasundhams, 499 Vasus, 19f., 52, 117, 124, 184, 186, 221, 444 Vātarašanas, 32 Vatsa, 231 Vatsabhūmi, 231 Vayata, 319 Vaya, 10, 19, 33, 76, 128, 172, 464 Vayu Purāna quoted, 225, 227, 232 i. 5, 11 ff.,—74 — 6, 1 ff.,—75 - 7, 22 ff., -81 - 9, 1 ff., -77 - 9, 100, -446 Vedángas, 5, 126 Vedānta, 223 Vedas, 63 antiquity of, 2 - undivided in the Krita age, 144 Vedas ravas, 279 Vedhas, 65 Vedhas, a sage, 243 Vedhasa, 279 Vena, 126 Vena, 297 ff., 481 Venuhotra, 231 Venya, 268 Vibhu, 445 Videha, 426 Videbas, 431, 459 Vidhütri, 124 Vidaratha, 455 Vidyutpatāka, 207 Vijnana Bhikshu, 158 Vikrita, 123 Vinatā, 123 Vipās, or Vipāsā, 338, 417 Vipra, 243 Vipula, 466 Viraj (masc.), 9, 36 f., 106, 111, 195 - (fem.), 217, 383, 511 Viranchi, 112 Vīrinī, 125 Virochana, 233 Virapa, 224 Virūpas, 341 Viryadharas, 499 Vis, 157 Vishnu, 3, 10, 61, 64, 62, 67, 75, 153, 172, 211, 495, etc. assumes different colours in different yagas, 145

Vishou Purana quoted -- / Book i .-3, 10 ff., and 14 f., -43 5, 16 ff., -44 5, 1 ff.,—55 6, 1 ff.,—60 7, 1 ff.,—64 8, 12, -66 9, 15, -389 10, 10, -335 13, 7, -298 13, 51,-511 15, 52, -72 Book ii .-4, 1, and 5 ff., -497 4, 9, -495 4, 12 ff.,—499 4, 19 ff.,—500 4, 23 ff.,—600 4, 28 ff., -501 4, 37 f., -503 , 19, 24, -504 10, 8, 336 Book fii .-1, 3,-46 1, 6, and 9, -335 1, 14, -335 3, 9, - 336 6, 21, 400 Book iv, ---1, 4, -220 1, 5, -72 1, 12, -221 1, 13, 14,-222 2, 2,—223 3, 5,—224 3, 13, -375 18,-337 4, 25, -- 337 6-2 -225 6, 19,—225 7, 1,—226 7, 4, and 14 ff.,=349 8, 6, -232 10, 12, -232 18, 1,—232 19, 9,—230 19, 10,-234 19, 16, -235 21, 4,—286 24, 44,—277 Book vi .-1, 4,-43 Visinipra, 166 Visyajit, 352 Visivakarman, 52, 76, 173, 181 - Bhauvana, 456 Vis'yakrit, 352

Visyamitra, 128, 232, 242, 247, 265, 272, 279, 329 ff., 337 ff., 474, 483 Visvamitras, 342, 345 f. Vis'vantara, 438 Vis'varatha, 352 Visyaspijab, 37 Visvedovas, 16, 20, 71, 380 Vitahavya, 228, 268, 279, 286, 297 Vitatha, 227 Vitshotras, 459 Vivasas, 498 Vivasvat, 26 f., 37, 115 f., 122, 126, 169, 195, 199, 201 Vrajana, 360 Vratya, 22, 481 Vratva-stomas, 513 Vrihaspati, 310, see Eribaspati Vrishagir, 266 Vrishala, 482 Vrishan, 170 Vristra, 174, 310 Vyisa, 6 Vyasiva, 268

Weber's Indische Literaturgeschichte referred to, 2, 5 - Indische Studien quoted or referred to, 8, 9, 14, 32, 39, 48, 49, 108, 136, 141, 147, 135, 181, 186, 189, 216, 252, 272 f., 352 ft., 357, 367, 369, 373, 395, 438 f., 443, 446, 492 f., 511 f. articles in Journal Germ. Or. Sec. 189, 366, 385, 443 - his opinion on the origin of the Indian tradition of the Deluge, 216 - Vajra-suchi, 110 Williams's, Prof. Monier, Indian Epic poetry referred to, 6, 34 Wilson's, Prof. H. H., Analyses of the Vishna, Vayu, and other Pu-ragas, 6, 505 - translation of the Rig-veda referred to, 360, 372, 490

Wilson's Sänkhy. Kürikä referred to, 430 - Vichon Puri 1 reforred to, 6, 49 353, 110, and passing - article on Human

Sacrifices in India to Journ. R. As. Soc., 355 Women, estimation which the ancient Indians held them,

Yadavas, 112

Yadu, 232, 477 Yadus, 179 Yajua-paribhāshā-sūtras, 2, 365, 367 Yajnapeta, 336 Yajbavalkya, 25, 136, 428 Yojnavalkyas, 353 Yajur-vida, 2 Yakahas, 37, 139, 144, 499 Yama, 20, 122, 126, 129, 171, 217, 329 Yamadhtas, 353 Yamanā, 467 Yaska, 3, 5, see Nirukta Yatudhimas, 326 f. Yaudhab (warriors), 511, 514 Yavanns, 391, 398, 482. 485 IE. Yayati, 232, 455 Year of Brahma, 44 Year of gods, 43 Yoga 210, 334, 466, 478 - philosophy, 430, 508 Yogin, 153 Yadhajit, 279 Yudhishtkirs, 127,133,309 Yudhyumadhi, 322 Yugas, 39, 43 ff. - system of, not mentioned in the hyuns of

the Rig-reda, 4a

- their several charac-

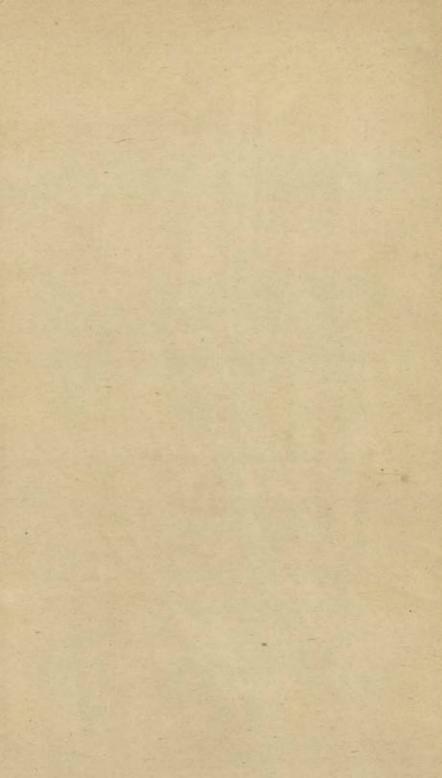
teristics, 39, 90 ft., 144 Yuga of the Kshattriyas,

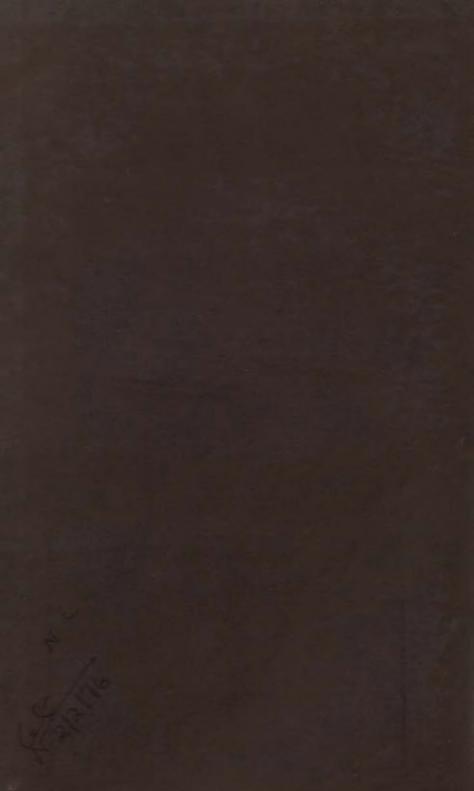
Yuvantáva, 225, 268, 279

Zendavesta, 293 Zota, 204









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